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General introduction to the study of Holy Scripture

Charles Augustus Briggs

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

TO THE

STUDY OF HOLY SCRIPTURE

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

TO THE

STUDY OF HOLY SCRIPTURE

THE PRINCIPLES, METHODS, HISTORY, AND RESULTS
OF ITS SEVERAL DEPARTMENTS AND OF
THE WHOLE

BY

CHARLES AUGUSTUS BRIGGS, D.D.
EDWARD ROBINSON PROFESSOR OF BIBLICAL THEOLOGY IN UNION
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NEW YORK
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS
1899

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Norwood Press
J. S. Cushing & Co. — Berwick & Smith
Norwood Mass. U.S.A.

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TO

The Alumni and Students

OF UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, NEW YORK CITY

WHO HAVE STUDIED WITH ME

The Holy Scripture

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED IN RECOGNITION OF

THEIR FIDELITY IN TESTING TIMES

AND IN HOLY LOVE

ON THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY

OF MY PROFESSORATE

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PREFACE

In 1883 the volume entitled *Biblical Study, its Principles, Methods, and History, together with a Catalogue of Books of Reference* was published. In the preface it was said: "This work is the product of the author's experience as a student of the Bible, and a teacher of theological students in Biblical Study. From time to time, during the past fourteen years, he has been called upon to give special attention to particular themes in public addresses and Review articles. In this way the ground of Biblical Study has been quite well covered. This scattered material has been gathered, and worked over into an organic system."

The volume has been issued from the press nine times since that date, and there still seems to be a demand for it on the part of the public. The author has long felt the need of a more thorough revision of the volume, as the result of fifteen years' additional study; but he has been prevented by many hindrances from doing what he so greatly desired to do, until the present year. He has used his volume as a text-book in the Union Theological Seminary, New York, during all this period, and has gone over the whole subject afresh every year. This year being the twenty-fifth anniversary of his professorate, he felt impelled to undertake the task, and to make out of the volume a new one, which would cover the whole ground of the study of Holy Scripture, and the results of all that study during the past fifteen years. Accordingly the volume has not simply

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been revised, it has been made over into a new one. The material in the old book has become the nucleus of new material, so that this volume has grown to be fully twice the size of the original work.

The twelve chapters of Biblical Study have been worked over and brought up to the present position of Biblical Science, and enriched with ample illustration of every important principle and method used in the study. The chapter on the Canon has grown into two chapters, in one of which the history of the Canon has been traced from the earliest times to the present, and in the other a careful statement of the criticism of the Canon has been given with the principles for discerning it and determining it with certainty. The chapter on the Text has grown into four chapters. This chapter was justly criticised for its incompleteness, as compared with other sections of the book. I have given great pains to this department, and have traced in successive chapters the history of the text of the Hebrew Bible, the history of the text of the Greek Bible, and the translations of the Bible, and have explained the practice of Textual Criticism, giving illustrations of every important principle. I have continued the history of the Higher Criticism down to the present time. Owing to circumstances beyond my control, I was compelled to undergo an ecclesiastical trial, and was condemned for heresy for my views on this subject. This made my views and my trial a necessary part of the history of Higher Criticism, and compelled me to give these a place in the history. I have aimed to be as objective as possible. I have greatly enlarged my treatment of the Holy Scripture as Literature. In the chapter on Prose Literature, I have given a very full discussion of Biblical History, and especially of the Prose Works of the Imagination in the Old Testament. The chapter on Hebrew Poetry has grown into four chapters, in which I endeavour by ample illustrations to set forth those views of

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Hebrew Poetry which I have held and taught for the past twenty-five years with increasing confidence. Illustrations from the New Testament as well as from the Old Testament are given here as elsewhere throughout the book. Some of my readers may be surprised at the amount of poetry found in the New Testament. But I think that they will see from the illustrations given that if the views of Hebrew Poetry taken in the volume are correct, the specimens from the New Testament are as fine and sure specimens as those from the Old Testament.

In the preface to *Biblical Study*, it was said: "The ground for Biblical Study has been covered, with the exception of Biblical History. This department has been included in the Reference Library because it seemed necessary for completeness. It has been omitted from the discussions because it is usual to classify Biblical History with Historical Theology. The author did not care to determine this disputed question in a work already sufficiently extensive." In this volume I have made up that defect; not only because it was a defect, but because in fact the Historical Criticism of Biblical History has become a burning question, and it is likely to burn with increasing flame and heat during the present generation. These chapters have cost me much labour. They open up the most difficult part of this work, and it is probable that in these I expose myself to the greatest criticism on the part of the so-called conservatives. I have composed these chapters with great painstaking and with a good conscience, and a deep sense of a call to public duty in this regard. I have prepared the way by a history of the study of Biblical History, then have opened up the principles and methods of Historical Criticism with ample illustrations, and finally I have endeavoured to organize and construct the discipline of Biblical History. Grave mistakes have been made in recent years in the discussions of the Higher Criticism. Is it too much to hope that

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they will not be repeated in the discussions of the Historical Criticism?

I have given two new chapters, one on the Credibility of Holy Scripture, the other on the Truthfulness of Holy Scripture. These chapters deal with burning questions also, which I have already considered at some length during my defence to the charges brought against me, touching the question of "the Inerrancy of Holy Scripture." I have, in these chapters, discussed the question from the point of view of the induction of facts from all the ranges of the Study of Holy Scripture; and have then carefully tested the so-called "*a priori* argument for the Inerrancy of Holy Scripture." I shall doubtless increase my offence in the eyes of those who condemned me before; but I have confidence that I have so stated the case as to give relief and help to the multitudes who have been disturbed and even crowded from Holy Church and Holy Scripture by the Pharisees of our times; and it is my comfort that I shall lead not a few, by these chapters, as I have by the grace of God through my other writings, back to Holy Scripture and Holy Church, with a firmer faith and a holy joy and love in their exhibition of the grace and glory of our God and Saviour.

The Table of Contents gives a full analysis of the volume. There are two indices. The Index of Texts may be used for reference in the exposition of a large number of the most important and difficult passages of Holy Scripture. The large-face type shows at a glance the most important references. The large-face type of the Index of Authors and Writings gives the passage where citations are made, or opinions are discussed, or titles of works are first given. The Bibliography of each subject may be found in its appropriate place in the volume in connection with the history of the discipline. The index will easily guide to all the titles of the books. There is really a much fuller bibliography in this volume proportion-

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ately than in the classified list of books given as an appendix to *Biblical Study*.

No one can read this book, whatever his opinion as to its merits may be, without saying that it corresponds with its title, and that the Bible is to the author *Holy Scripture*.

Biblical Study was dedicated to Roswell D. Hitchcock, D.D., LL.D., and Isaac A. Dorner, D.D., "survivors of two noble faculties to whom the author owes his theological training." These teachers have followed all my other teachers into the presence of our Lord. On this twenty-fifth anniversary of my professorate it seems appropriate, having become the senior professor in the Union Theological Seminary, that I should dedicate this volume to my pupils. This is especially gratifying because of the well-known loyalty with which they stood by me in those trying years when I was battling for truth and righteousness against an unreasoning panic about the Bible, and an anti-revision partisanship against those who had taken an active part in the movement for a revision of the Westminster Confession and the preparation of a new consensus creed; and also in those more trying years in which I suffered the penalties of unrighteous and illegal ecclesiastical discipline. In the class-room they have encouraged me by their studious attention, their confidence, and their enthusiasm; in the ministry they have been faithful and loyal. I feel bound to them not only as a teacher and a friend, but in the stronger bond of that Holy Love which Our Master taught, and which I have endeavoured also, in so far as I was able, to teach them. One of these pupils is my daughter, Emilie Grace Briggs, B.D., without whose patient, laborious, and scholarly help I could not have finished this volume. To her my thanks are due, in public as well as in private.

C. A. BRIGGS.

JANUARY, 1899.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

TO THE

STUDY OF HOLY SCRIPTURE

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CHAPTER I

THE ADVANTAGES OF THE STUDY OF HOLY SCRIPTURE

1. BIBLICAL Study is the most *important* of all studies, for it is the study of the Word of God, which contains a divine revelation of redemption to the world. Nowhere else can such a redemption be found save where it has been derived from this fountain source or from those sacred persons, institutions, and events presented to us in the Bible. The Bible is the chief source of the Christian religion, Christian theology, and Christian life. While other secondary and subsidiary sources may be used to advantage in connection with this principal source, they cannot dispense with it. For the Bible contains the revelation of redemption; the Messiah and His kingdom are the central theme; its varying contents lead by myriads of paths in converging lines to the throne of the God of grace. The Bible is the sure way of life, wisdom, and blessedness.

2. Biblical Study is the most *extensive* of all studies, for its themes are the central themes which are inextricably entwined in all knowledge. Into its channels every other study pours its supply as all the brooks and rivers flow into the ocean. The study of the Bible is a study for men of every class and every occupation in life, for all the world. No profound scholar in any department of investigation can avoid the Bible. Sooner or later his special studies will lead him thither. The Bible is an ocean of heavenly wisdom. The little child may sport upon its shores and derive instruction and delight. The most accomplished scholar finds its vast extent and mysterious depths beyond his grasp.

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We open the Bible and on its earliest pages are confronted with the story of the origin of the world, the creation of man, and the problem of evil. The biblical histories present, in brief yet impressive outlines, the struggle of good and evil, the strife of tribes and nations, and, above all, the interplay of divine and human forces, showing that a divine plan of the world is unfolding. The springs of human action, the secrets of human experience and motive, are disclosed in the measures of psalm and proverb. The character, attributes, and purposes of God are unveiled in the strains of holy prophets. The union of God and man in redemption is displayed in the progress of its literature. Two great covenants divide the plan of redemption into the old covenant and the new. The former presents us instructions which are a marvel of righteousness, sacredness, and love; institutions that are symmetrical and grand, combining, as nowhere else, the real and the ideal, — the light and guide to Israel bearing on to the new covenant. In the latter the Messiah presents His achievements of redemption in which are stored up the forces which have shaped the Christian centuries, and the secrets of the everlasting future. All the sciences and arts, all the literatures and histories, all the philosophies and religions of the world, gather about the Bible to make contribution to its study and derive help from its instruction. A student of the Bible needs encyclopædic knowledge. The Bible will never be mastered in all its parts until it is set in the midst of universal knowledge. It comes from the Supreme Wisdom, and it can be comprehended only by those who have attained the heights of wisdom.

3. Biblical Study is the most *profound* of all studies, for it has to do with the secrets of life and death, of God and man, of this world and other worlds. Its central contents are divine revelations. These came from God to man because man could not attain them otherwise. Even those contents of the Bible that are not revealed, are colored and shaped by the revelations with which they are connected. All study which goes beyond the surface soon reaches the mysterious. There are many mysteries that patient and persistent investigation has solved; others are in process of solution; still others future study may

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be able to solve. But the mysteries revealed in the Bible are those which man had not been able to attain by inductive and deductive investigation, and which it is improbable that he could have attained without special divine guidance, at least at the time that that knowledge was necessary for the progress of mankind at the stage in his historical development when the revelation was given. When the study of the other departments of human learning has reached their uttermost limits, there still remains a wide expanse between those limits and the contents of divine revelation, which man cannot cross by his own unaided powers. Divine revelation is to the other departments of human knowledge what heaven is to earth. It is above them, it encircles them, and it envelops them on every side. Like heaven, it discloses illimitable heights and breadths. Those things which are revealed lift the student of the Bible to regions of knowledge that reach forth to the infinite. And yet profound as the divine revelation is, it is simple. It is like the sunlight bearing its own evidence in itself. It is like the blue vault of heaven clear and bright. It is a revelation for babes as well as men, for the simple as well as the learned. God sendeth it as the rain on the just and the unjust, for "He is kind unto the unthankful and the evil."[1] The most profound study cannot master it. Any attentive study of it is rewarded with precious knowledge.

4. Biblical Study is the most *attractive* of all studies. Nowhere else is there so great a variety in unity. The Literature of the Bible has been carefully selected out of a vastly greater extent of Literature by the taste of God's people in many successive generations, each one adding its approval to that of its predecessors. This taste determined that which was given for the permanent blessing of mankind and discriminated the writings gathered in the Bible from others which were temporary, local, and provisional in their character. The wise guidance of the Divine Spirit on the one hand and the recognition of excellence by God's people on the other hand, co-worked to produce Holy Scripture.

In the Bible there is a wonderful variety of topic, covering

[1] Mt. 5^{45}; Lk. 6^{35}.

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the whole field of Theology, that divine science which embraces and absorbs all human knowledge. In the Bible there is a marvellous richness of material combining in one organic whole the sublime and the beautiful in God, in man, in nature, and in the interrelation of God with man and nature. In the Bible there is an extraordinary wealth of literary form and style, representing the thinking and the emotions of many generations; composed in three of the greatest languages used as the vehicle of communion of man with man.

In the Bible there is a magnificent unity and variety in history. Nowhere else are the generations of mankind so linked together. In the Bible the hearts of the fathers are turned to the children, and the hearts of the children to the fathers.[1] Though the Jewish people constitute the central nucleus of this marvellous story, they are not the whole of it. They are the centre of a story which is as wide as humanity and whose circumference is the creation of God.

The Bible is as various as human life is various. It is interesting to the child, it attracts the peasant, it charms the prince, it absorbs the sage. It is the Book of love, salvation, and glory for all the world.

Obstacles to the Study of Holy Scripture

The Bible is designed for the blessing of all mankind. But all have not enjoyed its benefits; partly because those who have the Bible in their possession have not made it known to their fellow-men as they were commissioned to do by our Saviour;[2] and partly because they have made the Bible known only so far as they understood it, or they supposed that their fellow-men were able to receive it. If they have given it to others at all, it has been in such bits of it as the teachers were able to explain to their humble and obedient pupils. Even in Christian lands, where the Bible may easily be found, there are few who experience its ideal advantages. Too many religious teachers, in mistaken zeal, are so anxious to guard the sanctity of the Bible that they refrain from opening its treas-

[1] Mal. 4^{6}. [2] Mk. 16^{15}.

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ures to the free use of the people. Other teachers in all generations perpetuate the work of the Pharisees and obtrude their theories and speculations upon the Bible, making the Word of God of none effect through their traditions; they take away the key of knowledge; they enter not in themselves, and them that are entering in they hinder.[1] If the Bible has been withheld from the people by Roman priests, obstacles to the study of the Bible have been erected in the path of students by Protestant ministers. It would be a happy result if each could so expose the sin and guilt of the other as to induce both to bring forth fruits meet for repentance and to render entire obedience to the commission of Christ.

1. The Study of the Bible is most commonly obstructed among Protestants by *Bibliolatry*.

The Bible has been hedged about with awe as if the use of it, except in solemn circumstances and with special and prescribed devotional feelings, was a sin against the Holy Spirit. Men have been kept from the Bible as from the holy sacraments by dread of the serious consequences involved in any fault in their use. The Bible has been made an unnatural and unreal book, by attaching it exclusively to hours of devotion, and detaching it from the experiences of ordinary life. The study of the Bible will inevitably lead to holy and devout thoughts, will surely bring the student to the presence of God and His Christ, and will certainly secure the guidance of the Spirit of God. But it is a sad mistake to suppose that the Bible can be approached only in special frames of mind and with peculiar devotional preparation. It is not to be covered as with a funereal pall and laid away for hours of sorrow and affliction. It is not to be placed upon an altar and its use reserved for hours of public or private worship. It is not to be regarded with feelings of bibliolatry.[2] It is not to be used as a book of magic,

[1] Mt. 15[6]; Mk. 7[13]; Lk. 11[52]; Col. 2[8].

[2] It is noteworthy that the most radical Protestants, those who are most bitter in their denunciation of the adoration of the Holy Sacrament by such of their fellow-Christians as believe in the real substantial presence of our Lord therein, are the very ones who are most inclined to Bibliolatry. It is certainly no easier to think that our Saviour should dwell between the covers of a book than that He should be resident for a time in the bread of the Holy Communion.

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as if it had the mysterious power of determining all questions at the opening of the book.[1] It is not to be used as a cabalistic book, to determine from its words and letters, the structure of its sentences, mysterious guidance for the initiated alone.[2] It is not to be used as an astrologer's horoscope, to discover from its wondrous symbolism, through seeming coincidences, the fulfilment of biblical prophecy in the events transpiring round about us or impending over us. The Bible is no such book as this. It is a book of life, a real book, a people's book. It is a blessed means of grace when used in devotional hours, — it has also holy lessons and beauties of thought and sentiment for hours of leisure and recreation. It appeals to the æsthetic and intellectual as well as moral and spiritual faculties, the whole man in his whole life. Familiarity with the Bible is to be encouraged. It will not decrease, but rather enhance the reverence with which we ought to approach the Holy God in His Word. The Bible takes its place among the masterpieces of the world's literature. The use of it as such no more interferes with devotion than the beauty and grandeur of architecture and music prevent the adoration of God in the worship of a cathedral. Rather the varied forms of beauty, truth, and goodness displayed in the Bible will conspire to bring us to Him who is the centre and inspiration of them all.

2. The Study of the Bible is obstructed by *sectarian partisanship*. A sin against the Bible is often committed by the indiscriminate use of proof texts in dogmatic assertion and debate. These texts are hurled against one another by zealous partisans in controversy with such differences and inconsistency of interpretation as to excite the disgust of all openminded persons. It has become a proverb that anything can be proved from the Bible. Then again the Bible is too often used as a text-book of abstract definitions giving absolute truth. The Protestant Reformers threw aside the authority of the Church as the in-

[1] There are many sad instances of this misuse of the Bible. Doubtless there are cases in which there has apparently been good guidance, but there are others in which men and women have been misled to the ruin of themselves and other people. This method of resorting to a divine oracle is less likely to lead to faith and holiness than to disappointment, distrust of God, and eventual unbelief.

[2] See Chap. XVIII. p. 432, for this method of using the Old Testament.

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fallible interpreter of the Bible and refused to submit to the interpretation of the Fathers of the Church as final. They asserted the right of private judgment for themselves and others. But their successors established a Protestant rule of faith which became as tyrannical over private judgment as Roman tradition had ever been. Over against these abuses, we maintain that the Bible was not made for ecclesiastical dogmaticians and lawyers, but for the people of God. It gives the concrete in the forms and methods of literature. Its statements are ordinarily relative; they depend upon the context in which they are imbedded, the scope of the author's argument, his peculiar point of view, his type of thought, his literary style, his position in the unfolding of divine revelation. There are occasional passages so pregnant with meaning that they seem to present, as it were, the quintessence of the whole Bible. Such texts were called by Luther little bibles. But ordinarily, the texts can be properly understood only in their context. To detach them from their place and use them as if they stood alone, and deduce from them all that the words and sentences may be constrained to give, as absolute statements, is an abuse of logic and the Bible. Such a use of other books would be open to the charge of misrepresentation. Such a use of the Bible is an adding unto the Word of God new meanings and a taking away from it the true meaning. Against this we are warned by the Bible itself.[1] Deduction, inference, and application may be used within due bounds, but they must always be based upon a correct apprehension of the text and context of the passage. These processes should be conducted with great caution, lest in transferring the thought to new conditions and circumstances, there be an insensible assimilation first of its form and then of its content to these conditions and circumstances, and it become so transformed as to lose its biblical character and become a tradition of man. It is a melancholy feature of Biblical Study that so much attention must be given to the removal of the rubbish of traditional misconceptions and misinterpretations that has been heaped upon the Word of God continually just as in the times

[1] Rev. $22^{18.\ 19}$.

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of Jesus. The Bible is like an oasis in a desert. Eternal vigilance and unceasing activity are necessary to prevent the sands from encroaching upon it and overwhelming its fertile soil and springs of water.

The Bible was given to us in the forms of the world's literature, and its meaning is to be determined by the reader as he determines the meaning of other literature by the same principles of exegesis. It is a Protestant principle that the Word of God should be given to the people in their own familiar tongue with the right of private judgment in its interpretation. It is a corollary of this principle that they be taught that it is to be understood in a natural sense, as other writings are understood. The right of private judgment is debased when partisanship determines that judgment and when sectarianism perverts it. The Bible was not given to sustain the partisan or to uphold the sect; but to teach the Truth of God and to guide in the holy life. The right of private judgment implies the right to seek the Truth in the Bible and the duty to teach that Truth without fear or favour. Any unnatural and artificial interpretation of the Bible bears its own condemnation in itself. The saving truths of Scripture can be "savingly understood" only through the illumination of the Spirit of God,[1] but this is not for the reason that they are not sufficiently plain and intelligible, or that some special principles of interpretation are needed of a bibliolatrous, scholastic, or cabalistic sort; it is owing to the fact that in order to salvation they must be applied to the soul of man by a divine agent, and appropriated by the faith of the heart and the practice of the life.

3. The Study of the Bible has been greatly hindered by the use of it as an *obstruction to progress in knowledge and in life.* The craving for place and power is felt by self-willed men in all ages and in all callings. The Church has not been able to keep itself free from such ambitions. Ecclesiastical domination is the worst kind of domination, because it is so contrary to the ideal of the Church and the example of Christ. And yet in every generation men arise who claim to be the cham-

[1] *Westminster Confession*, I. 6. See pp. 485 *seq.*

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pions of orthodoxy and the guardians of ecclesiastical authority. They assert the authority of the Church and hold up texts from the Bible as the supreme test of every new thing that is proposed for the improvement of mankind. They presume to oppose the discoveries of science, the researches of philosophy, the unfolding of theology into fresher and better statements, the improvement of religious life and work, and even the deeper and more thorough study of the Bible, by holding up isolated texts and insisting on antiquated interpretations. Nearly every profound thinker, since the days of Socrates, has been obliged to pause in his work and defend himself, like the apostle Paul, against these "dogs" and "evil workers."[1] Galileo was silenced by the quoting of the Bible against the Copernican theory of the revolution of the earth around the sun.[2] Descartes had to defend his orthodoxy. The enemies of the critical philosophy of Kant charged that no critic who followed out the consequences of his positions could be a good man, a good citizen, or a good Christian.[3]

The results of Geology have been opposed by those who insist that the world was made in six days of twenty-four hours. Biology has to fight its way against those who affirm that the doctrine of development is against the Scriptures. Such use of the Bible has too often the effect of driving scholars away from it, and especially from the Old Testament, the most abused part of it.[4]

Every advance in the study of the Bible has been confronted by these enemies of the truth. The investigation of the Canon, Textual Criticism, the Higher Criticism, Historical Criticism, Biblical Theology, all these departments had to fight for exist-

[1] Phil. 3[2].

[2] White, *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom.* N. Y. 1896. Vol. I. pp. 130 *seq.*

[3] These points are discussed by Krug, *Ueber das Verhältniss der Kritischen Philosophie zur moralischen, politischen und religiösen Kultur der Menschen.* Jena, 1798.

[4] "The fact is therefore indisputable, that theologians have handled Scripture on such faulty principles, that they have laid down as truths indisputably divine a number of dogmas which have brought revelation into direct collision with some of the greatest discoveries of modern science, and that after having, on their first enunciation, denounced them as inconsistent with the belief that Scripture contains the record of a divine revelation, they have been compelled to

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ence, and then, after they had won their right to exist, have the still more difficult battle to wage against those hypocritical and traitorous companions who make a show of using the principles and methods of the scientific study of the Bible, either for the purpose of discrediting them, or else as advocates and partisans of traditional and sectarian opinions. The history of all these combats is the same. The theological Bourbons never learn anything from past defeats. They repeat the same obstructive methods, and, when defeated, make the same insincere apologies. The race of time-servers continues to propagate itself from age to age. They always take the *via media* and lean to the traditional side. They always encourage the traditionalists, and obstruct faithful biblical scholars. And so the combat goes on.[1] The Divine Spirit leads into all the truth in spite of every obstacle erected by Christian dogmaticians and ecclesiastical assemblies. The later theologians correct the earlier theologians, and later ecclesiastical assemblies always eventually give their voice on the side of the Truth of God.

But it is ever necessary for the friends of truth and of prog-

accept them as unquestionable verities. Moreover, the general distrust arising from failures of this kind has been intensified by the pertinacity with which theologians have clung to various unsound positions which they have only abandoned when further resistance had become impossible. The history of the conflict between Science and Revelation is full of such instances, and the consequences have been disastrous in the extreme." — C. A. Row, *Revelation and Modern Theology Contrasted.* London, 1883. p. 7.

[1] "The newer thought moved steadily on. As already in Protestant Europe, so now in the Protestant churches of America, it took strong hold on the foremost minds in many of the churches known as orthodox: Toy, Briggs, Francis Brown, Evans, Preserved Smith, Moore, Haupt, Harper, Peters, and Bacon developed it, and, though most of them were opposed bitterly by synods, councils, and other authorities of their respective churches, they were manfully supported by the more intellectual clergy and laity. The greater universities of the country ranged themselves on the side of these men; persecution but intrenched them more firmly in the hearts of all intelligent well-wishers of Christianity. The triumphs won by their opponents in assemblies, synods, conventions, and conferences were really victories for the nominally defeated, since they revealed to the world the fact that in each of these bodies the strong and fruitful thought of the Church, the thought which alone can have any hold on the future, was with the new race of thinkers; no theological triumphs more surely fatal to the victors have been won since the Vatican defeated Copernicus and Galileo." — White, *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom.* Vol. II. p. 370.

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ress in the Church to oppose and to overcome obstructionists. It is the duty of all lovers of the Bible to break up the superstitions that cluster about it, to expose the false polemic use of its texts, to prevent dogmaticians from using it as an obstacle to progress in civilization, and to show that it favours all truth and every form of scholarly investigation. The Bible is an honest book in all its parts, — it is the Word of God, and every sincere disciple of wisdom will find in its pages not only the real and the highest truth, but will be stimulated and encouraged to press forward under the guidance of the Holy Spirit unto all truth.[1]

The design of this book is to set forth the principles and methods of the Study of Holy Scripture, to describe its departments, and to give sketches of their history. It is proposed, first of all, to survey the whole field, and then to examine in more detail the several departments. We shall aim to explain the true uses of the Bible and show throughout that Biblical Study is, as we have claimed, the most important, extensive, profound, and attractive of all studies.

[1] John 16^{13}.

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CHAPTER II

THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY OF HOLY SCRIPTURE

THE general term for the various departments of the Study of Holy Scripture as given in most Theological Encyclopædias is Exegetical Theology. Exegetical Theology is one of the four grand divisions of Theological Science. It is related to the other divisions, as the primary and fundamental discipline upon which they depend, and from which they derive their chief materials. Exegetical Theology is not an appropriate term for the study of the Bible, especially as that study is now understood. For the exegetical study of the Bible, although an important section of Biblical Study, is far from being the whole of it. And the work of exegesis is just as important in the study of the sources of Church History, or the sources of any other study. No one can study the Bible thoroughly and completely without the use of the historical method and without also the systematic organization of his material, and the practical use of it. We shall use for our purpose, therefore, the simpler term Study of Holy Scripture.

This study is limited to the Holy Scripture itself and to those auxiliary departments, which are in essential relation to it. It has to do with the Sacred Scriptures, their origin, history, character, exposition, doctrines, and guidance in life. It is true that the other branches of theology have likewise to do with the sacred writings, in that their chief material is derived therefrom, but they differ from the study we now have in view, not only in their methods of using this material, but likewise in the fact, that they do not themselves search out and gather this material directly from the holy writings, but depend upon the more particular Study of Holy Scripture therefor. Church

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History traces the development of that material as the determining element in the history of the Church of God; Dogmatic Theology arranges that material in the form most appropriate for systematic study, for attack and defence, in accordance with the needs of the age; Practical Theology directs that material to the conversion of the people, and training them in the holy life. Thus the whole of theology depends upon the study of Holy Scripture, and unless this department be thoroughly wrought out and established, the whole theological structure will be weak and frail, and it will be found, in the critical hour, resting on the shifting sands of human opinion and practice, rather than on the immovable rock of Divine Truth.

The Study of Holy Scripture is all the more important, that each age has its own peculiar phase or department of truth to elaborate in the theological conception and in the life. Unless, therefore, theology freshens its life by ever-repeated draughts from Holy Scripture, it will be unequal to the tasks imposed upon it. It will not solve the problems of the thoughtful, dissolve the doubts of the cautious, or disarm the objections of the enemies of the truth. History will not do so with her experience, unless she grasp the torch of divine revelation, which alone can illuminate the future and clear up the dark places of the present and the past. Dogmatic Theology will not satisfy the demands of the age if she appear in the worn-out armour or antiquated costume of former generations. She must beat out for herself a new suit of armour from biblical material which is ever new; she must weave to herself a fresh and sacred costume of doctrine from the Scriptures which never disappoint the requirements of mankind; and thus armed and equipped with the weapons of the Living One, she will prove them quick and powerful, convincing and invincible, in her training of the disciple, and her conflicts with the infidel and heretic. And so Practical Theology will never be able to convert the world to Christ, and sanctify the Church, without ever renewing its life from the biblical fountain. The pure, noble, and soul-satisfying truths of God's Word must so pervade our liturgy, hymnology, catechetical instruction, pastoral work and preaching, as to supply the necessities of

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the age, for "man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God."[1]

The history of the Church, and Christian experience, have shown that in so far as the other branches of theology have separated themselves from this fundamental discipline, and in proportion to the neglect to study Holy Scripture, the Church has fallen into a dead orthodoxy of scholasticism, has lost its hold upon the masses of mankind, so that, with its foundations undermined, it has yielded but feeble resistance to the onsets of infidelity. And it has ever been that the reformation or revival has come through the resort to the sacred oracles, and the reorganization of a freshly stated body of doctrine, and fresh methods of evangelization derived therefrom. We thus have reason to thank God that heresy and unbelief so often drive us to our citadel, the Sacred Scriptures, and force us back to the impregnable fortress of Divine Truth, so that, depending no longer merely upon human weapons and defences, we may use rather the divine. Thus we reconquer all that may have been lost through the slackness and incompetence of those who have been more anxious for the old ways than for strength of position and solid truth, and by new enterprises we advance a stage onward in our victorious progress toward the End. Our adversaries may overthrow our systems of theology, our confessions and catechisms, our local church organizations and methods of work, for these are, after all, human productions, the hastily thrown up outworks of the truth; but they can never contend successfully against the Word of God that liveth and abideth,[2] which, though the heavens fall and the earth pass away, will not fail in one jot or tittle from the most complete fulfilment,[3] which will shine in new beauty and glory as its parts are one by one searchingly examined, and which will prove itself not only invincible, but all-conquering, as point after point is most hotly contested. We are assured that at last it will claim universal obedience as the pure and faultless mirror of Him who is Himself the effulgence of the Father's glory and the very image of His substance.[4]

[1] Deut. 8^{3}; Mt. 4^{4}. [2] 1 Pet. 1^{23}. [3] Mt. 5^{18}.
[4] 2 Cor. 3^{18}; Heb. 1^{3}. See Briggs, *Messiah of Apostles*, p. 244.

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It is an important characteristic of the Reformed churches that they give the Sacred Scriptures such a fundamental position in their confessions and catechisms, and lay so much stress upon the so-called *formal* principle of the Protestant Reformation. Thus in both Helvetic confessions and in the Westminster confession they constitute the first article,[1] while in the Heidelberg and Westminster catechisms they are placed at the foundation — in the former as the source of our knowledge of sin and misery and of salvation;[2] in the latter, as dividing the catechism into two parts, teaching "what man is to believe concerning God, and what duty God requires of man";[3] and the English *Articles of Religion* lay down the principle of the Anglican Church that: "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation."[4]

The Study of Holy Scripture being thus, according to its idea, the fundamental theological discipline, and all-important as the fruitful source of theology, it must be thoroughly elaborated in all its parts according to exact and well-defined scientific methods. The methods proper to the discipline are the synthetic and the historical, the relative importance of which is contested. The importance of the historical method is so great that not a few have regarded the discipline, as a whole, as at once a primary division of Historical Theology. The examination of the biblical sources, the Sacred Writings, being of the same essential character as the examination of other historical documents, they should be considered simply as the sources of Biblical History, and thus the writings themselves would be most appropriately treated under a history of Biblical Literature, and the doctrines under a history of Biblical Doctrine.[5] But the sacred writings are not merely sources of historical information; they are the

[1] Niemeyer, *Collectio Confess.*, pp. 115, 467; Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, 1877, III. pp. 211, 237. [2] Quest. iii. xix.

[3] *Larger Catechism*, Quest. v.; *Shorter Catechism*, Quest. iii. [4] Art. VI.

[5] Compare the author's articles on Biblical Theology, *American Presbyterian Review*, 1870, pp. 122 *seq.*, and *Presbyterian Review*, July, 1882, pp. 503 *seq.*, and Chap. XXIII. of this volume.

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sources of the Faith to be believed and the morals to be practised by all the world; they are of everlasting value as the sum total of sacred doctrine and teaching for mankind, being not only for the past, but for the present and the future, as God's Holy Word to the human race, so that their value as historical documents becomes entirely subordinate to their value as a canon of Holy Scripture, the norm and rule of faith and life. Hence the synthetic method must predominate over the historical, as the proper exegetical method, and induction rule in all departments of the work; for it is the office of our discipline to gather from these sacred writings, as the storehouse of Divine Truth, the holy material, in order to arrange it by a process of induction and generalization into the generic forms that may best express the conceptions of the Sacred Scriptures themselves.

From this point of view it is clear that the analytic method can have but a very subordinate place in our branch of theology. It may be necessary in separating the material in the work of gathering it, but this is only in order to the synthetic process to which it leads and which must ever prevail. It is owing to the improper application of the analytic method to exegesis, that such sad mistakes have been made in interpreting the Word of God, making exegesis the slave of dogmatics and tradition, when she can only thrive as the free-born daughter of truth. Her word does not yield to dogmatics, and before her voice tradition must ever give way. For exegesis cannot go to the text with preconceived opinions and dogmatic views that will constrain the text to accord with them, but rather with a living faith in the perspicuity and power of the Word of God *alone*, *of itself*, to persuade and convince; and with reverential fear of the voice of Him who speaks through it, which involves assurance of the truth, and submission and prompt obedience to His will. Thus, exegesis does not start from the unity to investigate the variety, but from the variety to find the unity. It does not seek the author's view and the divine doctrine through an analysis of the writing, the chapter, the verse, down to the word; but, inversely, it starts with the word and the clause, pursuing its way through the verse, paragraph, section, chapter, writing, collection of writings, the entire Bible, until the whole

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Word of God is displayed before the mind from the summit that has been attained after a long and arduous climbing.

Thus the Study of Holy Scripture is altogether scientific: its premises and materials are no less clear and tangible than those with which any other science has to do, and its results are vastly more important than those of all other sciences combined, for they concern our salvation and everlasting welfare. Furthermore, this material, with which we have to do, is the very Word of God to man, and we have a science that deals with immutable facts and infallible truths, so that our science takes its place in the circle of sciences, as the royal, yes, the divine science. But this position will be accorded it by the sciences only in so far as theology as a whole is true to the spirit and character of its fundamental discipline, and just so long as it is open-eyed for all truth, courts investigation and criticism of its own materials and methods, and does not assume a false position of dogmatism and traditional prejudice, or attempt to tyrannize over the other sciences or obstruct their earnest researches after the truth.

The Study of Holy Scripture being thus fundamental and important, having such thoroughgoing scientific methods, it must have manifold divisions and subdivisions of its work. These, in their order and mutual relation, are determined by a proper adjustment of its methods and the subordination of the historical to the inductive process. Thus at the outset there are imposed upon those who would enter upon the study of the Sacred Scriptures certain primary and fundamental questions respecting the holy writings, such as: Which are the sacred writings? why do we call them sacred? whence did they originate? under what historical circumstances were they written? who were their authors? to whom were they addressed? what was their design? are the writings that have come down to us genuine? is the text reliable? These questions may be referred to the general department of *Biblical Literature*. Then the Scriptures are to be interpreted according to correct principles and methods, with all the light that the study of centuries throws upon them. This is *Biblical Exegesis*. Finally, the results of this exegetical process are to be gathered into organisms of *Biblical His-*

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tory and of *Biblical Theology*. These then are the four grand divisions into which our discipline naturally divides itself, each in turn having its appropriate subordinate departments.

I. Biblical Literature

Biblical Literature has as its work to determine all those introductory questions that may arise respecting the sacred writings, preliminary to the work of exegesis. These questions are various, yet may be grouped in accordance with a general principle. But it is, first of all, necessary to limit the bounds of our department and exclude from it all that does not properly come within its sphere. Thus Hagenbach[1] brings into consideration here certain questions which he assigns to the auxiliary disciplines of Sacred Philology, Sacred Archæology, and Sacred Canonics. But it is difficult to see why, if these are in any essential relation to our department, they should not be logically incorporated, while if they do not stand in such close relations why they should not be referred to their own proper departments of study. Thus Sacred Canonics clearly belongs to our discipline, as a necessary part of Biblical Literature.[2] Sacred Archæology belongs no less certainly to Biblical History.[3] Sacred Philology should not be classed with Theology at all; for the languages of the Bible are not sacred from any inherent virtue in them, but only for the reason that they have been selected as the vehicle of divine revelation, and thus their connection with the Scriptures is providential rather than necessary. And still further, all departments of theology are in mutual relation to one another, and in a higher scale all the departments of learning — such as theology, philosophy, philology, and history — act and react upon one another. Hence, that one department of study is related to another does not imply that it should be made auxiliary thereto. Thus the languages of Scripture are to be studied precisely as the other languages, as a part of General Philology. The Hellenistic Greek is a dialect of the Greek language, which is itself a prominent member of the Indo-Germanic family; while the Hebrew and

[1] *Encyklopädie*, 9te Aufl., *s.* 40. [2] See p. 21. [3] See p. 37.

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Aramaic are sisters with the Assyrian and Syriac, the Arabic and Ethiopic, the Phœnician and Samaritan, of the Shemitic family. The study of these languages, as languages, properly belongs to the college or university course, and has no appropriate place in the theological seminary. Valuable time is consumed in these preparatory studies that is taken from our study itself and never fully compensated for. One might as truly study general history in the theological course as a preparation for Church History, and philosophy as a preparation for Dogmatic Theology, and rhetoric as a preparation for Practical Theology. All these alike are preparatory disciplines, belonging to the college and not to the theological school.

The Shemitic languages are constantly rising into prominence, over against the Indo-Germanic family, and demand their appropriate place in the curriculum of a liberal education. Philologists and theologians should unitedly insist that a place should be found for them in the college course ;[1] and that this valuable department of knowledge, upon the pursuit of which so much depends for the history of the Orient, the origin of civilization and mankind, as well as for the whole subject of the three great religions of the world, should not be neglected in our institutions of learning. It should be made evident that philology, history, and philosophy are essential for those who are in their collegiate courses preparing for the Study of Theology.[2]

There can be no thorough mastery of the Hebrew tongue by

[1] German theology has a great advantage, in that the theological student is already prepared in the gymnasium for the university with a knowledge of Hebrew relatively equivalent to his Greek. The Presbyterians of Scotland require an elementary knowledge of Hebrew, in order to entrance upon the theological course. In the Roman theological training, the languages of the Bible belong to the introductory philosophical course, and are not included in the four years' course of theology proper. When my *Biblical Study* was issued, in 1883, no more than three or four American universities and colleges made provision for the study of the Hebrew language in their courses. In recent years great progress has been made. Almost all the large colleges and universities have introduced the Shemitic languages as elective. And several theological schools have special classes for students who take entrance examinations in Hebrew. In Union Theological Seminary, New York, such classes for advanced students in Hebrew and Biblical Greek are in successful operation.

[2] See my article, "The Scope of Theology and its Place in the University," *The American Journal of Theology*, January, 1897. See also Chap. III.

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clinging reverently to the traditional methods of Hebrew study or those in use among Jews who learn to speak and write modern Hebrew. We might as well expect to master the classic Latin from the language of the monks, or classic Greek from modern Greece. The cognate languages are indispensable. And it is just here that a rich treasure, prepared by Divine Providence for these times, is pouring into our laps. The Assyrian alone, as recently brought to light, and established in her position as one of the older sisters, is of inestimable value, not to speak of the Arabic and Syriac, the Ethiopic, Phœnician, Samaritan, and the lesser languages and dialects that the monuments are constantly revealing. Immense material is now at hand, and is still being gathered from these sources, that has considerably modified our views of the Hebrew language, and of the history and religion of the Hebrews in relation to the other peoples of the Orient. We now know that the Hebrew language has such a thing as a syntax, and that it is a highly organized and wonderfully flexible and beautiful tongue, the result of centuries of development. As the bands of Rabbinical tradition are one after another falling off, the inner spirit and life of the language are disclosing themselves, the dry bones are clothing themselves with flesh, and rich, warm blood is animating the frame, giving to the features nobility and beauty.[1] If the Church is to be renowned for its mastery of the Bible, if the symbols and the life of the Church are to harmonize, Christian theologians must advance and occupy this rich and fruitful field for the Lord, and not

[1] It is exceedingly gratifying that our American students are eagerly entering upon these studies. The large classes in the cognate languages, in our seminaries, promise great things for the future in this regard. Twenty-five years ago, when I began teaching in Union Theological Seminary, New York, little attention was given to the cognate languages. I organized a graded course in Biblical Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic, to which Assyrian was soon added by Professor Francis Brown. Since then the study of the Shemitic languages has become common in most of our theological seminaries and universities. The leaders in this movement have been C. H. Toy, of Harvard; W. R. Harper, formerly of Yale, now of Chicago; J. P. Peters, formerly of Philadelphia; and George Moore, of Andover. The classes in the Shemitic languages in our American seminaries and universities average a larger number of students than those in the universities of Germany, and are greatly in excess of those in Great Britain.

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abandon it to those whose interests are purely philological or historical.

While, therefore, I exclude the study of the Hebrew and cognate languages from the proper range of the study of Holy Scripture, I magnify their importance, not only to the theological student, but also to the entire field of scholarship. Other scholars may do without them, but for the theologian these studies are indispensable, and he must at the very beginning strain all his energies to the mastery of the Hebrew tongue. If it has not been done before entering upon the study of theology, it must be done in the very beginnings of that study, or else he will be forever crippled.

We now have to define more closely the proper field of *Biblical Literature*. Biblical Literature has to do with all questions respecting the Sacred Scriptures that may be necessary to prepare the way for Biblical Exegesis. Looking at the Sacred Scriptures as the sources to be investigated, three fields of inquiry present themselves: the canon, the text, and the writings. Three groups of questions arise: 1. As to the idea, extent, character, and authority of the *canon*, collected as the Sacred Scriptures of the Church. 2. As to the *text* of which the canon is composed, the manuscripts in which it is preserved, the translations of it, and the citations from it in ancient authors. 3. As to the origin, authorship, time of composition, character, design, and destination of the *writings* that claim, or are claimed, to belong to the Sacred Scriptures. These subordinate branches of Biblical Literature may be called Biblical Canonics, the Lower or Textual Criticism, and the Higher Criticism.

1. *Biblical Canonics* considers the *canon* of Holy Scripture as to its idea, its historical formation, its extent, character, authority, and historical influence. These inquiries are to be made in accordance with historical and synthetic methods. We are not to start with preconceived dogmatic views as to the idea of the canon, but derive this idea by induction from the Sacred Writings themselves. In the same manner we have to decide all other questions that may rise. Thus the extent of the canon is not to be determined by the consensus of the

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Church,[1] or by the citation and reverent use of Scriptures in the Fathers, or by their recognition by the earliest standard authorities,[2] for these historical evidences, so important in Historical Theology, have no value in the Study of the Holy Scripture. Canonicity is not rightly defined by the accord of a writing with orthodoxy or the rule of faith,[3] for such a test is too broad, in that other writings than sacred are orthodox, and again too narrow, in that the standard is the shifting one of subjective opinion, or external human authority, which, indeed, presupposes the canon itself as an object of criticism. Still less can we determine canonicity by apostolic or prophetic authorship. It is by no means certain that all prophetic and apostolic writings would be canonical even if they had been preserved. And it is in fact impossible to prove prophetic and apostolic authorship for the majority of the canonical writings unless we use these terms so broadly as to give them no definite reference to any known prophets and apostles. Such external reasons, historical or dogmatic, may have a provisional and temporary authority; but the one only permanent and final decision of these questions comes from the internal marks and characteristics of the Scriptures, their recognition of one another, their harmony with the idea, character, and development of a divine revelation, as it is derived from the Scriptures themselves, as well as from their own well-tested and critically examined claims to inspiration and authority, and, above all, from the divine authority speaking by and with them to the Church and the Christian. These reasons, and these alone, gave them their historical position and authority as a canon; and these alone perpetuate their authority to every successive generation of Christians. It is only on this basis that the historical and dogmatic questions may be prop-

[1] Indeed, there is no consensus with reference to the extent of the canon whether it includes the Apocryphal books or not, and, still further, the opinions of recognized ancient authorities differ in the matter of distinguishing within the canon, between writings of primary and of secondary authority.

[2] These, indeed, are not entirely agreed, and if they were, they could only give us a human and fallible authority.

[3] It was in accordance with this subjective standard that Luther rejected the epistle of James and the book of Esther. Comp. Dorner, *Gesch. der Protest. Theologie*, 1868, *s.* 234 *seq.*

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erly considered, with reference to their recognition by Jew and Christian, and with regard to their authority in the Church. The writings having been determined in their limits as a canon of Holy Scripture, we are prepared for the second step, the examination of the text itself.

2. *Textual Criticism* considers the text of the Sacred Scriptures both as a whole and as to the several writings in detail. The Sacred Writings have shared the fate of all human productions in their transmission from hand to hand, and in the multiplication of copies. Hence, through the mistakes of copyists, the intentional corruption of the heretic, the supposed improvement of the over-anxious orthodox, and the efforts of Christian scribes to explain and to apply the sacred truth to the readers, the manuscripts which have been preserved betray differences of readings. This department has a wide field of investigation. First of all, the peculiarities of the Bible languages must be studied, and the idiomatic individualities of the respective authors. Then the age of the various manuscripts must be determined, their peculiarities and relative importance in genealogical descent. The ancient versions come into the field, especially the Septuagint, the Aramaic and Samaritan Targums, the Syriac Peshitto, and the Latin Vulgate. Each of these in turn has to go through the same sifting as to the critical value of its own text. Here, especially in the Old Testament, we go back of any surviving manuscripts and are brought face to face with differences that can be accounted for only on the supposition of originals, whose peculiarities have been lost. To these may be added the citations of the original text in the Fathers and the Talmud and in the numerous writings of Hebrew and Christian scholars. Then we have the still more difficult comparison of parallel passages, in the Sacred Scriptures themselves where differences of text show differences reaching far back of any known manuscript or version.[1] Textual criticism has to meet all these

[1] Comp. Ps. 14 with Ps. 53; Ps. 18 with 2 Sam. 22; and the books of Samuel and Kings, on the one hand, with the books of the Chronicler on the other, and, indeed, throughout. Compare also the canonical books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel with the Apocryphal additions and supplements in the Septuagint ver-

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difficulties, answer all the questions which emerge, and harmonize and adjust all the differences, in order that, so far as possible, the genuine, original, pure, and uncorrupted text of the Word of God may be gained, as it proceeded directly from the original authors to the original readers. This department of study is all the more difficult for the Old Testament, that the field is so immense, the writings so numerous, various, and ancient, the languages so little understood in their historical peculiarities, and, still further, in that we have to overcome the prejudices of the Massoretic system, which, while faithful and reliable so far as the knowledge of the times of the Massoretes went, yet, as resting simply on tradition, without critical or historical investigation, and without any proper conception of the general principles of Hebrew grammar and comparative Shemitic philology, cannot be accepted as final; for the time has long since passed when the vowel points and accents of the Massoretic text can be deemed inspired. We have to go back of them, to the unpointed text, for all purposes of criticism. And the unpointed text itself needs correction in accordance with the rules of Textual Criticism.

3. *The Higher Criticism* is distinguished from the Lower or Textual Criticism by presupposing the text and dealing with individual writings and groups of writings. The Higher is contrasted with the Lower in this usage as the second or higher stage of a work is contrasted with the first or lower stage, or more fundamental part of a work.[1] The parts of writings should be first investigated, the individual writings before the collected ones. With reference to each writing, or, it may be, part of a writing, we have to determine the historical origin and authorship, the original readers, the design and character

sion, and finally the citation of earlier writings in the later ones, especially in the New Testament. An interesting and delicate work of criticism is to compare in the Gospels the different versions of the original Logia of Jesus.

[1] Some ignorant people in recent discussions seemed to think that Higher meant a pretentious and arrogant claim that this criticism was higher than the older traditional opinion. The newer criticism is doubtless vastly higher, nobler, and better in every way than the uncritical traditional method of handling Biblical Literature; but the term was not used historically with any such meaning and it never has had any such meaning in the minds of biblical scholars.

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of the composition, and its relation to other writings of its group. These questions must be settled partly by *external historical* evidence, but chiefly by *internal* evidence, such as the language, style of composition, archæological and historical traces, the conceptions of the author respecting the various subjects of human thought, and the like. With reference to such questions as these, we have little help from traditional views or dogmatic opinions which originally were mere conjectures or hastily formed opinions without sufficient consideration of the laws of evidence or the matter of the evidence itself. The antiquity of such conjectures does not enhance their value any more than it does other errors and mistakes. Whatever may have been the prevailing views in the Church with reference to the Pentateuch, the Psalter, or the Gospel of John, or any other book of Holy Scripture, these will not deter the conscientious exegete from accepting and teaching the results of a critical study of the Sacred Writings themselves.

It is just here that Christian theologians have greatly injured the cause of the truth and the Bible by dogmatizing in a department where it is least of all appropriate, and, indeed, to the highest degree improper; as if our faith depended at all upon these traditional opinions respecting the Word of God. By their frequent and shameful defeats and routs traditionalists bring disgrace not only upon themselves but upon the cause they misrepresent. They alarm weak but pious souls who have taken refuge in the fortress itself, and then prejudice the sincere inquirer against the Scriptures, as if these questions of the Higher Criticism were questions upon whose decision depended orthodoxy or piety, or allegiance to the Word of God or the symbols of the Church. The Westminster standards teach that "the Word of God is the only rule of faith and obedience,"[1] and that "the authority of the Holy Scripture for which it ought to be believed and obeyed, dependeth not upon the testimony of any man or church, but wholly upon God, the author thereof."[2] The other Protestant symbols are in accord with them. How unorthodox it is, therefore, to set up another rule of prevalent opinion as to questions of the Higher Criti-

[1] *Larger Catechism*, Quest. iii. [2] *Confess. of Faith*, Chap. I. 4.

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cism and make it an obstacle and a stumbling-block to those who would accept the authority of the Word of God alone. So long as the Word of God is honoured, and its decisions regarded as final, what matters it if a certain book be detached from the name of one holy man and ascribed to another, or classed among those with unknown authors? Are the laws of the Pentateuch any less divine, if it should be proved that they are the product of the experience of God's people from Moses to Josiah?[1] Is the Psalter to be esteemed any the less precious that the Psalms should be regarded as the product of many poets singing through many centuries the sacred melodies of God-fearing souls, responding from their hearts, as from a thousand-stringed lyre, to the touch of the Holy One of Israel? Is the book of Job less majestic and sublime, as it stands before us in its solitariness, the noblest monument of sacred poetry, with unknown author, unknown birthplace, and from an unknown period of history? Are the ethical teachings of the Proverbs, the Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes, any the less solemn and weighty, that they may not be the product of Solomon's wisdom, but of the reflection of many holy wise men of different epochs, gathered about Solomon as their head? Is the epistle to the Hebrews any less valuable for its clear presentation of the fulfilment of the Old Testament priesthood and sacrifice in the work of Christ, that it must be detached from the name of Paul? Let us not be so presumptuous, so irreverent to the Word of God, so unbelieving with reference to its inherent power of convincing and assuring the seekers for the truth, as to condemn any sincere and candid inquirer as a heretic or a rationalist, because he may differ from us on such questions as these! The internal evidence must be decisive in all questions of Biblical Criticism, and the truth, whatever it may be, will be most in accordance with God's Word and for the glory of God and the interest of the Church.[2]

[1] *British and Foreign Evang. Review*, July, 1868, Art. "The Progress of Old Testament Studies."

[2] The whole of this paragraph was written and delivered before the outbreak of the Professor W. Robertson Smith controversy in Scotland and the discussions respecting the Higher Criticism in the United States. I see no reason to change a single word of it. Those majorities of ignorant and bigoted men who rejected

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Thus Biblical Literature gives us all that can be learned respecting the canon of Holy Scripture, its text and the various writings; and presents the Sacred Scriptures as the holy Word of God, all the errors and improvements of men having been eliminated, in a text, so far as possible, as it came from holy men who "spake being moved by the Holy Spirit,"[1] so that we are brought into the closest possible relations with the living God through His Word, having in our hands the *very form* that contains the very *substance* of divine revelation; so that with reverence and submission to His will we may enter upon the work of interpretation, confidently expecting to be assured of the truth in the work of Biblical Exegesis.

II. Biblical Exegesis

First of all we have to lay down certain general principles derived from the study of the Word of God, upon which this exegesis itself is to be conducted. These principles must be in accord with the proper methods of our discipline and the nature of the work to be done. The work of establishing these principles belongs to the introductory department of *Biblical Hermeneutics*. The Scriptures are human productions, and yet truly divine. They must be interpreted as other human writings, and yet their peculiarities and differences from other human writings must be recognized,[2] especially the supreme determining difference of their inspiration by the Spirit of God. In accordance with this principle they require not only a sympathy with the human element in the sound judgment and practical sense of the grammarian, the critical investigation of the historian, and the æsthetic taste of the man of letters; but also a sympathy with the divine element, an inquiring, reverent spirit to be enlightened by the Spirit of

the Higher Criticism in the Presbyterian General Assemblies of Scotland and America, have been already overwhelmingly condemned by the subsequent action of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland; and they will speedily be put to shame by a General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. These controversies emphasize the importance and the correctness of the principles then stated. We shall come upon them again in Chap. VII., which is devoted to the subject.

[1] 2 Pet. 1[21]. [2] Comp. Immer, *Hermeneutik der N. T. s.* 9.

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God, without which no exposition of the Scriptures as sacred, inspired writings is possible. It is this feature that distinguishes the discipline from the other corresponding ones, as *Sacred Hermeneutics*. Thus we have to take into account the inspiration of the Scriptures, their harmony, their unity in variety, their sweet simplicity, and their sublime mystery; and all this not to override the principles of grammar, logic, and rhetoric, but to supplement them; yes, rather, infuse into them a new life and vigour, making them sacred grammar, sacred logic, and sacred rhetoric. And just here it is highly important that the *history of exegesis* should come into the field of study in order to show us the abuses of false principles of interpretation as a warning; and the advantages of correct principles as an encouragement.[1]

After this preliminary labour, the exegete is prepared for his work in detail. The immensity of these details is at once overpowering and discouraging. The extent, the richness, the variety of the Sacred Writings, poetry, history, and prophecy, extending through so many centuries, and from such a great number of authors, known and unknown, the inherent difficulty of interpreting the sacred mysteries, the things of God — who is sufficient for these things? who would venture upon this holy ground without a quick sense of his incapacity to grasp the divine ideas, and an absolute dependence upon the Holy Spirit to show them unto him?[2] Truly, here is a work for multitudes, for ages, for the most profound and devout study of all mankind; inasmuch as here we have to do with the whole Word of God to man. The exegete is like the miner. He must free himself as far as possible from all traditionalism and dogmatic prejudice, must leave the haunts of human opinion, and bury himself in the Word of God. He must descend beneath the surface of the Word into its depths. The letter must be broken through to get at the precious idea. The dry rubbish of misconception must be thrown out, and a shaft forced through every obstacle to get at the truth. And while faithful in the employment of all these powers of

[1] Comp. especially Diestel, *Gesch. d. A. T. in der Christ. Kirche.* Jena, 1869.
[2] John 16[15].

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the human intellect and will, the true exegete fears the Lord, and only thereby hopes for the revelation of wisdom through his intimacy with Him.[1]

1. The exegete begins his work with *Grammatical Exegesis*. Here he has to do with the *form*, the dress of the revelation, which is not to be disregarded or undervalued, for it is the form in which God has chosen to convey His Truth, the dress in which alone we can approach her and know her. Hebrew grammar must therefore be mastered in its etymology and syntax, or grammatical exegesis will be impossible. Here patience, exactness, sound judgment, and keen discernment are required, for every word is to be examined by itself, etymologically and historically, not etymologically alone, for Greek and Hebrews roots have not infrequently been made to teach very false doctrines. It has been forgotten that a word is a living thing, and has, beside its root, the still more important stem, branches, and products — indeed, a history of meanings. The word is then to be considered in its syntactical relations in the clause, and thus step by step the *grammatical sense* is to be ascertained, the false interpretations eliminated, and the various possible meanings correctly presented and classified. Without this patient study of words and clauses no accurate translation is possible, no trustworthy exposition can be made.[2] It is true that grammatical exegesis leaves us in doubt between many possible constructions of the sense, but these doubts will be solved as the work of exegesis goes on. On the other hand, it eliminates many views as ungrammatical which have been hastily formed, and effectually prevents that jumping at conclusions to which the indolent and impetuous are alike inclined.

2. The second step in exegesis is *Logical* and *Rhetorical Exegesis*. The words and clauses must be interpreted in accordance with the context, the development of the author's

[1] Job 28^{28}; Ps. 25^{14}; Prov. 8^{17} *seq.*

[2] Yes, we may say that no translation can be thoroughly understood after the generation in which it was made, without this resort to the original text, which alone can determine in many cases the meaning of the translators themselves, when we come upon obsolete terms, or words whose meanings have become modified or lost.

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thought and purpose; and also in accordance with the principles of rhetoric, discriminating plain language from figurative, poetry from prose, history from prophecy, and the various kinds of history, poetry, and prophecy from each other. This is to be done not after an arbitrary manner, but in accordance with the general laws of logic and rhetoric that apply to all writings. While the use of figurative language has led the mystic and the dogmatist to employ the most arbitrary and senseless exegesis, yet the laws of logic and rhetoric, correctly applied to the text, will clip the wings of the fanciful, and destroy the assumptions of the dogmatist, and, still further, will serve to determine many questions that grammar alone cannot decide, and hence more narrowly define the meaning of the text.

3. The third step in exegesis is *Historical Exegesis.* The author must be interpreted in accordance with his historical surroundings. We must apply to the text the knowledge of the author's times, derived from archæology, geography, chronology, and general history. Thus only will we be able to enter upon the scenery of the text. It is not necessary to resort to the history of exegesis; one's own observation is sufficient to show the absurdities and the outrageous errors into which a neglect of this principle leads many earnest but ignorant men. No one can present the Bible narrative in the dress of modern every-day life without making the story ridiculous. And it must be so from the very nature of the case. Historical circumstances are essential to the truthfulness and vividness of the narrative. Instead of our transporting Scripture events to our scenery, we must transport ourselves to their scenery, if we would correctly understand them and realize them. If we wish to apply Scripture truth, we may, after having correctly apprehended it, eliminate it from its historical circumstances, and then give it a new and appropriate form for practical purposes; but we can never interpret Scripture without historical exegesis; for it serves to more narrowly define the meaning of the text, and to eliminate the unhistorical materials from the results thus far attained in the exegetical process.

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4. The fourth step in exegesis is *Comparative Exegesis.* The results already gained with reference to any particular passage are to be compared with the results attained in a like manner in other similar passages of the same author, or other authors of the period, and in some cases from other periods of divine revelation. Thus, by a comparison of scripture with scripture, additional light will be thrown upon the passage, the true conception will be distinguished from the false, and the results attained adequately supported.

5. The fifth step in exegesis may be called *Literary Exegesis.* Great light is thrown upon the text by the study of the views of those who, through the centuries, in many lands, and from the various points of view have studied the Scriptures. Here on this battle-ground of interpretation we see almost every view assailed and defended. Multitudes of opinions have been overthrown, never to reappear; others are weak and tottering — comparatively few still maintain the field. It is among these latter that we must in the main find the true interpretation. This is the furnace into which the results thus far attained by the exegete must be thrown, that its fires may separate the dross and leave the pure gold thoroughly refined. Christian divines, Jewish rabbins, and even unbelieving writers have not studied the Word of God for so many centuries in vain. No true scholar can be so presumptuous as to neglect their labours. No interpreter can rightly claim originality or freshness of conception who has not familiarized himself with this mass of material that others have wrought out. On the other hand, it is the best check to presumption, to know that every view that is worth anything must pass through the furnace. Any exegete who would accomplish anything should know that he is to expose himself to the fire that centres upon any combatant that will enter upon this hotly contested field. From the study of the Scriptures he will come into contact with human views, traditional opinions, and dogmatic prejudices. On the one side these will severely criticise and overthrow many of his results; on the other his faithful study of the Word of God will be a fresh test of the correctness of those human views that have hitherto prevailed. Thus, from

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the acting and reacting influences of this conflict, the truth of God will maintain itself, and it alone will prevail.

We have thus far described these various steps of exegesis, in order that a clear and definite conception may be formed of its field of work — not that they are ever to be represented by themselves in any commentary, or even carried on independently by the exegete himself, but they should be regarded as the component parts of any thorough exegetical process; and although, as a rule, naught but the results are to be published, yet these results imply that no part of the process has been neglected, but that all have harmonized in them.

In advancing now to the higher processes of exegesis, we observe a marked difference from the previous ones, in that those have to do with the entire text, these with only select portions of it. In these processes while results are to be attained which will be most profitable to the great masses of mankind, yet those incur the severest condemnation who, without having gone through these fundamental processes themselves, either use the labours of the faithful exegete without acknowledgment, or else, accepting traditional views without examination, build on untested foundations. The Christian world does not need theological castles in the air constructed by dogmatic traditionalists, or theories of Christian life erected by narrow-minded enthusiasts, but a solid structure of divine truth built by Christian scholars on the solid courses of biblical study as the temple of Divine Wisdom, the home of the soul, and a sure stronghold for living and dying.

6. The sixth step in exegesis is *Doctrinal Exegesis*, which considers the material thus far gathered in order to derive therefrom the ideas of the author respecting religion, faith, and morals. These ideas are then to be considered in their relation to each other in the section and chapter of the Sacred Writing. Thus we get the doctrine that the author would teach, and are prepared for a comparison of it with the doctrines of other passages and authors. Here we have to contend with a false method of searching for the so-called *spiritual sense*, as if the doctrine could be independent of the form in which it is revealed, or, indeed, so loosely attached to it, that the grammar

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and logic should teach one thing, and the spiritual sense another. There can be no spiritual sense that does not accord with the results thus far attained in the exegetical process. The true spiritual sense comes before the inquiring soul as the product of the true exegetical methods that have been described. As the differences of material become manifest in the handling of it, the doctrine stands forth as divine and infallible in its own light. Any other spiritual sense is false to the Word of God, whether it be the conceit of Jewish cabalists or Christian mystics.

7. The seventh and final effort of exegesis is ***Practical Exegesis***, the application of the text to the faith and life of the present. And here we must eliminate not only the temporal bearings from the eternal, but also those elements that apply to other persons and circumstances than those in hand. Everything depends upon the character of the work, whether it be catechetical, homiletical, evangelistic, or pastoral. *All* Scripture may be said to be practical for *some* purpose, but not *every* Scripture for *every* purpose. Hence, practical exegesis must not only give the true meaning of the text, but also the true application of the text to the matter in hand. Here we have to deal with a false method of seeking edification and deriving pious reflections from every passage of Holy Scripture without regard to the time, the place, or the persons to whom it was written. This method of constraining the text to meanings that it cannot bear, does violence to the Word of God, which is not only not to be added to or taken from as a whole, but also as to all its parts. This spirit of interpretation, while nominally most reverential, is really very irreverential. It originates from a lack of knowledge of the Scriptures, and the neglect to use the proper methods of exegesis. It is born of the presumption that the Holy Spirit will reveal the sacred mysteries of religion to the indolent, if only he is sufficiently pious. He may indeed hide the truth from the irreverent critic, but He will not reveal it except to those who not only have piety, but who also search for it as for hidden treasures. This indolence and presumptuous reliance upon the Holy Spirit, which too often proves to be a dependence upon one's

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own conceits, fancies, and self-will, has brought disgrace upon the Word of God, as if it could be manifold in sense, or were able to prove anything that might be asked of it. Nay, still worse, it leads the preacher to burden his discourse with material which, however good it may be in itself, not only has no connection with the text, but no practical application to the circumstances of the hour, or the needs of his people. Over against this abuse of the Scriptures, the exegete learns to use it properly, and while he cannot find everywhere what he needs, yet he may find, by searching for it, far more and better than he needs ; yes, he learns, as he studies the Word of God, that it needs no forcing, but that it aptly and exactly satisfies with appropriate material every phase of Christian experience, gently clears away every shadow of difficulty that may disturb the inquiring spirit, proving itself sufficient for each and every one, and ample for all mankind.

We have endeavoured to consider the various processes of exegesis by which results are attained of essential importance to all the other departments of theology. The work of the exegete is foundation work. It is the work of the study, and not of the pulpit, or the platform. It brings forth treasures new and old from the Word of God, to enrich the more prominent and public branches of theology. It finds the nugget of gold that they are to coin into the current conceptions of the times. It brings forth ore that they are to work into the vessels or ornaments, that may minister comfort to the household and adorn the home and the person. It gains the precious gems that are to be set by these jewellers, in order that their lustre and beauty may become manifest and admired of all. Some think it strange that the Word of God does not at once reveal a *system of theology*, or give us a *confession of faith*, or *catechism*, or *liturgy*. But Holy Scripture withheld these with beneficent purpose.[1]

[1] "Since no one of the first promulgators of Christianity did that which they must, some of them at least, have been *naturally* led to do, it follows that they must have been *supernaturally* withheld from it. . . . Each Church, therefore, was left through the wise foresight of Him who alone 'knew what is in man,' to provide for its own wants as they should arise ; — to steer its own course by the chart and compass which His holy Word supplies, regulating for

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For experience shows us that no body of divinity can answer for more than its generation. Every catechism and confession of faith will in time become obsolete and powerless. Liturgies are more persistent, but even these are changed and adapted in the process of their use by successive generations. All these symbols of Christian Worship and Christian Truth remain as historical monuments and symbols, as the worn and tattered banners that our veterans or honoured sires have carried victoriously through the campaigns of the past; but they are not suited entirely for their descendants. Each age has its own peculiar work and needs, and it is not too much to say, that not even the Bible could devote itself to the entire satisfaction of the wants of any particular age, without thereby sacrificing its value as the book of all ages. It is sufficient that the Bible gives us the *material* for all ages, and leaves to man the noble task of shaping that material so as to suit the wants of his own time. The Word of God is given to us in the Bible, as His truth is displayed in physical nature, in an immense and varied storehouse of material. We must search the Bible in order to find what we require for our soul's food, not expecting to employ the whole, but recognizing that as there is enough for us, so there is sufficient for all mankind and for all ages. Its diversities are appropriate to the various types of human character, the various phases of human experience; and no race, no generation, no man, woman, or child, need fail in finding in the Scriptures the true soul-food, for it has material of abounding wealth, surpassing all the powers of human thought and all the requirements of human life.

III. Biblical History

The work of the study of Holy Scripture does not end with the work of Biblical Exegesis, but advances to higher stages in *Biblical History* and *Biblical Theology*. In the department of Biblical Exegesis our discipline produces the material to be used in the other departments of theology, but it also has as its

itself the sails and rudder according to the winds and currents it may meet with." —See Whately, *Essays on Some of the Peculiarities of the Christian Religion*. Fifth edition, London, 1846. Essay vi. pp. 349, 355.

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own highest problem, to make a thorough arrangement of that material in accordance with its own synthetic method in its own departments. As there is a history in the Bible, an unfolding of divine revelation, a unity and a wonderful variety; so our study of Holy Scripture cannot stop until it has arranged the biblical material in accordance with its historical position, and its relative value in the one structure of divine revelation. And here, first, we have to consider the field of Biblical History.

It has been the custom in many theological schools to treat Biblical History under the head of Church History. This custom is based on a theory that the Christian Church embraces the whole historical life of the people of God, which ignores the differences between the Old Testament and the New Testament.[1] Many theologians treat Biblical History as a section of Historical Theology and exclude it from Exegetical Theology.[2] But the line separating Exegetical Theology from Historical Theology is not a line that divides between Exegesis and History; for Historical Theology cannot get on without an exegesis of the sources of Church History, and if Exegesis is to determine what is to belong to Exegetical Theology, then Christian Archæology, Patristics, Christian Epigraphy and Diplomatics should all go to Exegetical Theology as truly as Biblical History to Historical Theology. But in fact the adjectives Exegetical and His-

[1] The Church of Christ did not exist, in fact, before the day of Pentecost. The people of God during the Old Testament dispensation were in the kingdom of God as established at Mount Horeb by the Old Covenant, and there was an Old Testament congregation, a Church of Yahweh; but the Church of Christ came into being first with the establishment of the New Covenant and the gift of the Holy Spirit by the enthroned Messiah. See Briggs, *Messiah of the Apostles*, pp. 21 *seq.* There is a continuity between the Old Testament institution and the New, but the differences of dispensations should not be ignored.

[2] So Hagenbach (*Encyklopädie*, 11 Aufl., 1884, *s.* 219 *seq.*). He regards Biblical History as the transition from Exegetical to Historical Theology. But he makes Biblical Archæology to include Biblical Geography and Natural History, and classes it under Exegetical Theology. This distribution of the material is without sufficient reason, and is inconsistent. Heinrici (*Theologische Encyklopädie*, 1893, *s.* 25 *seq.*) makes the Biblical Discipline and Church History the two parts of Historical Theology, and classifies Biblical History and Biblical Archæology with the Biblical Discipline. Cave (*Introduction to Theology*, 2d edition, 1896) uses Biblical Theology as the general title for all biblical studies, and includes Biblical History and Biblical Archæology among them.

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torical do not adequately discriminate the departments. Hence the tendency among many scholars to use Historical Theology as the general term to cover both the Bible and the Church. There is at present no consensus among scholars as to the best terms to be used for the several departments; but there is a general agreement among more recent students that Biblical History and all related subjects must be classed with the biblical studies whatever term may be used as a general title of these studies.[1]

Under the general head of Biblical History we have first to consider *Historical Criticism*, the proper method of testing and verifying the material of Biblical History. We have next to study the auxiliary disciplines of Biblical History, namely: Biblical Archæology, Biblical Geography, Biblical Chronology, and the Natural History of the Bible. Most writers include all these, except Biblical Chronology, under the general head of Biblical Archæology, but without sufficient reasons.[2]

The third section of Biblical History will present the history of the people of God as contained in the Bible. And here we must distinguish Biblical History as a biblical discipline from the History of Israel as a section of universal history. The methods of dealing with the history contained in the Bible from those two different points of view is very great, and they cannot be confused without detriment to both departments. Biblical History limits itself strictly to the biblical material and uses the whole of that material from the biblical point of view. Whereas General History uses so much of the biblical material as suits its purpose, and organizes it, with all other material it can obtain, from the point of view of the general history of the world. It is also necessary to distinguish Biblical History from the recent discipline entitled Contemporary History of the Bible. This discipline sets the biblical material in the light of material gathered from all other sources. Inasmuch as it uses all the biblical material and gathers all other material in the interest of the study of the Bible, it should be

[1] See my article in the *American Journal of Theology*, January, 1897.

[2] So Hagenbach, *l.c.*, Heinrici, *l.c.*, and especially Benzinger, *Hebr. Archäologie*, 1894. See Chap. XXII. pp. 533 *seq.*

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regarded as a section of Biblical History and the Study of Holy Scripture. It may be questioned, however, whether this discipline is more closely related to Biblical Archæology or to Biblical History proper. That depends in great measure upon the method and scope of the treatment. The discipline has not yet been sufficiently matured to decide this question.[1]

Biblical History sums up the great events, institutions, and heroic leaders in their historical origin and development. The divine, vital, and immediate presence determines the course of that history, and theophanic manifestations mark its great epochs. The Old Testament history unfolds through the centuries until it culminates in the New Testament history in the advent of Jesus, the Messiah and Saviour of mankind, and in His life, death, resurrection, and enthronement upon His heavenly throne as the sovereign Lord of His Church and of the world, and the founding of His Church through the apostles and prophets, commissioned by the Lord Himself.

IV. Biblical Theology

The Study of Holy Scripture culminates in Biblical Theology; all its departments pour their treasures into this basin, where they flow together and become compacted into one organic whole. For Biblical Theology rises from the exegesis of verses, sections, and chapters, to the higher exegesis of writings, authors, periods, and of the Old and New Testaments as wholes, until the Bible is discerned as an organism, complete and symmetrical, *one* as God is one, and yet as *various* as mankind is various, and thus only divino-human as the complete revelation of the God-man.

In this respect Biblical Theology demands its place in theological study as the highest attainment of exegesis. It is true that it has been claimed that the history of Biblical Doctrine, as a subordinate branch of Historical Theology, fully answers its purpose; and again, that Biblical Dogmatics, as the fundamental part of Systematic Theology, covers its ground. These branches of the sister grand divisions of theology deal

[1] See Chap. XXII. pp. 544 *seq.*

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with many of its questions and handle much of its material, for the reason that Biblical Theology is the highest point of exegesis where the most suitable transition is made to the other departments; but it does not, it cannot belong to either of them. As Biblical Theology was not the product of Historical or Systematic Theology, but was born in the throes of the exegetical process of the last century, so it is the child of exegesis, and can flourish only in its own home. The idea, methods, aims, and indeed, results, are entirely different from those of Church History or Dogmatic Theology. It does not give us a *history* of doctrine, although it uses the historical method in the unfolding of the doctrine. It does not seek the history of the doctrine, but the formation, the organization of the doctrine in history. It does not aim to present the system of Biblical Dogma, and arrange biblical doctrine in the form that Dogmatic Theology would have assumed even in Biblical Times; but in accordance with its synthetic method of seeking the unity in the variety it endeavours to show the biblical order of doctrine, the form assumed by theology in the Bible itself, the organization of the doctrines of faith and morals in the historical divine revelation. It thus considers the doctrine at its first historical appearance, examines its formation and its relation to others in the structure, then traces its unfolding in history, sees it evolving by its own inherent vitality, as well as receiving constant accretions, ever assuming fuller, richer, grander proportions, until in the revelation of the New Testament the organization has become complete and finished so far as the Bible itself is concerned. It thus not only distinguishes a theology of periods, but a theology of authors and writings, and shows how they harmonize in the *one* complete revelation of God.[1] Biblical Theology is not the ideal name for this discipline, but it is the name that has been historically associated with it, and it is improbable that it will ever be displaced. But Theology in Biblical Theology is used in an intermediate sense, — not so broadly as to cover the whole

[1] See author's articles on Biblical Theology, in *American Presbyterian Review*, 1870, and in the *Presbyterian Review*, 1882, and Chap. XI. of Briggs, *Biblical Study*, and Chap. XXIII. of this volume.

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field of theology in the Bible, for then it would be another name for Biblical Study itself; and not so narrowly as to embrace only doctrines of faith, for it comprehends three great divisions: 1. *Biblical Religion*, dealing with the facts and institutions of religion; 2. *Biblical Doctrines*, which are the objects of faith; and 3. *Biblical Ethics*, the principles and laws of biblical morals and their historical evolution in holy conduct. From this comprehensive and elevated point of view of Biblical Theology many important questions may be settled, such as the Relation of the Old Testament to the New Testament — a fundamental question for all departments of theology. It is only when we recognize that the New Testament is not only the historical fulfilment of the Old Testament, but also is its exegetical completion, that the unity and the harmony, all the grander for the variety and the diversity of the Scriptures, become evident. It is only from this point of view that the apparently contradictory views, as, for instance, of Paul and James, in the article of justification, and of the synoptic gospels and the gospel of John in their conceptions of the teaching of Christ, may be reconciled in their difference of types. It is only here that a true doctrine of inspiration can be attained, properly distinguishing the divine and human elements, and yet recognizing them in their union. It is only thereby that the weight of authority of the Scripture can be fully felt, and the consistency of the infallible canon invincibly maintained. It is only in this culminating work that the preliminary processes of exegesis are delivered from all the imperfections and errors that still cling to the most faithful work of the exegete. It is only from the hands of Biblical Theology that Church History receives its true keys, Dogmatic Theology its indestructible pillars, and Practical Theology its all-conquering weapons.

Thus the Study of Holy Scripture is a theological discipline, which, in its various departments, presents an inexhaustible field of labour, where the most ambitious may work with a sure prospect of success, and where the faithful disciple of the Lord may rejoice in the most intimate fellowship with the Master,

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divine truths being received immediately from His holy and loving hand, old truths being illuminated with fresh meaning, new truths filling the soul with indescribable delight. The Bible is not a field whose treasures have been exhausted, for they are inexhaustible. As in the past, holy men have found among these treasures jewels of priceless value; as Athanasius, Augustine, Anselm, Luther, and Calvin, have derived therefrom new doctrines that have given shape not only to the Church, but to the world; so it is not too much to expect that even greater saints than these may yet go forth from their retirement, where they have been alone in communion with God through His Word, holding up before the world some new doctrine, freshly derived from the ancient writings, which, although hitherto overlooked, will prove to be the necessary complement of all the previous knowledge of the Church, no less essential to its life, growth, and progress than the Athanasian doctrine of the Trinity, the Augustinian doctrine of sin, and the Lutheran doctrine of justification through faith. A scientific biblical study under the guidance of the Holy Spirit will ere long remove the clouds of prejudice and bigotry which envelop the battle of the sects and enable all men to see the Truth, the entire Truth of God, in all its wondrous simplicity, beauty, grandeur, and glory. Biblical science in its warfare with error and bigotry uses smokeless powder, and all its aims and their results are in the clear light of heaven and open to the vision of the entire world.

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CHAPTER III

THE LANGUAGES OF HOLY SCRIPTURE

THE languages of the Bible were prepared by Divine Providence as the most suitable ones for declaring the divine revelation to mankind. Belonging, as they do, to the two great families of speech, the Shemitic and the Indo-Germanic, which have been the bearers of civilization, culture, and the noblest products of human thought and emotion, they are themselves the highest and most perfect developments of those families; presenting, it is true, their contrasted features, but yet combining in a higher unity, in order to give us the complete divine revelation. Having accomplished this, their highest purpose, they soon afterward became stereotyped in form, or, as they are commonly called, dead languages; so that henceforth all successive generations, and indeed all the families of earth, might resort to them and find the common, divine revelation in the same fixed and unalterable forms.

Language is the product of the human soul, as are thought and emotion, and therefore it depends upon the nature of that soul, the historical experiences of the family or race giving birth to it, and especially upon the stage of development in civilization, religion, and morals that may have been attained. The connection between language and thought is not loose, but is an essential connection. Language is not merely a dress that thought may put on or off at its pleasure; it is the body of which thought is the soul; it is the flesh and rounded form of which thought is the life and emotion the energy. Hence it is that language is moulded by thought and emotion, by experience and culture; it is, as it were, the speaking face of the race employing it, and it becomes the historical body in which the

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experience of that race is organized. In many nations which have perished, and whose early history is lost in primeval darkness, their language gives us the key to their history and experience as truly as the Parthenon tells us of the Greek mind, and the Pyramids display Egyptian culture.

It is not a matter of indifference, therefore, as to the languages that were to bear the divine revelation; for, although the divine revelation was designed for all races, and may be conveyed in all the languages of earth, yet, inasmuch as it was delivered in advancing historical development, certain particular languages had to be employed as most suitable for the purpose, and indeed those which could best become the streams for enriching the various languages of the earth. There are no languages, not even the English and the German, which have drunk deepest from the classic springs of the Hebrew and the Greek, — there are no languages which could so adequately convey the divine revelation in its simplicity, grandeur, fulness, variety, energy, and impressiveness as those selected by Divine Providence for the purpose.

Hence it is that no translation can ever take the place of the original Scriptures; for a translation is, at the best, the work of more or less learned men, who, though they may be holy and faithful, and may also be guided by the Spirit of God, are yet unable to do more than give us their own interpretation of the Sacred Writings. If they are to make the translation accurate and thorough and adequate to convey the original meaning, they must enter into the very spirit and atmosphere of the original text; they must think and feel with the original authors; their hearts must throb with the same emotion; their minds must move in the same lines of thinking; they must adapt themselves to the numerous types of character coming from various and widely different periods of divine revelation, in order to correctly apprehend the thought and make it their own, and then reproduce it in a foreign tongue. A mere external, grammatical, and lexicographical translation is inadequate for the purpose. Unless the spirit of the original has been not only apprehended, but conveyed, it is no real translation. All-sided men are necessary for this work, or at least a body of men

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representing the various types and phases of human experience and character. But even when such have been found and they have done their best, they have only partially fulfilled their task, for their translation only expresses their religious, ethical, and practical conceptions which at the utmost are those of the holiest and most learned men of the particular age in which they live. But inasmuch as the divine revelation was given through holy men who spake not only from their own time and for their own time, but from and for the timeless Spirit, the eternal ideas for all time, the advancing generations will ever need to understand the Word of God better than their fathers, and must, if they are faithful, continually improve in their knowledge of the original Scriptures, in their power of apprehending them, of appropriating them, and of reproducing them in speech and life.

How important it is, therefore, if the Church is to maintain a living connection with the Sacred Scriptures, and enter ever deeper into their spirit and hidden life, that it should encourage a considerable portion of its youth to pursue these fundamental studies. At all events, the Church should ever insist that its ministry, who are to train God's people in the things of God, should have not merely a superficial knowledge of the Bible, such as any layman may readily attain, but should enjoy a deep and thorough acquaintance with the original perennial fountains of truth. History has already sufficiently shown that when this is neglected, the versions assume the place of the original Divine Word; and the interpretations of a particular generation become the stereotyped dogmas of many generations. When the life of a Christian people is cut off from its primary source of spiritual growth, a barren scholasticism, with its mechanical institutions, and perfunctory liturgies and ceremonies assume the place and importance of the Divine Word and living communion with God.

The languages of the Bible being the only adequate means of conveying and perpetuating the divine revelation, it is important that we should learn them not merely from the outside, with grammar and lexicon, but also from the inside, with a proper conception of the genius and life of these tongues as

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employed by the ancient saints, and especially of the historical genius of the languages as the sacred channels of the Spirit's thought and life. Language is a living thing, and has its birth, its growth, its maturity, and often also its decline and its death. Language is born, not as a system of roots or detached words, that gradually come together by natural selection into sentences. As plants may grow from roots after they have been cut down, but do not have their birth in roots, but in the seed-germs which contain the plants in embryo; so language, although it may be analyzed into roots, yet was not born in roots and never existed in roots, but came into being as sentences,[1] as thought is ever a sentence, and not a word. Then as the mind develops, thought is developed with its body, language, and the language grows with the culture of a people. All languages that have literary documents may be traced in their historical development. Especially is this the case with the languages of the Bible; they have a long history back of them; centuries of literary development were required to produce them.

I. The Shemitic Family of Languages

The Hebrew language was long supposed to be the original language of mankind; but this view can no longer be held by philologists, for the Hebrew language, as it appears to us in its earliest forms in the Sacred Scriptures, bears upon its face the traces of a long previous literary development.[2] This is confirmed by comparing it with the other languages of the same family.

The Shemitic family may be divided into four groups:[3] (1) the Southern or Arabic, (2) the Eastern or Assyrian, (3) the Western or Hebrew, (4) the Northern or Aramaic.

[1] Sayce, *Principles of Comp. Philology*, pp. 136 *seq.*, 2d ed., London, 1875.

[2] Ewald, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, 3te Ausg.; Gött. 1864, *s.* 78 *seq.*; Ewald, *Ausf. Lehrb. des Heb. Sprache*, 7te Ausg.; Gött. 1863, *s.* 23.

[3] Zimmern (*Vergleichende Grammatik*, 1898) makes five groups by separating the Ethiopic from the Arabic; but he recognizes the propriety of classing these together as Southern Shemitic, and he does not give sufficient reasons for the exaltation of the Ethiopic into a special group.

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1. The *Arabic group* of Shemitic languages presents us one of the most primitive families of human speech. The Arabic language itself is spoken by many millions of our race at the present time. It is the richest of the Shemitic tongues in etymology, syntax, and literature. It has absorbed valuable material from many other languages, but it has transformed these foreign elements by its own genius. It is a living tongue whose life is longer than that of any other known to history. It is the richest of languages in its vocabulary and one of the wealthiest in the variety and extent of its literature. It is as fresh and vigorous as ever, with its wonderful power of enriching itself by new formations and adaptations from other tongues. It is to be ranked with the greatest languages such as the Greek and the German. The Koran, the holy book of the Mahometans, of the seventh century of our era, is the classic model which has kept the language to its historic mould. Modern Arabic has approached very nearly the stage of linguistic development of the classic Hebrew of the Bible. Modern Arabic is nearer the classic Hebrew than is the Hebrew of the Mishna.[1] The *Ethiopic* language is a southern Arabic spoken in ancient Abyssinia. The oldest forms of the Shemitic family are often found in it. Its verbal system is the most elaborate of all. The chief literature is Christian, including translations of the Scriptures, many ancient liturgies and pseudepigraphical writings, the most important of which are the Book of Enoch and the Ascension of Isaiah. A modern variety of the Ethiopic is found in the Amharic.[2]

The Sabean or Himyaric is preserved only in inscriptions from the southern part of Arabia extending from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea. It is often helpful in explaining archaic forms and by presenting intermediate stages and missing links in the development of Shemitic forms of etymology and syntax.[3]

[1] Caspari, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, translated and edited by Wm. Wright; 3d ed. by W. R. Smith and de Goeje, Cambridge, 1896: Socin, *Arabische Grammatik*, 3 Aufl., Berlin, 1894; English 2d ed., New York, 1885: Lane, *Arabic Lexicon*, London, 1863–1889.

[2] Dillmann, *Grammatik der Aethiopischen Sprache*, Leipzig, 1857; *Chrestomathia Aethiopica*, 1866; *Lexicon Lingua Æthiopicæ*, 1865; Prætorius, *Aethiopische Grammatik*, Halle, 1886; *Amharische Sprache*, Halle, 1879.

[3] Hommel, *Südarabische Chrestomathie*, 1893.

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2. The *Assyrian group* is next to the Arabic in its stage of linguistic development. It embraces the Babylonian and the Assyrian, the ancient languages of the Shemitic population of the valleys of the Euphrates and of the Tigris. A vast number of inscriptions in these languages have been discovered and many libraries of clay tablets and bricks, which served in ancient times the purpose of rolls and books, have been unearthed. Great libraries of these ancient writings have been removed from the ruins of ancient cities and brought to the museums of Europe and America. A vast literature has been opened up, full of interest, and of immense value for the early history of mankind. It is said that this literature is so extensive that it will take all the Assyrian scholars of the world many years to decipher the whole of it. New discoveries increase the amount of literature more rapidly than it can be deciphered. This group of languages is intermediate between the Arabic and the Hebrew groups; and accordingly it is of great importance for showing the transition from Arabic types to Hebrew types. The Assyrian literature is nearer to the literature of the Old Testament than any other. For biblical scholars it is of inestimable value. A flood of light has been cast upon the Bible by its revelations. We may expect still greater help in the future.[1]

3. The *Hebrew group* embraces the Phœnician and a number of dialects of the Hebrew. The *Phœnician* is preserved in a large number of inscriptions discovered in ancient Phœnicia, at Carthage, and other Phœnician colonies in North Africa and on the coasts of France and Spain, together with a few lines in the *Pœnulus* of Plautus.[2] Gesenius made a large collection of these inscriptions. But a more complete collection is in course of publication at Paris.[3] The Phœnician is helpful in

[1] See E. Schrader, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, trans. by O. Whitehouse, 1885–1888; Brown, *Assyriology, its Use and Abuse in Old Testament Study*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1885; Delitzsch, Fried., *Assyrische Grammatik*, Berlin, 1889; *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1894–1896.

[2] V. 1–3.

[3] Gesenius, *Scripturæ Linguæque Phœniciæ*, Lipsiæ, 1837; *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticum*, Pars I., *Inscriptiones Phœniciæ*, Paris, 1881–1891; Schroeder, *Phönizische Sprache*, Halle, 1869; Levy, *Phönizisches Wörterbuch*, Breslau, 1864; Bloch, *Phoenisches Glossar*, Berlin, 1890.

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the study of archaic Hebrew forms. It is intermediate between the Assyrian and the Hebrew in its stage of linguistic development. The inscriptions also throw a great light upon the religion of the inhabitants of ancient Canaan.

The *Hebrew* language itself is more extensive than the Hebrew of the Bible. It was the language of the ancient inhabitants of Canaan. This dialect is preserved only in a few proper names, and in the glosses to the Tell-el-Amarna Letters.[1]

The Moabite dialect was unknown until 1868, when the so-called Moabite stone was discovered at Dibon, on the east of the Jordan. This stone is now in the Louvre at Paris. It dates from the ninth century B.C. It is also called the Mesha Stone from the contents of the inscription. It is valuable for the side light it casts upon biblical history, and also upon the modes of writing ancient Hebrew.[2]

The biblical Hebrew has several stages of development, and also dialects.[3] The archaic, classic, and post-classic forms may be distinguished in the Bible. There was also an Ephraimitic dialect, tending to the Aramaic ; a trans-Jordanic, tending to the Arabic ; besides the Judaic, which became the classic type of Hebrew.

The only ancient Hebrew apart from the Bible is the Siloam inscription discovered in 1880.[4] This is valuable for its explanation of ancient methods of writing words as well as for archæological interests.

An interesting and valuable specimen of Hebrew has recently

[1] H. Winckler, *The Tell-el-Amarna Letters*, Berlin and New York, 1896.

[2] Clermont Ganneau, *La Stele de Mesa Roi de Moab*, Paris, 1870 ; Smend and Socin, *Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, Freib., 1886.

[3] Gesenius, *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguæ Hebrææ et Chaldææ V. T.*, 3 Tom. 1835–1853 ; Gesenius, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das A. T.* 12te Aufl. von F. Buhl, 1895 ; *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament based on the Lexicon of Gesenius as translated by Ed. Robinson*, edited by Francis Brown, with the coöperation of S. R. Driver and C. A. Briggs, Parts I.–VII., 1891–1899 ; König, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der Hebräischen Sprache*, 3 Theile, 1881–1897 ; Gesenius, *Heb. Gram.* umgearbeitet von E. Kautzsch, 26te Aufl., 1896, trans. by Collins and Cowley, Oxford, 1898.

[4] Briggs, "Siloam Inscription," *Presbyterian Review*, 1882. See also Driver, *Books of Samuel*, 1890, pp. xv. *seq.*

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been discovered in part of the Hebrew text of the apocryphal book of "Ecclesiasticus or the Wisdom of Ben Sira."[1]

The post-biblical Hebrew is a later development of the language in the direction of the Aramaic. It appears in the second and third Christian centuries in the Mishna, and the Baraithoth of the Talmud, and in commentaries on the Pentateuch. The new Hebrew is the language of the schools, and is no more a living tongue than the Latin of the schools is a living Latin.[2]

4. The *Aramaic group* may be divided into the eastern and western families. The eastern includes the primitive language of northeastern Syria, the Syriac, the Mandaic, and the language of the Babylonian Gemara. The western includes the Palestinian dialect of the Aramaic, the Samaritan language, the language of Palmyra, and the Nabatean. The eastern Aramaic presents the oldest and strongest forms. The chief member of the family is the *Syriac*, which has a very extensive Christian literature, embracing the most important early versions of the New Testament from the second Christian century, several other important versions of the Bible,[3] a considerable number of early apocryphal and pseudepigraphical writings, the works of the great theologian Ephraem of the fourth century, and a large amount of literature extending deep into the Middle Ages. Modern Syriac is spoken at present in Kurdistan and at Tur Abdin on the Tigris.[4]

A branch of eastern Aramaic is the dialect of the Mandæans, or Sabians, or Christians of St. John, who still survive in the neighbourhood of Basra and Wasit in lower Babylonia.[5]

[1] Cowley, Neubauer, and Driver, *The Original Hebrew of a Portion of Ecclesiasticus* (39^{15}–49^{11}), Oxford, 1897.

[2] Geiger, *Lehrbuch zur Sprache der Mishna*, Breslau, 1845; Strack, H. L., *Lehrbuch der Neuhebräischen Sprache und Litteratur*, Karlsruhe, 1884. See, also, pp. 232 *seq.*

[3] See p. 212.

[4] See Noeldeke, Theo., *Kurzgefasste Syrische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1880; Nestle, *Syriac Grammar with Bibliography, Chrestomathy, and Glossary*, 1889; Duval, *Traité de Gram. Syr.*, Paris, 1881; Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.*, Berlin and Edinburgh, 1895; Smith, R. Payne, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, Oxford, 1868–1897; Castell, Edm., *Lexicon Syriacum*, Göttingen, 1788.

[5] Their chief writings are the Ginza or Sidra Rabba, called the Book of Adam, and Sidra d'Yahya, or Book of John. See Noeldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, Halle, 1875; Petermann, *Thesaurus sive Liber Magnus*, 2 Bd., Berlin, 1867.

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The Babylonian Gemara and the Rabbinical literature founded thereon give another important dialect of the eastern Aramaic.[1]

The western Aramaic presents the latest stage of the language in many respects. The earliest member of this family is the *Samaritan*, which is a strange mixture of Aramaic and Hebrew, using side by side the Aramaic and the Hebrew forms of the relative pronoun and the plural of nouns, the Aramaic emphatic state, and the Hebrew article. But the language is essentially Aramaic. It has reached a more advanced stage of decay than any other of the Shemitic stock. Its literature is important, embracing a Targum of the Pentateuch, which dates in its written form from the second Christian century, and a number of historical, liturgical, and theological writings.[2]

The ruins of Palmyra give inscriptions in another dialect of western Aramaic. The rocks of the peninsula of Sinai, of Petra, and the Huaran afford many inscriptions in a dialect that is called Nabatean.[3]

The Aramaic contained in the Old Testament,[4] the Aramaic specimens in the New Testament,[5] the dialect of the Palestinian Gemara,[6] and the Rabbinical literature founded thereon are all in the western Aramaic language.

The early Palestinian Christians seem to have used a dialect of the western Aramaic. Some specimens of this dialect have recently been discovered.[7]

All these languages are more closely related to one another

[1] Levy, Jacob, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, 2 Bd., Leipzig, 1876; *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midrashim*, 4 Bd., Leipzig, 1876–1889; Dalman, *Aramäisch Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch*, Teil I., 1897. See, also, pp. 232, 233.

[2] See Petermann, *Brevis Linguiæ Samaritanæ*, Berlin, 1873; Briggs, article on "Samaritans" in Johnson's *Cyclopædia;* Nutt, *Samaritan History, Dogma, and Literature*, London, 1874.

[3] See Neubauer in *Studia Biblica*, Oxford, 1885, I. 3.

[4] Luzzato, *Grammar of the Biblical Chaldaic Language*, New York, 1876; Brown, C R., *Aramaic Method*, New York, 1884; Kautzsch, *Gram. d. Bibl. Aram.*, Leipzig, 1884; Strack, *Gram. d. Bibl. Aram.*, Leipzig, 1897.

[5] Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache.* Das galiläische Aramäisch in seine Bedeutung für die Erklärung der Reden Jesu. Frei. 1896. See pp. 404, 405.

[6] Dalman, *Gram. d. jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, Leipzig, 1894; *Aramäische Dialektproben*, Leipzig, 1896.

[7] Lewis, *A Palestinian Syriac Lectionary*, Cambridge, 1897; Schwally, *Idioticon des christlich-palästi. Aramäisch*, Giessen, 1893.

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than those of the Indo-Germanic family, the people speaking them having been confined to comparatively narrow limits, crowded on the north by the Indo-Germanic tongues, and on the south by the Turanian. These languages are grouped in sisterhoods. They all go back upon an original mother-tongue of which all traces have been lost. In general the Arabic or Southern group presents the older and fuller forms of etymology and syntax, the Aramaic or Northern group the later and simpler forms. The Hebrew and Assyrian groups lie in the midst of this linguistic development, where the Assyrian is nearer to the Southern group and the Hebrew to the Northern group. The differences in stage of linguistic growth from the common stock depend not so much upon the period or distance of separation as upon literary culture. The literary use of a language has the tendency to reduce the complex elements to order, and to simplify and wear away the superfluous and unnecessary forms of speech and syntactical construction. These languages have, for the most part, given us a considerable literature; they were spoken by the most cultivated nations of the ancient world, mediating between the great centres of primitive culture — the Euphrates and the Nile. Everything seems to indicate that they all emigrated from a common centre in the desert on the south of Babylonia,[1] the Arabic group separating first, next the Aramaic, then the Hebrew, while the Babylonian gained ultimately the mastery of the original population of Babylonia, and the Assyrian founded the great empire on the Tigris.

II. The Hebrew Language

We have already, in the previous section, considered the Hebrew group of languages in general; we have now to study the Hebrew language more particularly, especially as it is presented to us in the Sacred Scriptures. The book of Genesis[2] represents Abram as going forth from Ur in Babylonia, at first northward into Mesopotamia, and then emigrating to Canaan,

[1] Schrader, *Die Abstammung der Chaldäer und die Ursitze der Semiten*, *Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. M. G.*, 1873.

[2] Gen. 11[31].

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just as we learn from other sources the Canaanites had done before him. The monuments of Ur reveal that about this time, 2000 B.C., it was the seat of a great literary development.[1] The father of the faithful, whose origin was in that primitive seat of culture, and who lived as a chieftain of military prowess,[2] and exalted religious and moral character among the cultivated nations of Canaan; and who was received at the court of Pharaoh,[3] that other great centre of primitive culture, on friendly terms, to some extent at least made himself acquainted with their literature and culture. Whether Abraham adopted the language of the Canaanites, or brought the Hebrew with him from the East, is unimportant, for the ancient Assyrian and Babylonian are nearer to the Hebrew and Phœnician than they are to the other Shemitic families. If these languages, as now presented to us, differ less than the Romance languages, — the daughters of the Latin; in their earlier stages in the time of Abraham their difference could scarcely have been more than dialectic. The ancient Phœnician, the nearest akin to the Hebrew, was the language of commerce and intercourse between the nations in primitive times, as the Aramaic after the fall of Tyre, and the Greek after the conquest of Alexander. Thus the Hebrew language, as a dialect of the Canaanite and closely related to the Babylonian, had already a considerable literary development prior to the entrance of Abraham into the Holy Land. The older scholars were naturally inclined to the opinion that Egypt was the mother of Hebrew civilization and culture. This has been disproved; for, though the Hebrews remained a long period in Egyptian bondage, they retained their Eastern civilization, culture, and language, so that at the Exodus they shook off at once the Egyptian culture as alien and antagonistic to their own. For the very peculiarities of the Hebrew language, literature, and civilization are those of the Babylonian. The biblical traditions of the Creation, of the Deluge, of the Tower of Babel, are those of the Assyrians and Babylonians. The sacred rest-day, with the significance of the number seven, the months,

[1] George Smith, *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*, etc., pp. 29 *seq.* New York, 1876. [2] Gen. 14. [3] Gen. 12^{14} *seq.*

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seasons, and years, the weights and measures, coins, — all are of the same origin. Still further, that most striking feature of Hebrew poetry — the parallelism of members — is already in the oldest Babylonian hymns.[1] Yes, the very temptations of the Hebrews to the worship of Baal and Ashtoreth, of Chemosh and Moloch, are those that ruined the other branches of the Shemitic race.[2]

As Abraham went forth from the culture of Babylon to enter upon the pilgrim life in Canaan under the guidance of his covenant keeping God; so Moses went forth from the culture of Egypt to organize a kingdom of priests, a sacred nation of Yahweh. As Abraham was the father of the faithful, the great religious ancestor of Israel, Moses became the great prophetic lawgiver, the father of the prophetic and legal development of the kingdom of God. It is possible that traces of the influence of Egyptian civilization may yet be found in the earliest strata of the laws and institutions of Israel; but little if any such influence has yet been disclosed. The Hebrews seem to have thrown off the culture of Egypt with its bondage. David founded the Hebrew monarchy and breathed a spirit of song into the national life, and Solomon became the father of Hebrew wisdom; but it is altogether probable that the influence of Moses, David, and Solomon upon the literary monuments, which have been preserved to us in Hebrew Law, Psalmody, and Wisdom, was little, if any, more than that of Samuel upon the literary monuments of Hebrew prophecy.

Although we have in the Old Testament little, if any, literature which may in its present form be ascribed to these fathers of the old covenant religion, yet their influence upon the language and literature was certainly creative and formative. They gave the language and the literature their essential spirit and genius. They made the language a religious language, and the literature a religious literature. They were the fathers of the great types of Law, Psalmody, and Wisdom; and it was inevitable that they should give their names to the great collections of these types of literature for all time.

[1] See pp. 379, 381.

[2] Schrader, *Semitismus und Babylonismus*, *Jahrb. v. Prot. Theol.*, 1875.

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Looking now at the language as religious according to its genius, and considering it in its fundamental types and their historical development, we observe the following as some of its most prominent characteristics:

1. It is remarkably *simple* and *natural*. This is indeed a common feature of the Shemitic languages. As compared with the Indo-Germanic, they represent an earlier stage in the development of mankind, the childhood of the race. Theirs is an age of perception, contemplation, and observation, not of conception, reflection, and reasoning. Things are apprehended according to their appearance as phenomena, and not according to their internal character as *noumena*. The form, the features, the expressions of things are seen and most nicely distinguished, but not their inward being; the effects are observed, but these are not traced through a series of causes, but only either to the immediate cause or else by a leap to the ultimate cause. Hence the language that expresses such thought is simple and natural. We see this in its sounds, which are simple and manifold, disliking diphthongs and compound letters; in its roots, uniformly of three consonants, generally accompanied by a vowel; in its inflections, mainly by internal modifications; in its simple arrangements of clauses in the sentence, with a limited number of conjunctions. Thus the conjunction *waw* plays a more important part in the language than all conjunctions combined, distinguished by a simple modification of vocalization, accentuation, or position, between clauses coördinate, circumstantial, and subordinate, and in the latter between those indicating purpose and result.[1] This is the most remarkable feature of the language, without a parallel in any other tongue. And so the poetry is constructed on the simple principle of the parallelism of members, these being synthetic, antithetic, or progressive; and in the latter case advancing, like the waves of the sea, in the most beautiful and varied forms.[2] Hence it is that the Hebrew language is the easiest to render into a foreign tongue, and that Hebrew poetry can readily be made the common property of mankind.

[1] See Driver, *Hebrew Tenses*, 3d ed., 1892.
[2] See Chap. XVI., Parallelisms of Hebrew Poetry.

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2. We observe a striking correspondence of the *language to the thought*. This rests upon a radical difference between the Shemitic and Indo-Germanic family in their relative appreciation of the material and the form of language.[1] The form, the artistic expression, is to the Hebrew a very small affair. The idea, the thought, and emotion flow forth freely and embody themselves without any external restraint in the speech. This is clear from the method of inflection, which is mostly by internal changes in the root, expressing the passive by changing the clear vowel into the dull vowel,[2] the intensive by doubling the second radical,[3] the pure idea of the root by the extreme shortness of the infinitive and the segholate,[4] the causative and the reflexive by lengthening the stem from without,[5] and, so far as cases and moods exist, expressing them harmoniously by the three radical short vowels.[6]

How beautiful in form, as well as sense, is the abstract plural of intensity by which the fulness of the idea of God is conceived in such passages as these:

"For Yahweh your God, He is the *sovereign God*[7] of gods, and the *sovereign Lord* of lords, the great and the mighty and the awe-inspiring God."

"An *allknowing*[8] God is Yahweh."

"The knowledge of the *All Holy*[9] is understanding."

"For high one over high one is watching,
The *Most High*[10] over them."

[1] Grill, *über d. Verhältniss d. indogerm. u. d. semit. Sprachwurzeln* in the *Zeitschrift D. M. G.*, 1873.

[2] The active of the simple form in Arabic is 3 m. s. Perf. *qâtala*, the passive *qûtila;* the active of the intensive form in Hebrew is 3 m. s. Perf. *qittêl*, the passive *quttâl*.

[3] The simple form of the verb in Hebrew 3 m. s. Perf. is *qatâl*, the intensive *qittêl*. The intensive nouns are in their ground form such as *qattal*, *qittal*, *quttal*, *qattil*, *qittil*, *qattul*, *qattol*, *qittul*.

[4] The infinitive in Hebrew is *q'tol;* the segholate normal forms are *qatl*, *qitl*, *qutl*.

[5] The causative stems prefix *ha* or *sha;* the reflexive, *hith* and *na*.

[6] In Arabic the moods of the imperfect are: indicative *yaqtulu*, subjunctive *yaqtula*, jussive *yaqtuli*, energetic *yaqtulana;* preserved by the Hebrew in part in the indicative, jussive, and cohortative forms. In Arabic the cases are: nominative *u*, genitive *i*, accusative *a;* also preserved in part in Hebrew in the poetic endings in *i* and *o*, and in the local accusative in *a*.

[7] אדני האדנים, אלהי האלהים Dt. 10^{17}.

[8] אל דעות 1 Sam. 2^{3}.

[9] קדשים Prov. 9^{10}.

[10] גבהים Ecc. 5^{7}.

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The fulness of life, of youth and of happiness for man are similarly expressed.[1]

We may mention also the dependence of the construct relation, and the use of the suffixes.[2] This feature is striking in Hebrew poetry, where the absence of strictness of artistic form is more apparent. We see that, with a general harmony of lines and strophes, the proportion in length and number is not infrequently broken through, and thus indeed the artistic effect is heightened as in the Song of Deborah.[3] And though the Hebrew poet uses the refrain, yet he likes to modify it, as in the lament of David over Jonathan,[4] and in the magnificent prophecy of the great prophet of the exile.[5] Again, though the Hebrew poet uses the alphabet to give his lines or strophes a regularity in order, using it as so many stairs up which to climb in praise, in pleading, in lamentation, and in advancing instruction,[6] yet in the book of Lamentations each chapter varies in number of lines, and in use of alphabet. Free as the ocean is the poet's emotion, rising like the waves in majestic strivings, heaving as an agitated sea, ebbing and flowing like the tide in solemn and measured antitheses, sporting like the wavelets upon a sandy beach.

3. The Hebrew language has a wonderful *majesty* and *sublimity*. This arises partly from its original religious genius, but chiefly from the sublime materials of its thought. God, the only true God, Yahweh, the Holy Redeemer of His people, is the central theme of the Hebrew language and literature, a God not apart from nature, and not involved in nature, no Pantheistic God, no mere Deistic God, but a God who enters into sympathetic relations with His creatures, who is recog-

[1] חיים, בחורים, אשרי.

[2] *E.g.*, the Hebrew language gives the two words: *Word of God*, in construct relation, and expresses the relation between them by an internal change in the vowel of one of them, rather than by the insertion of a preposition, or the use of a case: e.g. *D'bhar 'Elohim*. In late Hebrew this might be given as *Dabhar le 'Elohim*. The possessive pronoun is attached to the noun as a suffix: e.g. *d'bharo* = his word.

[3] Jd. 5.

[4] 2 Sam. 1^{19-27}.

[5] Is. 40–66. See Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, pp. 338 *seq.*

[6] These are specimens of alphabetical poems. Pss. 9–10, 34, 37, 111, 112. 119, 145; Lam. 1–4.

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nized and praised, as well as ministered unto by the material creation. Hence there is a realism in the Hebrew language that can nowhere else be found to the same extent. The Hebrew people were as realistic as the Greek were idealistic. Their God is not a God thought out, reasoned out as an ultimate cause, or chief of a Pantheon, but a personal God, known by them in His association with them by a proper name, Yahweh. Hence the so-called anthropomorphisms and anthropopathisms of the Old Testament, so alien to the Indo-Germanic mind that an Occidental theology must explain them away, from an incapacity to enter into that bold and sublime realism of the Hebrews. Thus, again, man is presented to us in all his naked reality, in his weakness and sins, in his depravity and wretchedness, as well as in his bravery and beauty, his holiness and wisdom. In the Hebrew heroes we see men of like passions with ourselves, and feel that their experience is the key to the joys and sorrows of our life. So also in their conception of nature. Nature is to the Hebrew poet all aglow with the glory of God, and intimately associated with man in his origin, history, and destiny. There is no such thing as science; that was for the Indo-Germanic mind; but they give us that which science never gives, that which science is from its nature unable to present us: namely, those concrete relations, those expressive features of nature that declare to man their Master's mind and character, and claim human sympathy and protection as they yearn with man for the Messianic future. Now the Hebrew language manifests this realism on its very face. Its richness in synonyms is remarkable. It is said that the Hebrew language has, relatively to the English, ten times as many roots and ten times fewer words;[1] and that while the Greek language has 1800 roots to 100,000 words, the Hebrew has 2000 roots to 10,000 words.[2] This wealth in synonyms is appalling to the Indo-Germanic scholar who comes to the Hebrew from the Latin and the Greek, where the synonyms are more or less accurately defined. But nothing of the kind has yet been done by any Shemitic scholar. It is exceedingly doubtful whether this richness of synonyms

[1] Grill, in *l.c.*

[2] Böttcher, *Ausf. Lehrbuch d. Heb. Sprache*, I. p. 8. Leipzig, 1866.

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can be reduced to a system and the terms sharply and clearly defined; the differences are like those of the peculiar gutturals of the Shemitic tongues, so delicate and subtle that they can hardly be mastered by the Western tongue or ear.

This wealth of synonym is connected with a corresponding richness of expression in the synonymous clauses that play such an important part in Hebrew poetry, and indeed are the reason of its wonderful richness and majesty of thought.[1] Thus the sacred poet or prophet plays upon his theme as upon a many-stringed instrument, bringing out a great variety of tone and melody, advancing in graceful steppings or stately marchings to the climax, or dwelling upon the theme with an inexhaustible variety of expression and colouring. The Hebrew language is like the rich and glorious verdure of Lebanon, or as the lovely face of the Shulamite, dark as the tents of Kedar, yet rich in colour as the curtains of Solomon, or her graceful form, which is so rapturously described as she discloses its beauties in the dance of the hosts.[2] It is true that Hebrew literature is not as extensive as the Greek; it is confined to history, poetry, fiction, oratory, and ethical wisdom;[3] but in these departments it presents the grandest productions of the human soul. Its history gives us the origin and destiny of our race, unfolds the story of redemption, dealing now with the individual, then with the family and nation, and at times widening so as to take into its field of representation the most distant nations of earth; it is a history in which God is the great actor, in which sin and holiness are the chief factors. Its poetry stirs the heart of mankind with hymns and prayers, and sentences of wisdom; and in the heroic struggles of a Job and the conquering virtue of a Shulamite, there is imparted strength to the soul and vigour to the character of man and woman transcending the influence of the godlike Achilles or the chaste Lucretia. The great prophet of the exile[4] presents the sublimest aspirations of man. Where shall we find such images of beauty, such wealth of illustration, such grandeur of delineation, such majestic representations? It seems as if the prophet grasped in his tremen-

[1] See pp. 366 *seq.*
[2] Song of Songs, 1^{5}; 7^{1-7}.
[3] See Chap. XIII. and XVII.
[4] Is. 40–66.

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dous soul the movements of the ages, and saw the very future mirrored in the mind of God.

4. The Hebrew language is remarkable for its *life* and *fervour*. This is owing to the emotional and hearty character of the people. There is an artlessness, self-abandonment, and earnestness in the Hebrew tongue; it is transparent as a glass, so that we see through it as into the very souls of the people. There is none of that reserve, that cool and calm deliberation, that self-consciousness that characterize the Greek.[1] The Hebrew language is distinguished by the strength of its consonants and the weakness of its vowels; so that the consonants give the word a stability of form in which the vowels have the greatest freedom of movement. The vowels circulate in the speech as the blood of the language. Hence the freedom in the varying expressions of the same root and the fervour of its full-toned forms. And if we can trust the Massoretic system of accentuation and vocalization, the inflection of the language depends upon the dislike of the recurrence of two vowelless consonants;[2] and on the power of the accent over the vocalization not only of the accented syllable, but also of the entire word.[3] This gives the language a wonderful flexibility and elasticity. In the Hebrew tongue the emotions overpower the thoughts and carry them on in the rushing stream to the expression. Hence the literature has a power over the souls of mankind. The language is as expressive of emotion as the face of a modest and untutored child, and the literature is but the speaking face of the heart of the Hebrew people. The Psalms touch a chord in every soul, and interpret the experience of all the world. The sentences of wisdom come to us as the home-truths, as the social and political maxims that sway our minds and direct our lives. The prophets present to us the objective omnipotent truth, which, according to the beautiful story of Zerubba-

[1] Ewald, in *l.c.*, p. 33; Böttcher, in *l.c.*, p. 9. Bertheau, in Herzog, *Real Encyklopädie*, I. Aufl. Bd. v. p. 613.

[2] Hence the remarkable use of the Shewas and the law of the half-open syllable. In the oldest language doubtless every consonant had a full vowel as in Arabic.

[3] Hence the use of the pretonic *Qāmetz*. It is doubtful whether this belongs to the ancient language. The principle is, however, independent of this question.

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bel,[1] is the mightiest of all, flashing conviction like the sun and cutting to the heart as by a sharp two-edged sword.[2] The history presents us the simple facts of the lives of individuals and of nations in the light of the divine countenance, speaking to our hearts and photographing upon us pictures of real life.

These are some of the most striking features of the Hebrew language, which have made it the most suitable of all languages to give to mankind the elementary religious truths and facts of divine revelation. The great body of the Bible, four-fifths of the sum total of God's Word, is in this tongue. It is no credit to the American people that the Hebrew language has no place at all in many of our colleges and universities; that its study has been confined to so great an extent to theological seminaries and to the students for the ministry. It is not strange that the Old Testament has been neglected in the pulpit, the Sabbath school, and the family, so that many, even of the ministry, have doubted whether it was any longer to be regarded as the Word of God. It is not strange that Christian scholars, prejudiced by their training in the languages and literatures of Greece and Rome, should be unable to enter into the spirit, and appreciate the peculiar features of the Hebrew language and literature, and so fail to understand the elements of a divine revelation. Separating the New Testament and the words and work of Jesus and His apostles from their foundation and their historical preparation, students have not caught the true spirit of the Gospel, nor apprehended it in its unity and variety as the fulfilment of the law and the prophets.[3] But this is not all, for we shall now attempt to show that the other languages of the Bible, the Aramaic and the Greek, have been moulded and transformed by the theological conceptions and moral ideas that had been developing in the Hebrew Scriptures, and which, having been ripened under the potent influence of the Divine Spirit, were about to burst forth into bloom and eternal fruitfulness in these tongues prepared by Divine Provi-

[1] I. Esdras 4^{33-41}. [2] Heb. 4^{12}.

[3] It is becoming more evident now than ever that it is impossible rightly to interpret the New Testament without a thorough knowledge of the Hebrew and Aramaic languages, in which indeed the words of Jesus and the primary sources of the New Testament writings were given. See pp. 190, 244.

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dence for the purpose. The Hebrew language is, as we have seen, the language of religion, and moulded entirely by religious and moral ideas and emotions. The Greek and the Aramaic are of an entirely different character; they were not, as the Hebrew, cradled and nursed, trained from infancy to childhood, armed and equipped in their heroic youth with divine revelation, but they were moulded outside of the realm of divine revelation, and only subsequently adapted for the declaration of sacred truth. And first this was the case with the Aramaic.

III. The Aramaic Language

goes back in its history to the most primitive times. It is the farthest developed of the Shemitic family, showing a decline, a decrepitude, in its poverty of forms and vocalization, in its brevity and abruptness, in its pleonasm, and in its incorporation of a multitude of foreign words. It was the language of those races of Syria and Mesopotamia that warred with the Egyptians and Assyrians, and possibly, as Gladstone suggests, took part in the Trojan War,[1] who were the agents through whom both the Hebrew and the Greek alphabets were conveyed to those peoples. At all events the Aramaic became the language of commerce and intercourse between the nations during the Persian period,[2] taking the place of the Phœnician, as it was in turn supplanted by the Greek. The children of Judah having been carried into captivity and violently separated from their sacred places and the scenes of their history, gradually acquired this commercial and common language of intercourse, so that ere long it became the language of the Hebrew people, the knowledge of the ancient Hebrew being confined to the learned and the higher ranks of society. Hence, even in the books of Ezra and Daniel, considerable portions were written in Aramaic.[3]

The Aramaic continued to be the language of the Jews during the Persian, Greek, and Roman periods, and was the

[1] Gladstone's *Homeric Synchronism*, New York, 1876, p. 173.

[2] It must also have been widely spoken in the Assyrian period, as we see from 2 Kg. 18[11]; see also Fried. Delitzsch, *Wo Lag das Paradies.* Leipzig, 1881, p. 258.

[3] See pp. 172, 351.

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common speech of Palestine in the times of our Lord,[1] although it had long ceased to be the language of commerce and intercourse, the Greek having taken its place. And so the Greek gradually penetrated from the commercial and official circles even to the lowest ranks of society. Thus there was a mingling of a Greek population with the Shemitic races, not only in the Greek colonies of the Decapolis and the cities of the seacoast of Palestine, but also in the great centres of Tiberias, Samaria, and even in Jerusalem itself. Greek manners and customs were, under the influence of the Herodians and the Sadducees, pressing upon the older Aramaic and Hebrew, not without the stout resistance of the Pharisees. The language of our Saviour, however, in which He delivered His discourses and instructions, was undoubtedly the Aramaic. For not only do the Aramaic terms that He used, which are retained at times by the evangelists, and the proper names of His disciples, but also the very structure and style of His discourses, show the Aramaic characteristics. Our Saviour's methods of delivery and style of instruction were also essentially the same as those of the rabbins of His time. Hence we should not think it strange that from the Hebrew and Aramaic literature alone we can bring forward parallels to the wise sentences and moral maxims of the Sermon on the Mount, the rich and beautiful parables, by which He illustrated His discourses, and the fiery zeal of His denunciation of hypocrisy, together with the profound depths of His esoteric instruction. Our Saviour used the Aramaic language and methods, in order thereby to reach the people of His times, and place in the prepared Aramaic soil the precious seeds of heavenly truth. It is the providential significance of the Aramaic language that it thus prepared the body for the thought of our Saviour. It is a language admirably adapted by its simplicity, perspicuity, precision, and definiteness, with all its awkwardness, for the associations of every-day life. It is the language for the lawyer and the scribe, the pedagogue and the pupil; indeed, the English language of the Shemitic family.[2] Thus the earlier Aramaic

[1] Schürer, *Neutestament. Zeitgesch.*, Leipzig, 1874, p. 372. See pp. 172 *seq.*
[2] Volck in Herzog's *Real Encyklopädie*, II. Aufl. 1, p. 603.

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of the Bible gives us only official documents, letters, and decrees, or else simple narrative. But the language was subsequently moulded by the Jewish people after the return from exile, through the giving of the sense of the original Hebrew Scriptures.[1] This resulted in the production of oral targums or popular versions of the ancient scriptures which were handed down by oral transmission by those who officiated in the synagogues and were not committed to writing until after centuries of oral use.[2] The life of the Jewish people, subsequent to the exile, was largely devoted to this giving of the sense of the Hebrew Scriptures, both in the *Halacha* of the rabbinical schools, and in the *Haggada* of the synagogue and the social circle.[3] It is true that the *Halacha* was developed in the rival schools of Shammai and Hillel into the most subtle questions of casuistry, and our Saviour often severely reproved the Pharisaic spirit for its subtlety and scholasticism; yet not infrequently He employed their methods to the discomfiture of His opponents,[4] although His own spirit was rather that of the old prophets than of the scribes. The *Haggada* was developed by the rabbins into a great variety of forms of ethical wisdom and legend. This we see already in the apocryphal books of Wisdom, in the stories of Zerubbabel, of Judith, of Susanna, and of Tobit.[5] This latter method was the favourite one of our Saviour, as suited for the instruction of the common people, and to it we may attribute the parables, which, though after the manner of the scribes,[6] have yet a clearness and transparency as the atmosphere of the Holy Land itself, a richness and simplicity as the scarlet flower of the fields He loved so well, a calm majesty and profound mystery as the great deep; for He was the expositor of the divine mind, heart, and being to mankind.[7]

[1] Neh. 8[8]. [2] See pp. 210 *seq.* [3] See pp. 430 *seq.*

[4] Mt. 22[15-46]. See Weizsäcker, *Untersuchungen über die ev. Geschichte*, Gotha, 1864, pp. 358 *seq.*

[5] Zunz, *Gottesdienstlichen Vörtrage der Juden*, Berlin, 1832, pp. 42, 100, 120; Etheridge, *Introduction to Hebrew Literature*, London, 1856, pp. 102 *seq.* Those who are interested in this subject may find a large collection of this Haggadistic literature in the *Bibliotheca Rabbinica, Eine Sammlung Alter Midraschim ins Deutsche übertragen von* Aug. Wünsche, 20 Lief. Leipzig, 1880–84.

[6] Hausrath, *Die Zeit Jesus*, Heidelberg, 1868, p. 90. [7] John 1[18].

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The richest collection of the words of Jesus is the sentences of Wisdom, uttered originally in Aramaic, but translated by the apostle Matthew in his Logia [1] into Hebrew, and then finally in our synoptic Gospels into Greek. No one can fully understand them until he traces them back to their Shemitic originals and sees them in the measured lines and well ordered strophes and varied parallelisms characteristic of Hebrew and Aramaic gnomic poetry.[2]

The office of the Aramaic language was to mediate between the old world and the new — the Hebrew and the Greek; for the Greek language was the one chosen to set forth the divine revelation in its fulness.

IV. The Greek Language

was born and grew to full maturity outside of the sphere of the divine revelation, and yet was predestined "as the most beautiful, rich, and harmonious language ever spoken or written" "to form the pictures of silver in which the golden apple of the Gospel should be preserved for all generations." [3] For, as Alexander the Great broke in pieces the Oriental world-monarchies that fettered the kingdom of God, and prepared a theatre for its world-wide expansion, so did the Greek language and literature, that his veterans carried with them, prove more potent weapons than their swords and spears for transforming the civilization of the East and preparing a language for the universal Gospel. The Greek language is the beautiful flower, the elegant jewel, the most finished masterpiece of Indo-Germanic thought. In its early beginning we see a number of dialects spoken by a brave and warlike people, struggling with one another, as well as with external foes, maintaining themselves successfully against the Oriental and African civilizations, while at the same time they appropriated

[1] See McGiffert, *Eusebius*, pp. 152, 153, 173, and Briggs, *Messiah of the Gospels*, pp. 41 *seq.*, 71 *seq.*

[2] See my articles on "The Wisdom of Jesus," in the *Expository Times*, June, July. August, and November, 1897.

[3] Schaff, *Hist. of the Apostolic Church*, p. 145. New York, 1859. See also Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, I. p. 78. New York, 1882.

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those elements of culture which they could incorporate into their own original thought and life; a race of heroes such as the earth has nowhere else produced, fighting their way upward into light and culture until they attained the towering summits of an art, a literature, and a philosophy, that has ever been the admiration and wonder of mankind. As Pallas sprang forth in full heroic stature from the head of her father Zeus, so Greek literature sprang into historical existence in the matchless Iliad. Its classic period was constituted by the heroism and genius of the Athenian republic, which worked even more mightily in language, literature, and art, than in the fields of politics and war, producing the histories of a Thucydides and a Xenophon, the tragedies of an Æschylus and a Sophocles, the philosophy of a Socrates and a Plato, the oratory of a Demosthenes and an Æschines. Looking at the Greek language before it became the world-language, and so the language of a divine revelation, we observe that its characteristic features are in strong contrast with those of the Hebrew tongue.

1. The Greek language is *complex* and *artistic*. As the Hebrew mind perceives and contemplates, the Greek conceives and reflects. Hence the Greek etymology is elaborate in its development of forms from a few roots, in the declensions and cases of nouns, in the conjugations, tenses, and moods of the verb, giving the idea a great variety of modifications. Hence the syntax is exceedingly complex in the varied use of the conjunctions and particles, the intricate arrangement of the sentences as they may be combined into grand periods, which require the closest attention of a practised mind to follow, in their nice discriminations and adjustments of the thought.[1] Hence the complex and delicate rules of prosody, with the great variety of metres and rhythms. The Greek mind would wrestle with the external world, would search out and explore the reason of things, not being satisfied with the *phenomena*, but grasping for the *noumena*. Thus a rich and varied literature was developed, complex in character, for the epos, the drama,

[1] Curtius, *Griech. Gesch.*, Berlin, 1865, 2d Aufl., I. pp. 19, 20; *History of Greece*, New York, 1875, Vol. I. pp. 30, 32.

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the philosophical treatise, and scientific discussion are purely Greek, and could have little place among the Hebrews.[1]

2. The Greek language is characterized by its attention to the *form or style of its speech*, not to limit the freedom of the movement of thought and emotion, but to direct them in the channels of clear, definite, logical sentences, and beautiful, elegant, and artistic rhetorical figures. The Greek was a thorough artist; and as the palaces of his princes, the temples of his gods, the images of his worship, his clothing and his armour, must be perfect in form and exquisite in finished decoration, so the language, as the palace, the dress of his thought, must be symmetrical and elegant.[2] Hence there is no language that has such laws of euphony, involving changes in vocalization, and the transposition and mutation of letters; for their words must be musical, their clauses harmonious, their sentences and periods symmetrical. And so they are combined in the most exquisite taste in the dialogues of the philosopher, the measures of the poet, the stately periods of the historian and the orator. The sentences "are intricate, complex, involved like an ivory cabinet, till the discovery of its nominative gives you the key for unlocking the mechanism and admiring the ingenuity and beauty of its rhetoric." [3]

3. The Greek language is thus *beautiful* and *finished*. The Greek mind was essentially *ideal*, not accepting the external world as its own, but transforming it to suit its genius and its taste. This was owing to its original humanizing genius and its central theme, man as the heroic, man as the ideally perfect.[4] As the language and literature of the Hebrews were inspired to describe the righteous acts of Yahweh's dominion in Israel and the victories of His holy arm,[5] and thus were majestic and sublime; so the language and literature of the Greeks were to sing the exploits of the godlike Achilles, the

[1] Donaldson, *The New Cratylus*, 3d ed. p. 153.

[2] Curtius, *Griech. Gesch.* I. pp. 20, 21; *History of Greece*, New York, 1875, I. pp. 32–34.

[3] W. Adams, *Charge on Occasion of the Induction of Dr. Shedd as Professor of Biblical Literature*, New York, 1864, p. 10.

[4] Schaff, *Apostolic Church*, New York, p. 145; Zezschwitz, *Profangräcität und biblischer Sprachgebrauch*, Leipzig, 1869, p. 13. [5] Jd. 5^{11}; Ps. 98^{1}.

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crafty Ulysses, and the all-conquering Hercules; to paint the heroic struggles of the tribes at Thermopylæ, Salamis, and Platea, to conceive a model republic and an ideal human world, and thus were beautiful, stately, and charming. The gods are idealized virtues and vices and powers of nature, and conceived after the fashion of heroic men and women, arranged in a mythology which is a marvel of taste and genius. Nature is idealized, and every plant and tree and fountain becomes a living being. Indeed, everything that the Greek mind touched it clothed with its own ideals of beauty. Hence the drama is the most appropriate literature for such a people, and the dialogue the proper method of its philosophy.[1]

4. The Greek language has remarkable *strength* and *vigour*. Its stems have been compressed, vowel and consonant compacted together. Its words are complete in themselves, ending only in vowels and the consonants *n*, *r*, and *s*; they have a singular independence, as the Greek citizen and warrior, and are protected from mutilation and change.[2] It is true it has a limited number of roots, yet it is capable of developing therefrom a great variety of words;[3] so that although it cannot approach the wealth of synonym of the Hebrew, yet its words are trained as the athlete, and capable of a great variety of movements and striking effects. Its syntax is organized on the most perfect system, all its parts compacted into a solid mass, in which the individual is not lost, but gives his strength to impart to the whole the weight and invincible push of the *phalanx*. Hence the Greek language is peculiarly the language of oratory that would sway the mind and conquer with invincible argument. It is the language of a Demosthenes, the model orator for the world. It wrestles with the mind, it parries and thrusts, it conquers as an armed host.

Such was the language with which Alexander went forth to subdue the world, and which he made the common speech of the nations for many generations. It is true that the Greek

[1] Curtius, *Griech. Gesch.* III. p. 508; *History of Greece*, New York, 1875, Vol. V. pp. 169, 170.

[2] Curtius, *Griech. Gesch.* I. p. 18; *Hist. of Greece*, New York, 1875, Vol. I. p. 29.

[3] Jelf, *Greek Gram.* 4th ed., Oxford, 1864, p. 330.

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was required to forfeit somewhat of its elegance and refinement in its collision with so many barbarous tongues, but it lost none of its essential characteristics when it was adopted by the Egyptian, the Syrian, and the Jew. The Jews were scattered widely in the earth, engaged in commercial pursuits that required them, above all others, to master the common speech of the nations. Hence those of Europe, Asia Minor, and Africa, easily adopted the Greek as their vernacular, and it gradually became more and more the language of Syria and Palestine. This was furthered by the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into the Greek at Alexandria, the centre of the Greek culture of the times. This translation shows upon its face the difficulties of rendering for the first time foreign conceptions into a strange tongue,[1] but nevertheless it became of incalculable importance in preparing the way for the New Testament writers. The original productions of the Jews of Alexandria and Palestine, some of which are preserved in the apocryphal books of the Old Testament and the Pseudepigrapha combined to produce the same result.[2] Gradually the Jewish mind was modified by the Greek thought and culture, and the Greek language was, on the other hand, adapted to the expression of Hebrew and Aramaic conceptions. The apostles of our Lord, if they were to carry on a work and exert an influence, world-wide and enduring, were required, from the very circumstances of the times, to use the Greek; for the Aramaic would have had but a narrow and ever-diminishing influence, even if their labours had been confined to the synagogues of the dispersed Jews in Palestine and Syria. Hence we are not surprised that, without an exception, so far as we know, our New Testament writers composed their works in Greek, yes, even gave us the Aramaic discourses of our Saviour in the Greek tongue. Nor was this without its providential purpose; for though our Saviour delivered His discourses in Aramaic, yet they were not taken down by the apostles as they

[1] Reuss, *Hellenistisches Idiom*, in Herzog, *Real Encyklopädie*, I. Aufl. p. 709, II. Aufl. p. 745; Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, Oxford, 1889, pp. 1 *seq.*

[2] See Briggs, *Messiah of the Gospels*, pp. 4 *seq.*; and *Messiah of the Apostles*, pp. 13 *seq.*

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heard them in that tongue, but were subsequently recalled to their minds by the Holy Spirit, who, in accordance with the promise of our Lord, brought all things to their remembrance.[1]

These then transmitted them to their disciples either in Aramaic, Hebrew, or Greek, as they found it most convenient in their teaching and preaching in different lands and among many different nations. The original Logia of St. Matthew and the sources of the Gospel of the Infancy, and possibly the original Gospel of St. John, were written in Hebrew. But in whatever way the disciples of the apostles received the teaching of Jesus, they gave it to the world in Greek, and it remains for the world in the Greek language alone. It is evident therefore that we have the teaching of Jesus as it passed from the Aramaic, in part, at least, through the Hebraic conceptions of those who gave the primary oral and written sources, and the whole of it through the Hellenistic conceptions of the writers of our present Gospels. The words of Jesus have been coloured and paraphrased by the minds and characters of those who were guided by the Divine Spirit to report them.

This process of change may easily be traced in the use of the original Logia by the Gospels; *e.g.* there can be little doubt that this is an original logion of Jesus:

> Whoso findeth his life shall lose it;
> But whoso loseth his life shall find it.

This is a simple antithetic couplet of the tetrameter movement,[2] complete and perfect in itself. This was cited Mk. 8^{35} as follows:

> Whosoever would save his life shall lose it;
> And whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's shall save it.

It is evident that Mark interprets in the use of "would save" and "shall save" for "find" in the two clauses; and that it inserts "for my sake and the gospel's" in order to show that this loss of life must have a Christian motive. Furthermore, this addition destroys the measure of the line and transforms the couplet from poetry to prose.

Matthew 16^{25} cites from Mark, the primary gospel, as usual; but it omits "and the gospel's" and restores the original "shall find it" in the second clause instead of Mark's "shall save it."

[1] John 14^{26}. [2] See pp. 379, 385.

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Luke 9[24] also cites from Mark, leaving out "and the gospel's," but inserting the demonstrative "*the same* shall save it."

But Matthew and Luke in other passages cite the logion directly from the Logia, and not mediately through Mark. Thus Mt. 10[39] cites it exactly from the Logia, and makes no change except by inserting "for my sake" in the second clause. Luke 17[33], however, paraphrases here so that the most of the language is new:

> Whosoever shall seek to gain his life shall lose it;
> But whosoever shall lose his life shall preserve it.

It is noteworthy, however, that no additions are made to it.

But the greatest change is found in the Gospel of John 12[25]:

> He that loveth his life shall lose it;
> And he that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto life eternal.

The first line is simply a paraphrase, but the second line makes a long insertion as well as a paraphrase, so that nothing of the original is left but the substance of the thought. Furthermore, the antitheses of love and hate, and of this world and the life eternal, are characteristic of the author of John's gospel, and show clearly how his mind has coloured and reconstructed the logion of Jesus.

It was evidently the design of God that the Saviour's words, as well as acts and His glorious person, should be presented to the world through those four typical evangelists, who appropriately represent the four chief phases of human character and experience, and that they should be stereotyped in the Greek language.[1]

The New Testament writers used the common Greek of their time, yet as men who had been trained in the Hebrew Scriptures and in the Rabbinical methods of exposition, but above all as holy men who spake as they were moved by the Holy Spirit. Hence, as the Greek language had now to perform a work for which it had providentially been preparing, and yet one which it had never yet attempted, namely, to convey the divine revelation to mankind, so it must be remoulded and shaped by the mind of the Spirit to express ideas that were new both to the Greek and the Jew, but which had been developing in the languages and literatures of both nations, for each in its way pre-

[1] Winer, *New Test. Gram.*, Thayer's edit., Andover, 1872, p. 27; Bleek, *Einleit. in d. N. T.*, II. Aufl., Berlin, 1866, p. 76; Edin., 1869, pp. 72 *seq.*

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pared for the Gospel of Christ.[1] Hence we are not surprised that the biblical Greek should be distinguished not only from the classic models, but also from the literary Greek of the time. When compared with the Greek of the Septuagint and the Apocrypha, it approximates more to the literary Greek, being "not the slavish idiom of a translation, but a free, language-creating idiom, without, however, denying its cradle."[2] It is true that much of its elegance and artistic finish has been lost, and the nicely rounded sentences and elaborate periods, with their delicately shaded conceptions, have disappeared, yet its distinguishing characteristics, especially its strength and beauty, its perspicuity, and its logical and rhetorical power, have been preserved; while to these have been added the simplicity and richness, the ardour and glow of the Shemitic style; but over and above all these, the language has been employed by the Spirit of God, and transformed and transfigured, yes, glorified, with a light and sacredness that the classic literature never possessed.[3]

It is true that the writings of the New Testament are not all on the same level of style and language.[4] The gospels of Matthew and Mark, and the Epistle of James, together with the Apocalypse, have stronger Hebraic or Aramaic colouring,[5] which disturbs the Greek lines of beauty, the Greek form being overpowered by the life and glow of the Shemitic emotion. In the writings of Luke and John, and especially of Paul and the Epistle to the Hebrews, the strength and excellence of the Greek unite with the peculiarities of the Aramaic and the Hebrew in striving, under the potent influence of the Holy Spirit, to convey the new religion in the most adequate and appropriate language and style.

[1] Schaff, *Apostolic Church*, p. 146; also Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, I. pp. 76 *seq.*

[2] Reuss, *Hellenistisches Idiom*, in Herzog, I. Aufl., V. p. 710; II. Aufl., V. p. 747; Winer, *New Test. Gram.*, p. 39.

[3] Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, Oxford, 1889; Kennedy, *Sources of New Testament Greek*, Edin., 1895; Vincent, *Student's New Testament Handbook*, 1893, pp. 4–10.

[4] Immer, *Hermeneutik des Neuen Testaments*, Wittemberg, 1873, pp. 106 *seq.*, Amer. ed., Andover, 1877, p. 132; Reuss, in *l.c.*, p. 747.

[5] This is due in large measure to their Hebraic and Aramaic sources.

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Here the humanizing and idealistic tendencies of the Greek combine with the theological and realistic tendencies of the Hebrew and the Aramaic; for to these New Testament writers the person of Christ assumes the central and determining position and influence, as Yahweh the one God did to the Old Testament writers. Christ is Lord in the New Testament as Yahweh is Lord in the Old Testament. Christ became the emperor of the Scriptures, to use Luther's expression, and His person irradiated its language and literature with His own light and glory. Thus when the mind now no longer strove to conceive the simple idea of the one God Yahweh, but the complex idea of the person of Christ as Messiah and Lord, and eventually as God, the Hebrew and Aramaic languages were entirely inadequate; and the Greek, as the most capable, must be strained and tried to the utmost to convey the idea of the *logos*, who was in the beginning, was with God, and was God, and yet became the incarnate Word, the God-man, the interpreter in complete humanity of the fulness of the Deity.[1] Notwithstanding the historical preparation for this conception in the theophanies of the Hebrews, the *nous* of Plato, the *logos* of Philo, and the wisdom of Solomon and Sirach, it was yet a new conception, which the world could not appropriate without the transforming and enlightening influence of the Spirit of God.[2] So in anthropology the apostle Paul combines the Hebrew and Greek conceptions in order to produce a new and perfect conception. Taking the psychology of the Greek as a system, he gave the central place to the Hebrew *ruach* or spirit, finding, to use the words of Zezschwitz, its "undisturbed centralization in living union with the Spirit of God."[3] He uses the psychological conceptions of the Old Testament, but transforms them for the higher purpose of setting forth the strife of the flesh with the spirit, and the false position of the psychical nature over against the spirit. So also for the first he gives to the world the true conception of the conscience as "the remnant of the spirit in

[1] John 1^{1-14}; see Briggs, *Messiah of the Apostles*, pp. 495 *seq.*

[2] Dorner, *Entwichlungsgeschichte der Lehre von der Person Christi*, Stuttgart, 1845, I. p. 64; Edin., T. & T. Clark, 1861, pp. 44, 45; Schaff, in Lange, *Com. on John*, N. Y., p. 55.

[3] Zezschwitz, *Profangräcität*, etc., pp. 36 *seq*

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the psychical man," "the divine voice," the consciousness of which Socrates felt as the "summit of the knowledge of the true wisdom by the Greek spirit."[1] Hence the development of the doctrine of sin with its technical terms, and of holiness with its new ideas and language. How infinitely deeper and higher than the Greek are these conceptions of the New Testament language, as the person of Christ, presented by the omnipotent Spirit, convicts the world in respect of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment.[2] The Word as tabernacled among us, with glory as of an only begotten from a Father, full of grace and faithfulness,[3] assumes the place not only of the heroic ideal man of the Greeks, but even of the unapproachable holy Yahweh of the Hebrews. Hence the elevation of the graces of meekness, patience, long-suffering, self-sacrifice; and their union with the Greek virtues of strength, beauty, bravery, manhood, organize a new ethical ideal. And so in all departments of Christian thought there was a corresponding elevation and degradation of terms and conceptions. We need only mention regeneration, redemption, reconciliation, justification, sanctification, life and death, heaven and hell, the Church, the Kingdom of God, repentance, faith, Christian love, baptism, the Lord's supper, the Lord's day, the advent, the judgment, the new Jerusalem, everlasting glory.[4] Truly a new world was disclosed by the Greek language, and the literature of the New Testament, as the Hebrew and the Aramaic and the Greek combined their energies and capacities in the grasp of the divine creating and shaping Spirit, who transformed the Greek language and created a new and holy Greek literature just as He makes the earth heave and subside into new forms and shapes under the energy of the great forces of its advancing epochs.

The especial literary development of the New Testament is the sermon and the theological tract. We trace these from the first beginning on the day of Pentecost through the dis-

[1] Zezschwitz, in *l.c.*, pp. 55–57, Hatch, in *l.c.*, pp. 94 *seq.*

[2] John 16^{8}. [3] John 1^{14}.

[4] Bleek, *Einleitung*, p. 71; Immer, *Hermeneutik*, p. 105; Am. ed., Andover, 1877, pp. 129–131; Cremer, *Bib. Theol. Wörterbuch der Neu. Testament. Grăcität;* and Trench, *New Testament Synonyms*, under the respective words.

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courses of the book of Acts into the epistles. Looking at the sermons, we observe that they are no longer on the Aramaic and Hebraic model, as are the discourses of our Lord, but we see the Greek orator in place of the Aramaic rabbin. So with the epistles, especially these of Saint Paul; although he reminds us of the rabbinical schools in his use of the *halacha* and *haggada* methods,[1] yet he exhibits also the dialectic methods of the Greek philosopher. Thus the Greek orator and philosopher prepared the language and style of Saint Paul, the preacher and theologian, no less than the Hebrew prophet and wise man gave him the fundamental principles of his wisdom and experience. And although the Greek literature of the New Testament has no Demosthenes' *On the Crown*, or Plato's *Republic*, as it has no *Iliad* or *Prometheus*, yet it lays the foundation of the sermon and the tract, which have been the literary means of a world-transforming power, as, from the pulpit and the chair, Christian ministers have stirred the hearts and minds of mankind, and lead the van of progress in the Christian world: for the sermon combines the prophetic message of the Hebrew with the oratorical force of the Greek, as it fires the heart, strives in the council-chamber of the intellect, and pleads at the bar of the conscience; while the epistle combines the sententious wisdom of the Hebrew with the dialectic philosophy of the Greek, in order to mould and fashion the souls of men and of nations, by the great vital and comprehensive principles which constitute the invincible forces of Christian history.

[1] Gal. 4^{22} *seq.*; Rom. 3^{1} *seq.*, etc. See pp. 444 *seq.*

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CHAPTER IV

HOLY SCRIPTURE AND CRITICISM

HOLY SCRIPTURE is composed of a great variety of writings of holy men under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, in a long series extending through many centuries, preserved to us in three different original languages, the Hebrew, the Aramaic, and the Greek, besides numerous versions. These languages were themselves the products of three different civilizations, which having accomplished their purpose passed away, the languages no longer being used as living speech, but preserved only in written documents. They present to us a great variety of literature, as the various literary styles and the various literary forms of these three languages have combined in this one sacred book of the Christian Church, making it as remarkable for its literary variety as for its religious unity.

The Bible is the sacred canon of the Israel of God, the infallible authority in all matters of worship, faith, and conduct. From this point of view it has been studied for centuries by Jew and Christian. Pious men in all ages have faithfully endeavoured to learn from it the holy will of God and to apply it to their daily life. They have used all the resources at the disposal of man to gather the sacred material, and employ it in the construction of sacred institutions and the formation of systems of doctrine and morals. The inevitable tendency has been, not only to discern the divine authority in Holy Scripture and to recognize the divine teaching therein, but also so to exalt the divine element as to underrate or ignore the human element in the Bible. The Church in its official utterance has kept itself to the normal line of truth; but many of the theologians have unduly extended their doctrine of inspiration so as

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to cover the external letter, the literary form and style, in the theory of verbal inspiration, and even to include the method of the delivery of the revelation to the sacred writers by the theories of divine dictation and the overpowering ecstatic control of the Divine Spirit; and they have so extended the infallible teaching as to make it include the incidental words of weak, ignorant, and wicked men, and even of Satan himself.

The fact has been too often overlooked, that it has not seemed best to God to create a holy language for the exclusive vehicle of His Word, or to constitute peculiar literary forms and styles for the expression of His revelation, or to commit the keeping of the text of this Word to infallible guardians. But on the other hand, as He employed men rather than angels as the channels of His revelation, so He used three human languages with all the varieties of literature that had been developed in the various nations using these languages, in order that He might approach mankind in a more familiar way in the human forms with which they were acquainted and which they could readily understand; and He permitted the sacred text to depend for its accuracy upon the attention and care of the successive generations of His people. Hence the necessity of Biblical Criticism to determine the true canon, the correct text, and the position and character of the various writings.

Holy Scripture comes down to us through the centuries enveloped in numberless traditional theories and interpretations which are too often confounded with Scripture itself. Sometimes these traditions are expressed in the arrangement of the books, the titles given to them, the headings of chapters and sections, and other similar editorial work upon the writings themselves. But more frequently they envelop the writings like a mist of pious sentiment, or a cloud of traditional opinion, sometimes in current literature, but oftener in the language of the synagogue, the church, and the school; which is transmitted from father to son, or from master to pupil as the genuine orthodox opinion. In all those centuries in which religious opinion was chiefly traditional, depending on the teaching of the Fathers, it is a matter of congratulation that none of these traditional theories about the Bible ever received the official

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endorsement of any section of the Christian Church. And the diversity of opinion in the several layers of the Talmud and among ancient Jewish rabbis shows that liberty of opinion on these matters has ever been a heritage of Israel.

At the revival of learning, when Christian scholars began to study the original Hebrew text of the Old Testament, under the guidance of the most learned Hebrew scholars of their age, it became inevitable that, in course of time, if the spirit of the Reformation was to endure, all the traditional theories about the Bible would eventually have to be tested.

The free-born spirit of the Reformation was repressed in the age of Protestant scholasticism, which built up the systems of Protestant dogmatics and ecclesiasticism over against Roman Catholic dogmatics and ecclesiasticism. But a terrible retribution came upon unfaithful Protestantism in the outbreak of free thought in Deism, Atheism, and Rationalism, which laid violent hands upon everything that was deemed sacred in Christianity, and forced Protestantism from a dogmatic into an apologetic position. It was the serious conflicts in this age of apologetics which brought to birth the age of modern scientific criticism. Criticism sprang forth a youthful giant to solve the problems of the modern age of the world.

All traditions must be tested. Certainty must in some way be attained. How can it be attained in the opinion of any man save by an intuition of God, or by an infallible decision of the Church, or by the most exact, painstaking, comprehensive, and thorough-going investigation? We cannot look for an intuition from God in matters of traditional opinion. There is nothing to warrant it. To those who would rest upon the infallible authority of the Church, we may say, there has been no decision of the Church in matters of Biblical Criticism, and, in the divided condition of Christianity at the present time, what church can speak with sufficient authority to decide these questions? If the reformers would not submit to the decision of the Council of Trent in the all-important question of the Canon of Scripture, what council could now speak a decisive word as to matters of Biblical Criticism?

It is manifest, therefore, that the only pathway to certainty

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in these matters, is the laborious pathway of scientific criticism. And let us thank God for this. It removes our Bible from the custody of ecclesiastics and scribes, and puts it in the hands of the people of God of all nations. Here Hebrew and Christian may work in the same workshop and with the same tools. All the sects and divisions of Christianity and Judaism, yes, all the religions of the world, may come to the same Bible and search it with all the powers and resources of genuine scholarship and find out for themselves of a certainty whether it is the Book of God.

One would have thought that all truth-seeking men would rejoice in an age of criticism. For what is criticism but the quest after truth, the test of its certainty and the method of its verification? All honest men should rejoice in every effort to make the truth more evident to themselves and more convincing to others. For the saying of that ancient Jew, Zerubbabel, is the watchword of knowledge: "Great is the truth and stronger than all things . . . it endureth and is strong forever, and liveth and prevaileth forever and ever."[1]

But, in fact, every department of criticism had to be conquered from the ecclesiastics and scholastics, who held scholarship in subjection to their theories.

I. What is Criticism?

Biblical Criticism is one of the departments of Historical Criticism as Historical Criticism is one of the divisions of General Criticism. Criticism is a method of knowledge, and, wherever there is anything to be known, the critical method has its place. Knowledge is gained by the use of the faculties of the human mind, through sense-perception, the intuitions, and the reasoning powers. If these were infallible in their working, and their results were always reliable, there would be no need of criticism; but, in fact, these faculties are used by fallible men who do not know how to use them, or employ them in various degrees of imperfection, so that human knowledge is ever a mixture of the true and the false, the reliable and the

[1] 1 Esdras 4^{35-38}.

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unreliable; and errors of individuals are perpetuated and enhanced by transmission from man to man and from generation to generation. *Criticism is the test of the certainty of knowledge, the method of its verification.* It examines the products of human thinking and working, and tests them by the laws of thought and the rules of evidence. It eliminates the false, the uncertain, and the unsubstantial from the true, the certain, and the substantial.

The unthinking rely upon their own crude knowledge, which they have received from their fathers and friends, or acquired by their narrow experience, without reflecting upon the uncertainty necessarily attached to it. But the reflecting mind which has experienced the uncertainty of its own acquisitions and of those things that have been transmitted to it, cannot rely upon anything as really known until it has been tested and found reliable by criticism. For criticism reviews the processes of thought and the arguments and evidences by which its results have been acquired. It studies these products in their genesis, examines them carefully in the order of their production, verifies and corrects them, improves upon them where improvement is possible, strengthens them where strength is needed, but also destroys them when they are found to be worthless, misleading, or false, as mere conceits, illusions, or fraudulent inventions.

Criticism is thus on the one side destructive, for its office is to detect the false, eliminate it, and destroy it. This is not infrequently a painful process to the critic himself, and to those who have allowed themselves to be deceived, and who have been relying upon the unreliable; but it is indispensable to the knowledge of the truth; it is the path of safety for the intellect and good morals; it removes the obstructions to progress in knowledge. The destruction of an error opens up a vision of the truth, as a mote removed from the eye or frost brushed from the window.

Criticism is also constructive. It tests and finds the truth. It rearranges truths and facts in their proper order and harmony. In accordance with the strictness of its methods, and the thoroughness of their application, will be the certainty of

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the results. But criticism itself, as a human method of knowledge, is also defective and needs self-criticism for its own rectification, security, and progress. It must again and again verify its methods and correct its processes. Eternal vigilance is the price of truth as well as of liberty. It improves its methods with the advancement of human learning. In the infancy or early growth of a nation, or of an individual, or of the world, we do not find criticism. It belongs to the manhood and maturity of a nation and the world's civilization.

Criticism requires for its exercise careful training. Only those who have learned how to use its tools and have employed them with the best masters, and have attained a mastery of the departments of knowledge to be criticised, are prepared for the delicate and difficult work of criticism; for knowledge must be attained ere it can be tested. Criticism refines the crude oil of knowledge. It cleanses and polishes the rough diamond of thought. It removes the dross from the gold of wisdom. Criticism searches all departments of knowledge, as a torch of fire, consuming the hay, straw, and stubble, that the truth of God may shine forth in its majesty and certainty as the imperishable and eternal. No one need fear criticism, save those who are uncertain in their knowledge; for criticism leads to certitude. It dissipates doubt. *Fiat Lux* is its watchword.

We are not surprised that criticism has thus far been largely destructive, for there were many errors that had grown up and become venerable with age, and were so interwoven and embedded in systems of philosophy, of theology, of law, of medicine, and of science, as well as in the manners and customs of men, that a long conflict was necessary to destroy them. Men in general are more concerned with the maintenance of established positions and systems and of vested interests than they are interested in the truth of God and of nature. Scholars, when they see the venerable errors, hesitate to destroy them for fear of damaging their own interests or those of their friends, and sometimes out of anxiety, for the truth, with which the error is entangled. But in the providence of God, some great doubter like Voltaire, or Hume, or Strauss, or some great reformer like Luther or Zwingli, arises to lay violent hands upon

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the systems in which truth and error are combined, raze them to the ground and trample them in the dust, that from the ruins the imperishable truth may be gathered up and arranged in its proper order and harmony.

The modern world since the Reformation has become more and more critical, until the climax has been reached in our day. The destruction of error has been the chief duty of criticism, but its constructed work has not been neglected, and this will more and more rise into importance in the progress of knowledge. It is not without significance that the age of the world most characterized by the spirit of criticism has been the age of the most wonderful progress in all departments of human knowledge.

Criticism divides itself into various branches in accordance with the departments of knowledge: (1) Philosophical Criticism; (2) Historical Criticism; and (3) Scientific Criticism. Limiting ourselves to Historical Criticism, we distinguish it from other criticism, in that it has to do with the materials of the past, the sources of the history of mankind; as Philosophical Criticism has to do with the facts of human consciousness, and Scientific Criticism with the facts of external nature. Historical Criticism deals with the various sources of history: literary documents, monuments, laws, customs, institutions, traditions, legends, and myths. The great importance of the literary sources justifies their separation in the distinct branch of Literary Criticism. Biblical Criticism is one of the sections of Historical Criticism, as it has to do with Biblical History and with Biblical Literature.

II. The Principles of Criticism

The principles and methods of Biblical Criticism will thus embrace those (1) of General Criticism, (2) of Historical Criticism, (3) of Literary Criticism, and (4) of Biblical Criticism. Biblical Criticism has thus the advantage of all this preliminary work in other fields to guide and illustrate its own peculiar work.

1. From *General Criticism* it derives the fundamental laws

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of thought, which must not be violated, such as the laws of identity, of contradiction, of exclusion, and of sufficient reason.[1]

The four fundamental laws of thought are these:

(1) The Law of Identity is usually expressed thus: a thing is what it is, A is A, or A = A. This is a necessary law of self-consistent thought. Kant makes it the principle of analytic judgment; Hamilton, the law of logical affirmation, or definition. There are two kinds of identity, absolute and relative. Errors in reasoning under this law are usually in using relative identity as if it were absolute.

(2) The Law of Contradiction may be thus stated: a thing cannot be and not be at the same time; or a thing must either be or not be; or the same attribute cannot at the same time be affirmed and denied of the same subject. This law is called by Hamilton the law of non-contradiction.

(3) The Law of Excluded Middle is as follows: Everything is either A or not A; everything is either a given thing or something which is not a given thing. There is no mean between two contradictory propositions. If we think a judgment true, we must abandon its contradictory; if false, the contradictory must be accepted. This law is a combination of the first and second laws.

(4) The Law of Sufficient Reason is that: Every judgment we accept must rest upon a sufficient ground or reason.

It also derives from General Criticism the laws of probation, which must be applied to all reasoning. There must be no begging of the question at issue, no reasoning backward and forward or in a circle, no jumping at conclusions, no setting out to prove one thing and then insensibly substituting another thing in its place.[2] These laws of probation are the sharp tools of the critic with which he tests all the acquisitions of the human mind and all the reasonings of scholars in all departments of knowledge.

2. From *Historical Criticism* Biblical Criticism derives the principles of historic genesis. The evidences of history belong to the past. They are oral, written, or monumental. They passed through several stages before they reached us. They

[1] Sir Wm. Hamilton, *Logic*, Boston, 1860, pp. 57, 81; also McCosh, *Laws of Discursive Thought*, N.Y. 1871, pp. 195 *seq.*; Thomson, *Laws of Thought*, IV. sect. 114; Hyslop, *Elements of Logic*, N.Y. 1893, pp. 291 *seq.*

[2] Sir Wm. Hamilton, *Logic*, p. 369; McCosh, *Laws of Discursive Thought*, pp. 183 *seq.*

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must be traced back to their origin in order to determine whether they are genuine ; or whether they have been invented as interesting stories for hours of idleness and recreation, or as forgeries with the intent to deceive ; or whether there is a mingling of these various elements that need to be separated and distinguished.[1]

An example may be found in the story familiar to Presbyterian pulpits that George Gillespie uttered the answer to the question of the Shorter Catechism, "*What is God?*" in prayer when the Westminster Assembly was in perplexity how to answer it. This story was fathered by Hetherington in his history of the Westminster Assembly. And yet this writer of history states in his preface that the records of the Westminster Assembly were said to be in the Williams Library in London. He wrote a history of the Westminster Assembly without taking the trouble to journey from Scotland to London to examine the original records of that Assembly. What basis has that story in fact? None whatever! (1) The official Records of the Westminster Assembly show that George Gillespie left the Assembly and returned to Scotland months before the Assembly began its work on the Shorter Catechism. He was not present at the time and therefore could not have made such a prayer.

(2) Furthermore, the answer was not taken from any one's prayer. The records show that this answer of the Shorter Catechism was condensed from the answer of the Larger Catechism, and that the answer of the Larger Catechism was made on the basis of the Catechism of Herbert Palmer, the chairman of the Committee of the Westminster Assembly having this matter in charge, with sundry improvements from other well-known Catechisms of the time.[2]

The order and processes of the development of the material must be considered in order to determine its integrity, or how far it has been modified by external influences or the struggle of internal inconsistencies, and how far the earlier and the later elements may be distinguished and the excrescences removed from the original.

I may use Gillespie again to illustrate the growth of a legend, in the heaping upon one man the honor due to several, and also of

[1] Gieseler, *Text-Book of Church History*, N.Y. 1857, I. p. 23.

[2] Briggs, *Documentary History of the Westminster Assembly*, *Presbyterian Review*, 1880, pp. 155 *seq.*

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substituting a subordinate in place of the principal hero of an occasion. I shall quote from the Presbyterian historian, Dr. Mitchell.

"The question of the autonomy of the Church came up first in the Westminster Assembly when its members were preparing the Propositions concerning Church-government, of which an account was given in my last lecture, and it was then that that far-famed single combat between Selden and Gillespie took place round which later Scottish tradition has thrown such a halo. The manuscript minutes coincide with Lightfoot's Journal in assigning Gillespie's speech not to the session of 20th, but to that of 21st February. In Gillespie's own notes it is introduced at the close of the account of the former session with the words, 'I reply,' not 'I replied,' and may simply embody a brief outline of the reply he was to make on the following day. The reply made to Selden on the spur of the moment was that of Herle, who in 1646 succeeded Dr. Twisse as Prolocutor, and judging even from the fragmentary jottings preserved by Byfield, one cannot doubt that it was a very able reply. Gillespie and Young appear to have taken the evening to arrange their thoughts, and at next session made very telling replies, the former to the general line of argument, the latter to the citations from Rabbinical and patristic authorities."[1]

The character of the material must be studied in order to determine how far it is reliable and trustworthy; whether it is in accordance with the experience of mankind, and so natural; or contrary to that experience, and so unnatural or supernatural; whether it is in harmony with itself and consistent with its own conditions and circumstances; whether there are disturbing influences that determine the material so as to warp or colour it and how far these influences extend.[2]

The value of the materials of history depends upon such considerations as these; also upon the nearness or remoteness of the material to the matters concerning which they render testimony; upon the extent and variety of evidence, if that extent and variety are primitive and not derived from an original source upon which they all depend. The consistency and persistence of materials are also evidences of vitality and inherent strength of evidence.

[1] A. F. Mitchell, *The Westminster Assembly*, 1883, pp. 287, 288.
[2] See Droysen, *Grundriss der Historik*, Leipzig, 1868, pp. 16, 17.

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The sources of history that cannot bear this criticism are not reliable sources. The application of these simple tests removes from the pages of history numberless legends, fables, and myths, and determines the residuum of truth and fact that underlies them. It is distressing to part with the sweet stories which have been told us in our early life, and which have been handed down by the romancers from the childhood and youth of our race. We may still use them as stories, as products of the imagination, but we dare not build on them as historic verities. As men we must know the truth. We cannot afford to deceive ourselves or others.

Many of these legends and traditions have strongly intrenched themselves and lie like solid rocks in the path of historic investigation. They must be exploded to get at the truth; and this cannot be done without noise and confusion, and outcries of alarm from the weak and timid, and those who are interested in the maintenance of error and court popularity by an appeal to prejudices. Sometimes these traditions may be overcome by positive evidence obtained by careful research in ancient documents, and by parallel lines of evidence. But it is not always possible to obtain sufficient external positive evidence. Sometimes we have to rely upon a long-continued and unbroken silence, and sometimes we have to challenge the tradition and reject it from sheer lack of evidence and the suspicious circumstances of its origin and growth.

3. From *Literary Criticism* Biblical Criticism derives its chief principles and methods. As literature it must first be considered as text. The Principles of Textual Criticism have been worked out in the study of the texts of the literature of Greece and Rome, and of the ecclesiastical writers. Biblical Textual Criticism has to determine the correct text of Holy Scripture; that is, the writings as composed of letters, words, sentences, chapters, books, and collections of books. It has nothing to do with their contents except so far as these may help in its more formal work.

(*a*) Textual Criticism first collects all the original manuscripts, endeavours to ascertain when they were written, in what country and by what school of scribes. Then it arranges

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them in families so as to determine their genealogies, and thus it gets at the parent manuscripts, those of primary authority.[1] These are carefully compared in order to determine where they agree and where they differ, their consensus and their dissensus; and when they disagree, to determine which was the original reading.

(*b*) Textual Criticism next examines the ancient translations of the Scriptures; for these give evidence as to the original readings which they translated.

(*c*) The textual critic next betakes himself to the citations of the Bible in ancient writers. These are sometimes earlier than the Versions or even than the Manuscripts. They give important evidence as to the originals from which these citations were made in the different periods of the history of Christian literature and Rabbinical literature.

(*d*) The citations of the Scriptures in the Scriptures themselves are also of very great importance; for although they are often loose and paraphrastic in their character, they yet not infrequently give evidence as to the original text which they cite.

I shall venture to give, as an illustration, a logion of Jesus, which exhibits very clearly the several principles given above. The original logion in the Hebrew Logia of Saint Matthew was in all probability

המשלח אשתו נאף
המשלחה אישה נאפת

He who putteth away his wife committeth adultery:
She who putteth away her husband committeth adultery.

The couplet is a trimeter,[2] and the parallelism is complete word for word throughout.

(*a*) This was cited in Mk. 10^{11-12}:

Whosoever shall put away his wife, and marry another, committeth adultery against her:
And if she herself shall put away her husband, and marry another, she committeth adultery.

The Hebrew participle is, as not infrequently, translated into Greek as a relative clause. In both lines of the couplet "and

[1] See Scrivener in *l.c.*, pp. 404 *seq.* Westcott and Hort deserve great credit for their elaboration of this principle in *l.c.*, pp. 39 *seq.* [2] See pp. 376 *seq.*

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marry another" is inserted. This changes the emphasis of the prohibition from separation to remarriage. Besides, in the first line the adultery is made more specifically a sin against the wife. In addition the measure of the lines of gnomic poetry and the parallelism are disturbed.

(*b*) Matthew 19[9] cites from Mark only the first of these lines:

Whosoever shall put away his wife, except for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery.

It omits the specification "against her," but cites in other respects entirely. Only it gives an additional clause "except for fornication," which limits the universal prohibition of separation, of the original logion, and of remarriage, of Mark's exposition, and gives an exceptional case when separation and remarriage would not be unlawful.

(*c*) Matthew 5[32] cites directly from the Logia:

Every one that putteth away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, maketh her an adulteress.

Here Matthew renders the Hebrew participle by the Greek participle. It makes the same insertion, "saving for the cause of fornication," as in its citation from Mark, except that it uses *παρεκτὸς λόγου* for *μὴ ἐπὶ*. But it also changes the person in the last half of the line, so that the one who puts away his wife, instead of committing the act of adultery himself, causes his wife to commit adultery; that is, by compelling her to seek refuge with another man. It is noteworthy that Matthew here is nearer to the logion by its omission of the remarriage. It should also be mentioned that in the two passages of Matthew a later hand has added the clause "and he that marrieth her when she is put away committeth adultery," which may be regarded as a late ecclesiastical addition due to the influence of Lk. 16[18].

(*d*) Luke 16[18] also cites directly from the Hebrew logion:

Every one that putteth away his wife, and marrieth another, committeth adultery:
And he that marrieth one that is put away from a husband committeth adultery.

Luke thus gives the logion complete. He retains the participial form in the Greek, but he agrees with Mark in inserting remarriage. He knows nothing of the exceptional "fornication," which is evidently peculiar to Matthew and due to it alone. The peculiarity of this passage is the change of person in the second line. This is possibly due to Luke's pointing the Hebrew original as a passive instead of as an active participle.

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(*e*) The apostle Saint Paul also cites this logion of the Lord in 1 Cor. 7^{10-11}:

> But unto the married I give charge, yea not I, but the Lord, *That the wife depart not from her husband* (but and if she depart, let her remain unmarried, or else be reconciled to her husband); and that *the husband leave not his wife.*

Saint Paul is here citing from the original Hebrew logion in the italicized clauses, and agrees with it in laying the stress on separation. He makes no reference to adultery, and inserts his own qualifications.

Furthermore, Saint Paul, like our gospel of Matthew, gives an exception. The exception of Matthew is fornication; the exception of Saint Paul is wilful desertion: "Yet if the unbelieving departeth, let him depart; the brother or the sister is not under bondage in such cases; but God hath called us in peace" (ver.[15]).

There are also errors in translation which arise from lack of knowledge of the original, or inability to give adequate expression to the idea of the original, save by paraphrase, and in defective judgment as to the best way of rendering it. Errors in citation arise from slips of the memory and the desire to use a part and not the whole of the passage, or the adaptation of it to circumstances beyond the scope of the original.

(*e*) When the biblical critic has exhausted all these external evidences, he still confronts many questions unsolved, many doubtful readings. Must he halt here? By no means. Textual Criticism is a science. There are laws which determine the transmission of all literature. It has been determined by careful induction in those investigations what are the sources of error, those mistakes which are natural to inexactness of vision, hearing, and penmanship: such as in words of similar sound, in letters of like form, in the repetition of words in passing from line to line, in the omission or insertion of clauses by slips of the eye, and in the transfer of explanatory notes from the margin to the text. The experienced textual critic is keen to detect these errors, and to remove them even from the earliest manuscripts. He is aware of the tendency of scribes to unconsciously substitute the known for the unknown, the familiar for the unfamiliar, or by explanatory marginal notes to make

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conjectural corrections which in time exchange places with the original text, or crowd the original readings into forgetfulness. The trained critic well knows that pedantry, traditionalism, and literalism — common characteristics of scribes — misled them into errors of a different character, but no less serious than those which arose from rapid reading and copying by other scribes. The internal sense is often a safer guide than the external letter, especially in manuscripts which are defective and difficult to read. There are also errors in the text due to the wear and tear of manuscripts in their use, and by exposure to the carelessness of men and the destructive forces of inclement nature. These render the manuscripts illegible, indistinct, or mutilated, and great caution and experience and often real genius are needed to restore them.[1]

(*f*) When Textual Criticism has exhausted all its processes and has contributed all the wealth of its experience to the solution of the difficulties of ancient readings, there still remain problems which it cannot solve by its own unaided resources. To the solution of these it looks up to its sisters, — the Higher Criticism, the Historical Criticism, and Biblical Theology, which in their higher work often throw great light upon the dark problems of the Lower Criticism.

The value of the manuscripts having been determined, we are prepared to examine the relative value of the readings. The principles on which this is done are: (1) The reading which lies at the root of all the variations and best explains them is to be preferred. (2) The most difficult reading is more likely to be correct from the natural tendency of the scribe to make his text as easy and intelligible as possible, and the natural process of simplification in transmission.[2] (3) The reading most in accordance with the context, and especially with the style and usage of the author and his times, is to be

[1] See Cappellus, *Critica Sacra*, 1650, Lib. I.; Scrivener, *Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, 1874, pp. 7 *seq.*; Isaac Taylor, *History of the Transmission of Ancient Books to Modern Times*, new edition, Liverpool, 1879, p. 22; also Westcott and Hort, *New Testament in the Original Greek*, Vol. II., *Introduction*, N.Y. 1882, pp. 5 *seq.*

[2] These two principles are combined by Westcott and Hort in *l.c.*, pp. 22 *seq.*, under the term "transcriptional probability."

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preferred. This is on the principle of consistency and "intrinsic probability." [1]

These illustrations will suffice.

1. There are three citations of a logion of Jesus in Mt. 5^{29-30}, $18^{8.9}$, Mk. 9^{43-48}.

(*a*) Matthew's gospel cites from the logion thus:

And if thy right eye causeth thee to stumble, pluck it out, and cast it from thee:
For it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish;
And not thy whole body be cast into Gehenna.
And if thy right hand causeth thee to stumble, cut if off and cast it from thee.
For it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish;
And not thy whole body go into Gehenna. — Mt. 5^{29-30}.

Here it is evident there are two strophes of a Hebrew logion, of three symmetrical lines each. But some of the lines are too long for the measure.

(*b*) Mark cites from the same Logion:

And if thy hand cause thee to stumble, cut it off:
For it is good for thee to enter into life maimed,
Rather than having thy two hands to go into Gehenna, into the unquenchable fire.

And if thy foot cause thee to stumble, cut it off:
It is good for thee to enter into life halt,
Rather than having thy two feet to be cast into Gehenna.

And if thine eye cause thee to stumble, cast it out:
It is good for thee to enter into the kingdom of God with one eye,
Rather than having two eyes to be cast into Gehenna, where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched. — Mk. 9^{43-48}.

It is evident that Mark gives three strophes instead of two, of the same number of lines. Sometimes the measures have been destroyed by added lines, but in the main the lines have better measures than Mt. 5^{29-30}.

(*c*) The second passage in Matthew is, as the context shows, a citation from Mark:

And if thy hand or thy foot causeth thee to stumble, cut it off and cast it from thee:
It is good for thee to enter into life maimed or halt,
Rather than having two hands or two feet to be cast into the eternal fire.
And if thine eye causeth thee to stumble, pluck it out and cast it from thee:

[1] See Westcott and Hort, in *l.c.*, pp. 20 *seq.* Scrivener expands these principles to seven in number in *l.c.*, pp. 436 *seq.*; Davidson, *Treatise of Biblical Criticism*, Boston, 1853, pp. 386 *seq.*, gives principles of Textual Criticism for the Old Testament.

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It is good for thee to enter into life with one eye,
Rather than having two eyes to be cast into the Gehenna of fire. — Mt. 18^{8-9}.

It is evident that Matthew has here condensed the first and second strophes of Mark and given the third.

We have now to determine the original logion that lies back of these two stages of transmission.

There can be no doubt that the original was three strophes of three lines each, and that a logion so symmetrical in lines and strophes was also symmetrical in measures of lines.

It is easy to remove the explanatory additions. Mark adds to Gehenna, in the first triplet, the explanatory "into the unquenchable fire"; and to the third, "where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched." Matthew, in its second version, substitutes "everlasting fire" for Gehenna, and in the third triplet enlarges Gehenna into "Gehenna of fire." It is evident that these changes were all made to explain the Hebrew Gehenna to Gentile readers. They come from the evangelists, and not from Jesus. There can be no doubt that in all these cases only Gehenna was used in the original logion. So in the antithesis Mark substitutes for life, in the third triplet, the explanatory "kingdom of God." Furthermore, Matthew in its first version gives "right hand" for hand, and "right eye" for eye. It is now plain what the original logion was from which these three texts were derived:

1. If thy hand cause thee to stumble, cut it off:
   It is better for thee maimed to enter into life,
   Than to have two hands and be cast into Gehenna.

2. And if thy foot cause thee to stumble, cut it off:
   It is better for thee halt to enter into life,
   Than to have two feet and be cast into Gehenna.

3. And if thine eye cause thee to stumble, cast it out:
   It is better for thee with one eye to enter into life,
   Than to have two eyes and be cast into Gehenna.

2. In the difference of reading of the Song of David, 2 Sam. 22^{11}, Ps. 18^{11}, we have in the Psalm ויּדא, and in Samuel ויּרא. The former is a rare word; the latter, a common one. It would be natural for a copyist to change ויּדא to ויּרא, but not the reverse. Moreover, the more difficult form gives the best sense: "And *darted* on the wings of the wind." The other rendering would be, "He *appeared* on the wings of the wind." Moreover, Deut. 28^{49} favors the Psalter.

3. 2 Samuel 22^{5} reads משׁברי where Ps. 18^{5} reads חבלי. The former is right, as we see by the context.

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5. For breakers of death compassed me,
And the streams of Belial made me afraid.

6. The cords of Sheol were round about me:
The snares of death came upon me.

In Psalm 18 the copyist has unconsciously repeated "cords" by slip of the eye from ver. 6.

4. Having secured the best text of the writings, criticism devotes itself to the higher task of considering them as to integrity, authenticity, literary form, and reliability. This is appropriately called *Higher Criticism.* This branch of criticism has established its principles and methods of work.[1]

It is named the Higher Criticism because it is higher in its order and in its work than the Lower or Textual Criticism. This department of criticism has lived and worked under this name for more than a century. It is not likely that it will change its name to accommodate the prejudices of the ignorant, or to justify the misrepresentations of the anti-critics.

The Higher Criticism devotes its attention to the literary features of the Bible. It has four great questions to answer.

(1) *As to the integrity of the writings.*

Is the writing the work of a single author, as Browning's *Ring and the Book;* or is it a collection of writings of different authors, as the new Anglican *Lux Mundi?* Is it in its original condition, as the Westminster Shorter Catechism; or has it been edited and interpolated by later writers, as the Apostles' Creed and the Westminster Confession? May the parts be discriminated, the original form of the writing determined, and the different steps in interpolation and editing clearly traced; as the successive layers of the Talmuds and the several official editions of the Book of Common Prayer? Or is this a difficult and delicate process; as in the recently discovered *Teaching of the Apostles,* or in that wonderful collection of Oriental tales, *The Thousand and One Nights?* All these varieties of literary work are common in the world's literature, why not in

[1] Thus the learned Roman Catholic, Du Pin, in the introduction to his magnificent work on ecclesiastical writers, gave an admirable statement of them with reference to those ecclesiastical writers before the Higher Criticism of the Scriptures had fairly begun. *Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclésiastiques,* Paris, 1694; *New History of Ecclesiastical Writers,* London, 1696.

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the Bible? How can we know until we have examined the question whether the book of Isaiah is the work of a single author in the reign of Hezekiah, or whether it is a collection of writings of different prophets gathered about the prophecies of Isaiah as the most important nucleus? It is necessary for the critic to determine whether the Psalter is in its original condition or whether we may not trace a series of minor psalters going through the hands of many different editors until at length the present Psalter was produced as the crown of many centuries of prayer and praise in Israel.

(2) *As to the authenticity of the writings.*

Is the writing anonymous like most of the editorials in our newspapers and so much of the epistolary advice of our self-constituted friends and counsellors? Is it pseudonymous, where the author wishes to disguise his hand from fear of persecution, as in the *Martin Marprelate tracts*; or to instruct as a prophet in the guise of antiquity, as in the *Apocalypse of Baruch;* or to gain an unbiassed hearing to unpalatable truths, as in the *Letters of Junius;* or to speak slanderous words without the peril of detection, as in the pamphlet literature of political and ecclesiastical controversies; or to hide the blushes of modest beginners in literature?

Or does the writing bear the author's name; and if so, is it genuine? Did it come from the author himself? Or is it the conjecture of a later editor, as in the assignment to Gerson of the *De Imitatione Christi?* Is it a forgery, as the *Epistles of Phalaris?* Or does the writing bear a name which has been suggested by its contents? May not the proper name attached to the book be the name of the hero or the heroine of the story, or the name which the author has chosen to honor by the production of his pen? All these methods of attaching names to writings are common in the world's literature. We must ask these questions of the writings contained in the Bible. How did the name of Moses become attached to the Pentateuch? Is there any valid ground for it in the Pentateuch itself, or in any original title; or has it come from a late, and unreliable conjecture? Is Malachi the name of the prophet, or a pseudonym, as Calvin supposed? Are the books of Daniel and Ecclesiastes

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pseudonymous, as modern critics suppose, or were these writings really written by Daniel and Solomon? Did Ruth and Esther write these books, or are they simply the heroines of these stories? What is the meaning of the proper names in the titles of the Psalms? Such are the numerous questions which arise under the head of authenticity in the study of the Hebrew Scriptures.

(3) *As to literary features.*

What is the style of the author and his method of composition? Does he write in poetry or in prose? What kind of poetry does he produce; lyric, gnomic, dramatic, or epic poetry? What is the measurement of his lines? How does he arrange his strophes? Or if he writes prose, is it history, oratory, the epistle, or the treatise? Is he easy and graceful, or rapid and brilliant, or steady and forceful, or slow and dull, or stiff and pedantic? What are the characteristics which distinguish him from other authors? These questions are familiar to students of the world's literature. Literary critics have to answer them. The biblical critic cannot escape them simply because the biblical writers are said to be Moses and David, Solomon and Isaiah; or because we believe that the Divine Spirit Himself speaks to us in these writings; for they contain different varieties of prose and poetical style. The discovery of the principles of Hebrew poetry by Bishop Lowth made a revolution in our knowledge of the psalmists, the wise men, and the prophets. It makes an immense difference whether the early chapters of Genesis are poetry or prose. A comparison of the styles of the chronicler and the prophetic historians enables us to form a far better judgment upon the value of their history and its lessons than we otherwise could. The whole interpretation of Job, Esther, Ruth, and Jonah depends upon whether we regard them as historical narratives, or as essentially works of the imagination. All of these literary questions will be asked of the biblical books whether we wish it or not. That man is not a biblical scholar who hesitates to ask them, out of fear lest his traditional opinions may be imperilled. Such a man, though he may be studying the Bible, so far as it is possible through the coloured glasses set in the

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rigid frames he has imposed upon his eyes, is yet not a sincere biblical student, for he declines to open his eyes in the sunlight of divine truth.

(4) *As to the credibility of the writings.*

We are obliged as biblical critics after we have determined all these preliminary questions of the Higher Criticism to face the most serious question of credibility. Literary critics are compelled to ask these questions in their study of the world's literature. Is the writing reliable? Do its statements accord with the truth, or are they coloured and warped by prejudice, superstition, or reliance upon insufficient or unworthy testimony? What character does the author bear as to prudence, good judgment, fairness, integrity, and critical sagacity? Biblical critics cannot shut their eyes to these questions of criticism. Whatever may be their reverence of Holy Scripture they must ask these questions of it. The reverent critics will ask these questions reverently. Rationalistic critics will ask them soberly and impartially. Critics whose aim it is to dispute the divine authority of Holy Scripture will be irreverent and unfair. The spirit of the investigation is determined by the temper and character of the investigators, not by its principles and methods, which are the same to all scientific students of the Bible. The investigation must go on. It matters little how many oppose it. Opposition may delay the end; it cannot prevent it. It may make the investigation a holy war and the establishment of its results a catastrophe to the faith and life of its opponents. But the normal development of the investigation is the calm, steady, invincible march of science.

The Higher Criticism has its scientific principles by which it determines all these questions.[1]

(1) *The writing must be in accordance with its supposed historic position as to time and place and circumstances.*

A writing is the product of the experience of the author or editor. It could not be produced without that experience. The historic writings of the world are born, not made. They

[1] A brief statement of these principles is presented in relation to Biblical Criticism by Professor Henry P. Smith, in his article on the "Critical Theories of Julius Wellhausen," *Presbyterian Review*, 1882, III. p. 370.

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could not be born before the time. When born they show the marks of their parentage and the times of their birth.

"Time is one of the most certain proofs; for nothing more evidently shows that a book cannot belong to that time wherein it is pretended to have been written, than when we find in it some marks of a later date. These marks, in the first place, are false dates; for 'tis an ordinary thing for impostors, that are generally ignorant, to date a book after the death of the author to whom they ascribe it, or of the person to whom it is dedicated, or written; and even when they do fix the time right, yet they often mistake the names of the consuls, or in some other circumstances: All which are invincible proofs that he that dated this book did not live at that time. Secondly, impostors very often speak of men that lived long after the death of those persons to whom they attribute those spurious discourses, or they relate the history of some passages that happened afterwards, or they speak of cities and people that were unknown at the time, when those authors wrote."[1]

Dr. Henry M. Dexter has recently shown that the records published a few years ago in England as the records of the Baptist Church of Crowle, 1599–1620, were forgeries, by the heaping up of references in these records to men and events long subsequent to those times.[2]

But this principle may be used in a positive argument. A few years ago I discovered a letter in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, giving the names of all the magistrates, churches, and ministers of New England, when the letter was written. The letter was a copy and not the original. It was unsigned; it had no address; there was no external evidence except the fact that it had been in this collection of American books, tracts, and manuscripts for a long time, and came from a reliable source, making its genuineness altogether probable. By a careful study of the names of persons and places, and of the events described in this letter, I was able to determine that the letter was written by John Eliot, the apostle to the American Indians, not earlier than *May 22nd, 1650*, nor later than *June 5th, 1650*, that is within the narrow limits of two weeks. No one has ever questioned these results of my higher criticism of this document.[3]

This principle when applied to the writings of Holy Scripture leads to sure results. As surely as the different geological

[1] Du Pin, *New History of Ecclesiastical Writers*, 3d edit., corrected, London, 1696, pp. vii. *seq.* [2] *John Smythe, the Se Baptist*, Boston, 1887.
[3] Briggs, *American Presbyterianism*, Appendix, xxix.–xxxvi, N.Y., 1885.

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epochs leave their traces on the strata of the rocks, and the astronomical epochs are disclosed in the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, so surely literature reflects the history of the times which gave it birth. A biblical writing could not be born before its time any more than any other writing. Holy Scripture bears upon it the traces of its historic origin as truly as any other scripture. Higher Criticism may determine the historic origin and development of the writings of Holy Scripture by these traces as surely as in any other department of the world's literature. We may not always be able to detect the historic origin of the book, but to find it is like the dawn of the sun after a cloudy night.

(2) *Differences of style imply differences of experience and age of the same author; or, when sufficiently great, differences of author and of period of composition.*

> "In short, stile is a sort of touch stone, that discovers the truth or falsehood of books; because it is impossible to imitate the stile of any author so perfectly as that there will not be a great deal of difference. By the stile, we are not only to understand the bare words and terms, which are easily imitated; but also the turn of the discourse, the manner of writing, the elocution, the figures, and the method: All which particulars, it is a difficult matter so to counterfeit as to prevent a discovery. There are, for instance, certain authors, whose stile is easily known, and which it is impossible to imitate: We ought not, however, always to reject a book upon a slight difference of stile, without any other proofs; because it often happens that authors write differently, in different times: Neither ought we immediately to receive a book as genuine, upon the bare resemblance of stile, when there are other proofs of its being spurious; because it may so happen, that an ingenious man may sometimes counterfeit the stile of an author, especially in discourses which are not very long. But the difference and resemblance of stile may be so remarkable sometimes, as to be a convincing proof, either of truth or falsehood." [1]

This principle has been so firmly established that no one can intelligently deny it. Style is the dress of thought, or rather the expressions of its face and the graceful movement of its form. Every human being has his individuality of face and

[1] *l.c.*, p. viii.

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form, his characteristic movements and expression by which he is distinguished and known from others. Every writer has his handwriting. Even the typewriter does not destroy these differences. Every writer has his stock of words, his favourite expressions, the phrases of his family, or his school, or his party, his attitude of mind, his pose of statement, his characteristic utterances; and if in his quest of truth he has gained such an advancement as to be a writer of documents which live through the centuries, his powers of speech and writing have expanded to the work required of them and they have expressed these advanced conceptions in language which would not be appropriate if it were not in a true sense original, and as peculiar to the man as his thinking and acting. It is quite true that the style of writers grows as they grow in knowledge and experience, and the earlier writings of an author may be readily distinguished from his later writings. But throughout his entire literary development there will be a unity and an identity of character in his style which will mark him off from all other writers as truly as his face and its expressions are different from every other face and ever remain characteristic from infancy to old age.

It is quite true that it is more difficult to detect difference of style than difference of face. Experience in criticism as well as accuracy and careful investigation are required for such criticism. Not every tyro is capable of it. And if an untrained critic or an amateur fail in the necessary discriminations, that is no test of their reality, or of their accuracy when seen by the experienced eye and traced by the expert hand. Mistakes are made in faces and forms even by detectives. Mistakes are more likely to occur in the delicate traceries of literature. But mistakes do not disprove the importance of a detective agency. Still less do they disprove the value of literary criticism. They teach that those who enter upon such investigations should get the training that is necessary, acquire by experience the talents of experts, and use their delicate tools with refinement and taste, scientific accuracy, and thoroughness, and with a confidence in the truth they are seeking to determine.

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Any one familiar with literature knows how difficult it is for a well-known writer to disguise his hand. It will often be recognized through all disguises even by those who are not experts. This principle has been successfully applied in many generations of criticism to all departments of the world's literature. It has also been applied to the writings of Holy Scripture with the most fruitful results. It needs no training to see that each one of the evangelists has a different style. It needs no expert's knowledge to distinguish that the Chronicler writes differently from the prophetic historians. But it does need the professional critic to tell you what those differences are, to tabulate them and use them as evidences for the determination of questions of the integrity, authorship, style, and credibility of these writings.

(3) *Differences of opinion and conception imply differences of author when these are sufficiently great, and also differences of period of composition.*

> "The opinions or things contained in a book, do likewise discover the forgery of it: (1) When we find some opinions there, that were not maintained till a long time after the author, whose name it bears. (2) When we find some terms made use of, to explain these doctrines, which were not customary till after his death. (3) When the author opposes errors, as extant in his own time, that did not spring up till afterwards. (4) When he describes ceremonies, rites, and customs that were not in use in his time. (5) When we find some opinions in these spurious discourses, that are contrary to those that are to be found in other books, which unquestionably belong to that author. (6) When he treats of matters that were never spoken of in the time when the real author was alive. (7) When he relates histories that are manifestly fabulous." [1]

This is a principle of great simplicity and of far-reaching consequences. There is a gradual development of thought in this world of ours. Each age has its opinions, each writer his point of view. The views of the relation of Church and State which are embedded in the American official copy of the Westminster Confession could not have been written before the American Revolution. Even if the history of the revision of the Confes-

[1] *l.c.*, p. viii.

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sion had been lost and long forgotten, the fact of the revision would lie in the language of the document itself. The Augsburg Confession could not have been composed before the birth of the great Reformation. If the external history of its composition had been lost, the internal evidence would be sufficient to show it. The Emancipation Proclamation was born of the crisis of the American Civil War. When else could it have been composed?

It is true that tradition is always at work fathering anonymous writings with ancient venerated names. An interesting example is found in the paradoxes of Herbert Palmer, which have been attributed to Lord Bacon and are found in many editions of his printed works. The finding of several editions of a little book containing these paradoxes under the name of Herbert Palmer was sufficient external evidence to enable Dr. Grossart to remove them from Bacon's works. But the external evidence is not always attainable. Take for example the famous sentence fathered so long on Augustine: "*In necessary things unity, in unnecessary things liberty, in all things charity.*" A little reflection ought to have convinced any student of the history of opinion that Augustine could not in his age of the world either have expressed or understood such a sentence. Critical scholars long refused it to Augustine on that account. But it was not until recent times that the full evidence of the origin of this word of peace was found in a tract of Rupertus Meldenius in the early days of the irenic movement in the first half of the seventeenth century.

Having determined the characteristic doctrine of a period and the leading features of an author, it is not easy for an expert critic to mistake in his judgment as to any other writing of that author or period. This is a more difficult line of investigation at the present time because few scholars have worked at it in the Hebrew Scriptures, but it is the most convincing when the facts have been tabulated and their lessons learned.

(4) *Citations show the dependence of the author upon the author or authors cited, where these are definite and the identity of the author cited can be clearly established.*

Sometimes these citations are clear and strong evidence and so decide our question beyond reason of a doubt. At other times there is grave difficulty.

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An illustration of this principle and its difficulties may be given in the story of tracing the maxim of peace to Rupertus Meldenius. A distinguished German, Lücke,[1] found this word of peace in a tract of great rarity which bore the name of Rupertus Meldenius. He refers to its use by Richard Baxter, but affirms that Baxter nowhere mentions the source from which he derived it. However, he traces it from Baxter backward to this early tract of the seventeenth century and makes it probable that Rupertus Meldenius wrote it. But soon after another German scholar discovered another rare tract of the same period by George Franc, in which the same thought is expressed in similar terms,[2] and this somewhat weakens the argument for the origin of the phrase in Rupertus Meldenius. It was my good fortune to make this probable evidence certain by finding accidentally in a rare tract of Richard Baxter a passage which had been overlooked by all previous scholars, in which Baxter attributes the phrase to Rupertus Meldenius and in which he states that he derived it from a citation in a work of Conrad Berg. This work of Conrad Berg is so rare that only one copy of it is known to be in existence. But after some difficulty I found this copy in the Royal Library at Berlin, saw the passage from which Baxter derived it, saw that it was part of a long citation from Rupertus Meldenius, compared the citation with the original tract, and so made the evidence complete.[3]

These four principles are embraced under the *internal* evidence. To them we must now add two principles of *external* evidence.

(5) *Positive* testimony as to the writing in other writings of acknowledged authority;

(6) The *silence* of authorities as to the writing in question. These are combined by Du Pin:

"The external proofs are, in the first place, taken from ancient manuscripts; in which either we do not find the name of an author: or else we find that of another: The more ancient or correct they are, the more we ought to value them. Secondly, from the testimony or silence of ancient authors; from their testimony, I say, when they formally reject a writing as spurious, or

[1] *Ueber das Alter, den Verfasser, die ursprüngliche Form und den wahren Sinn des Friedenspruches*, 1850.

[2] Karl Bertheau, in Herzog, *Real Encyklopädie*, 1881, IX., s. 531.

[3] Briggs, "Origin of the Phrase '*in necessariis unitas*,' etc.," *Presbyterian Review*, 1887, pp. 496 *seq.*; also "Rupertus Meldenius and his Word of Peace," *Presbyterian Review*, 1887, pp. 743 *seq.*

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when they attribute it to some other author; or from their silence when they do not speak of it, though they have occasion to mention it: This argument, which is commonly called a negative one, is oftentimes of very great weight. When, for example, we find, that several entire books which are attributed to one of the ancients, are unknown to all antiquity: When all those persons that have spoken of the works of an author, and besides, have made catalogues of them, never mention such a particular discourse: When a book that would have been serviceable to the Catholics has never been cited by them, who both might and ought to have cited it, as having a fair occasion to do it, 'tis extreamly probable that it is supposititious. It is very certain that this is enough to make any book doubtful, if it was never cited by any of the ancients; and in that case it must have very authentik characters of antiquity, before it ought to be received without contradiction. And on the other hand, if there should be never so few conjectures of its not being genuine, yet these, together with the silence of the ancients, will be sufficient to oblige us to believe it to be a forgery." [1]

The argument from silence has risen to so much greater importance since the seventeenth century that we shall venture to define it more narrowly.[2]

(a) *Silence is a lack of evidence when it is clear that the matter in question did not come within the scope of the author's plans and purposes.*

In the book of Esther, there is no mention of the Divine Name, and no conception of Divine Providence. This seems, at the first glance, very strange. The history of Esther would be as fitting to illustrate Divine Providence as the story of Joseph. We should expect that the Divine Name would have been frequently in the mouths of the heroes of the story. And yet, on closer examination, it appears that the book of Esther was written with a very different purpose from the story of Joseph. It was the work of a patriotic Jew who wished to enforce fidelity to Jewish nationality. The author's scope was patriotic and ethical, rather than religious or doctrinal. Hence, while the name of the Persian monarch appears 187 times, the name of God does not occur. Persian decrees, and the fidelity of Esther to her nation, and skill in over-

[1] In *l.c.*, p. viii.

[2] For an elaboration and explanation of these principles we must refer to the author's paper on the argument *e silentio*, read before the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis in June, 1883, and published in their *Journal* for 1883.

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coming the intrigues of its enemies, take the place of the Divine Providence. The same is true in the Song of Songs. Its scope is essentially *ethical*, to show the victory of marital love over all the seductions that may be employed to constrain it toward others than the rightful object of it. The author had no occasion to use the Divine Name or to speak of religious themes.

(b) *Silence is an evidence that the matter in question had certain characteristics which excluded it from the author's argument.* This argument is on the well-known popular principle that silence gives consent. If there were evidence to the contrary, it would certainly have been produced.

A fine example of this argument is given by Bishop Lightfoot in his review of the author of "Supernatural Religion"[1] in treating of the silence of Eusebius. He quotes from Eusebius, *H. E.*, III. 3, to the effect that the design of Eusebius was to give (1) the references or testimonies in case of disputed writings of the Canon only; (2) the records of anecdotes in case of the acknowledged and disputed writings alike. If the Gospel of John had been a disputed writing, Eusebius would have given references and testimonies according to his first principle. He does not do this, therefore "the silence of Eusebius respecting early witnesses to the Fourth Gospel is an evidence in its favour. Its apostolic authorship had never been questioned by any church writer from the beginning so far as Eusebius was aware, and therefore it was superfluous to call witnesses."

(c) *The matter in question lies fairly within the author's scope, and it was omitted for good and sufficient reasons which may be ascertained.*

This phase of the argument from silence was used in the renowned argument of Warburton.[2] He argues: If religion be necessary to civil government, and if religion cannot subsist under the common dispensation of Providence without a future state of rewards and punishments, so consummate a lawgiver [Moses] would never have neglected to inculcate the belief of such a state, had he not been well assured that an extraordinary Providence was indeed to be administered over his people. This argument has been often disputed. Both premises have been called in question. There can be no doubt that the idea that "religion cannot subsist under the common dispensation of Providence, without a future

[1] *Contemporary Review*, XXV., pp. 183 *seq.*

[2] *Divine Legation of Moses Vindicated*, London, 1837, Vol. II. pp. 531 *seq.*

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state of rewards and punishments," rests on too narrow an induction of the religions of the world. There can be no doubt that Warburton is disposed to minimize the Old Testament statements as to the future life; and yet it seems that he is certainly correct in his statement that the Pentateuchal codes are silent as to a future state of rewards and punishments, and that this silence was designed. Warburton calls attention justly to Moses' familiarity with the Egyptian religion and its highly developed eschatology. We have now abundant evidence to show that the Babylonian and other Shemitic religions, with which the patriarchal ancestors were first brought in contact, were full and elaborate on this subject. The Hebrews throughout their history were in communication with nations which had the most elaborate eschatologies. The silence of these codes was designed. We are not convinced that this silence is to be explained altogether on the principle that the Hebrew government was a theocracy of extraordinary Providence; yet we are sure that it was the design of the codes to emphasize the duties and the life in the Holy Land under the divine instruction, and of the blessings in store for such a life, and to ignore the future state of rewards and punishments on that account. The essential thing was the divine blessing in life, and the most dreaded thing was the divine curse in life. This was a healthy ethical position. Only an unhealthy religion will depreciate the moral character of life in this world, in the interest of the future life.

(d) *The silence of the author as to that which was within the scope of his argument was unconscious and therefore ignorance is implied.*

Where there is silence in authors, we may assume ignorance as to the matter in question, and even find positive disproof of the story. An event or an opinion might not be known to a particular person, or might be known to but a few, and these might perish. But it is to be presumed that those to whom the event or knowledge was known, would make it known if it were within the scope of their argument. We prove the growth of knowledge from the silence of early writers and the statements of later writers. The statement of opinions gives us the basis for the history of opinions. Silence is an evidence of ignorance as to them.

A tradition handed down from Fox, and apparently supported by the Colophon of Tyndale's first edition of his translation of

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Genesis, "emprinted at Marlborow in the land of Hesse, by me Hans Luft, &c.," pretends that Tyndale was a student at Marburg, and that he went from thence to Hamburg by way of Antwerp, to meet Coverdale in 1529; Mombert[1] disproves this tradition by showing that (1) there is no record at Marburg of Hans Luft ever having set up a printing press there, and (2) that the Album of the University does not contain Tyndale's name among the matriculates, as it would have done if he had matriculated, inasmuch as it gives Patrick Hamilton and others: and (3) there is an absence of historic evidence as to Coverdale's going to Hamburg.

(e) *When the silence extends over a variety of writings of different authors, of different classes of writings and different periods of composition, it implies either some strong and overpowering external restraint such as divine interposition, or ecclesiastical or civil power; or it implies a general and wide-spread public ignorance which presents a strong presumptive evidence regarding the reality and truthfulness of the matter in question.*

Many examples of this line of argument might be adduced. Archbishop Whately proves from the silence of Scripture as to Confessions of Faith, Liturgies, Rubrics, and the like, that the authors were supernaturally withheld from giving them in order to give liberty to the Church.[2] This is the phase of the argument from silence which is used with so much effect to prove that the Deuteronomic code originated in the time of Josiah and the priest-code in the exile. The history previous to these times presents an ignorance of these codes and unrebuked violation of them. The literature previous to these times is unconscious of their existence.[3]

The argument from silence is therefore an argument of great importance, all the more convincing from its delicacy and the indirect and roundabout paths by which it reaches its end. Sometimes it shoots like a comet to a surprising result, but usually it traces its way in every variety of beautiful curves.

The Higher Criticism of Holy Scripture is a study, which has its well-defined principles, its accurate methods, its clearly expressed questions; and its results are as sure as those of any other science.

[1] *Handbook of the English Versions of the Bible*, New York, 1883, pp. 107 *seq.*
[2] Essays, *Kingdom of God.*
[3] See pp. 307, 323.

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The internal evidence must be used with great caution and sound judgment, for an able and learned forger might imitate so as to deceive the most expert, and the author of a pseudepigraph might intentionally place his writing in an earlier age of the world and in circumstances best suited to carry out his idea. But sooner or later a faithful and persistent application of the critical tests will determine the forgeries and the pseudepigraphs and assign them their real literary position. As to the relative value of the internal and external evidence we cannot do better than use the judicious words of Sir William Hamilton: "But if our criticism from the internal grounds alone be, on the one hand, impotent to establish, it is, on the other hand, omnipotent to disprove."[1]

The importance of this higher criticism is well stated by Du Pin:

> "Criticism is a kind of torch, that lights and conducts us in the obscure tracts of antiquity, by making us to distinguish truth from falsehood, history from fable, and antiquity from novelty. 'Tis by this means, that in our times we have disengaged ourselves from an infinite number of very common errors, into which our fathers fell for want of examining things by the rules of true criticism. For 'tis a surprising thing to consider how many spurious books we find in antiquity; nay, even in the first ages of the Church."[2]

In order to illustrate these principles of the Higher Criticism we shall present a few additional specimens of their application from eminent divines.

The first illustration that we shall give is with reference to the question of *integrity*. The so-called Apostles' Creed is the most sacred writing exterior to the canon of Scripture.

> Till the middle of the seventeenth century it was the current belief of Roman Catholic and Protestant Christendom that the Apostles' Creed was "*membratum articulatumque*," composed by the apostles in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, or before their separation, to secure unity of teaching, each contributing an article (hence the somewhat arbitrary division into twelve articles).

The arguments adduced by Dr. Schaff to prove that this tradition is false, are: (1) The intrinsic improbability of such

[1] *Logic*, p. 471. [2] *l.c.*, p. vii.

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a mechanical composition. (2) The silence of Scripture. (3) The silence of the apostolic fathers and of all the Ante-Nicene and Nicene fathers and synods. (4) The variety in form of the creed down to the eighth century. (5) The fact that the Apostles' Creed never had any currency in the East, where the Nicene Creed occupies its place.[1]

Many scholars have studied the structure of the Creed more fully, and have shown the process of its formation and all the changes through which it passed, until it gradually, in 750 A.D., assumed its present stereotyped form.[2]

One of the best illustrations of the effective work of the Higher Criticism with reference to the question of *authenticity*, is afforded by Bentley in his celebrated work on the epistles of Phalaris.[3] Bentley proves these epistles to be forgeries of a sophist: I. By internal evidence. (1) They do not accord with their *presumed age*, but with other ages. They mention (*a*) Aloesa, a city which was not built till 140 years after the latest year of Phalaris; (*b*) Theridean cups, which were not known until 120 years after the death of Phalaris; (*c*) Messana, as a different city from Zaude, whereas it was a later name for the same city, which was not changed till 60 years after the death of Phalaris; (*d*) Taurominium, 140 years before it was ever thought of.

(2) *Differences of style:* (*a*) the use of the Attic dialect instead of the Doric, the speech of Phalaris, and indeed not of the old Attic, but the new Attic that was not used till centuries after Phalaris' time.

(3) *Differences of thought:* (*a*) reference to tragedy before tragedy came into existence; (*b*) use of Attic and not Sicilian talents in speaking of money; (*c*) use of the word προνοία for Divine Providence, which was not used before Plato, and of κόσμος for the universe, which was not so used before Pythagoras; (*d*) inconsistencies between the ideas and matter of the epistle, which are those of a sophist, and the historical character of Phalaris as a politician and tyrant.

(4) *Relation to other writers.* He uses Herodotus, Demosthenes, Euripides.

II. The external evidences are: (5) *testimony.* Atossa is said

[1] Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, New York, 1877, I. p. 19.

[2] Lumby, *History of the Creeds*, Cambridge, 1873, pp. 169 *seq.* See more fully Kattenbush, *Das apostolische Symbol*, Leipzig, 1894.

[3] *A Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris*, London, 1699, a new edition edited by Wilhelm Wagner, London, 1883.

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to have been the first inventor of epistles. Hence those that carry the name of Phalaris two generations earlier must be impostures.

(6) *Silence.* There is a thousand years of silence as to these epistles. "For had our letter been used or transcribed during that thousand years, somebody would have spoken of it, especially since so many of the ancients had occasion to do so; so that their silence is a direct argument that they never had heard of them."[1]

We have dwelt at some length upon the principles and methods of the Higher Criticism, because of their great importance in our day with reference to the Sacred Scriptures and the lack of information concerning them that still prevails to an astonishing degree among men who make some pretensions to scholarship.

The Higher Criticism has vindicated its rights in the field of biblical study as well as in all other kinds of literature. It matters little who may oppose its course, what combinations may be made against it, it will advance steadily and irresistibly to its results; it will flow on over every obstacle like a mighty river and bury every obstruction beneath its waves. In time it will give a final decision to all the literary problems of Holy Scripture. No other voice can decide them. Men may for a time refuse to listen to its voice, they may try to deaden it by a chorus of outcries and shoutings of opposition. But Higher Criticism is in no haste, she can wait. She does not seek the favour of ecclesiastics, or the applause of the populace. She seeks the truth, and having won the truth she is sure of the everlasting future.

It is true that critics have made serious mistakes in the past. And it is quite probable that they are making mistakes at the present time. But what department of scholarly investigation is free from mistakes? Holy Scripture is in the hands of every one, and almost every one thinks he is a competent critic, and therefore it is more exposed to blunders than any other literature. It is quite true that some able and honest men are opposed to the principles and methods of the Higher Criticism. But every one of these is opposed to criticism on dogmatic grounds, because it imperils the dogmas of his school and party.

[1] New edition, 1883, p. 481.

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The same set of men have opposed every advance of modern science and modern philosophy. Such men are not true biblical scholars. What kind of a detective would he make, who should maintain that there was no sure way of detecting criminals? What sort of a chemist would he make, who spent his strength in opposing and ridiculing the principles and results of chemistry? One sees what sort of scholars those are, who exhaust their energies in discrediting the principles of the Higher Criticism and in battling against its sure results. The Higher Criticism of the Hebrew Scriptures has an array of able scholars who would adorn any profession and grace any science, and they are in as close agreement in their results as any other body of scholars in any other science, or in any other profession.

III. The Criticism of Holy Scripture

Thus far Biblical Criticism has derived from other branches of criticism the principles and methods of its work. Has it not, however, some peculiar features of its own, as it has to do with the sacred canon of the Christian Church? Does the fact that the canon of Sacred Scripture is holy, inspired, and of divine authority, lift it above criticism, or does it give additional features of criticism that enable us to test the genuineness of these claims respecting it? The latter is the true and only safe position, and it is evident that our effort should be to determine these principles and methods. We reserve this question for our following chapter.

In the meanwhile we have to meet on the threshold of our work *a priori* objections that would obstruct our progress in the application of the principles and methods of criticism to the Bible.

Biblical Criticism is confronted by traditional views of the Bible that do not wish to be disturbed, and by dogmatic statements respecting the Bible which decline reinvestigation and revision. The claim is put forth that these traditional views and dogmatic statements are in accordance with the Scriptures and the symbols of the Church, and that the orthodox faith is put in peril by criticism.

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Such claims as these can only influence the adherents of the Church, and, at the utmost, debar them from the exercise of criticism. They cannot be more than amusing to the unbelieving and the sceptical, who care but little for the Church and still less for theologians and their orthodoxy. They will use the tests of criticism without restraint. We cannot prevent them. The question is whether Christian scholars also shall be entitled to use them in the study of the Scriptures, or whether Holy Scripture is to be intrusted solely to the hands of dogmatic theologians and scholastics who usually have little if any technical knowledge of Holy Scripture itself. And we are entitled to ask: Why should the Scriptures fear the most searching investigation? If they are truly the Word of God they will maintain themselves and vindicate themselves in the battle of criticism. If we are sure of this, let us rejoice in the conflict that will lead to victory; if we are in doubt of it, it is best that our doubts should be removed as soon as possible. Then let the tests be applied, and let us know in whom we trust and what we believe.[1]

It is pretended that the Church doctrine of inspiration is in peril, and that the authority of the Scriptures is thereby undermined. If there were one clearly defined orthodox doctrine of inspiration to which all Christians agreed, as supported by Holy Scripture and the creeds of the Church, our task would be easier. But, in fact, there are many various theories of inspiration, and several ways of stating the doctrine of inspiration that are without support in Scripture or symbol. It is necessary, therefore, to discriminate, in order to determine exactly what is in peril, whether *inspiration* itself and the *authority of the Sacred Scriptures*, or some particular and false theory of inspiration and the authority of some theologian or school of theology.

The doctrine of inspiration may be constructed (1) by a careful, painstaking study of the Sacred Scriptures themselves, gathering together their testimony as to their own origin, character, design, value, and authority. This gives us the biblical doctrine of the Scriptures and the doctrine of inspira-

[1] Robert Rainy, *Bible and Criticism*, London, 1878, p. 33.

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tion as a part of Biblical Theology. Any one who has attempted this task will admit that Holy Scripture is extremely modest in its claims and that the biblical doctrine of inspiration and scriptural authority is much more simple and much less definite and exacting than any of the theories of the theologians. (2) The doctrine of inspiration may be constructed from a study of the symbolical books of the Church, which express the faith of the Church as attained in the great crises of its history, in the study of the Scriptures, in the experiences and life of men. This gives us the symbolical, or orthodox, or Church doctrine of inspiration. The Church doctrine does not, in fact, obstruct the pathway of criticism. (3) The doctrine of inspiration may be constructed by a study of Scripture and symbol, and the logical unfolding of the results of a more extended study of the whole subject in accordance with the dominant philosophical and theological principles of the times. This gives us the dogmatic, or school, or traditional doctrine of inspiration as it has been established in particular schools of theology, and has become traditional in the teaching of certain chairs and pulpits, in the various particular theories of inspiration that have been formulated. It is with these theories and with these alone that Biblical Criticism has to battle.

As we rise in the doctrinal process from the simple biblical statements, unformulated as they lie in the sacred writings or formulated in Biblical Theology, to the more complex and abstract statements of the symbols expressing the formulated consensus of the leaders of the Church in the formative periods of history, and then to the more theoretical and scholastic statements of the doctrinal treatises of the theologians; while the doctrine becomes more and more complex, massive, consistent, and imposing, and seems, therefore, to become more authoritative and binding; in reality the authority diminishes in this relative advance in systematization, so that what is gained in extension is lost in intension: for the construction is a construction of sacred materials by human and fallible minds, with defective logic, failing sometimes to justify premises, and leaping to conclusions that cannot always be defended, and in a line and direction determined by the temporary and

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provisional conditions and necessities of the times, neglecting modifying circumstances and conditions. The concrete that the Bible gives us is for all time, as it is the living and eternal substance; though changeable, it reproduces and so perpetuates itself in a wonderful variety of forms of beauty, yet all blending and harmonizing as the colours of the clouds and skies under the painting of the sunbeams; but the abstract is the formal and the perishable, as it is broken through and shattered by the pulsations and struggles of the living and developing truth of God, ever striving for expression and adaptation to every different condition of mankind, in the different epochs and among the various races of the world.

The course of religious history has clearly established the principle that there is a constant tendency in all religions, and especially in the Christian religion, in the systematic or dogmatic statement to constrain the symbol as well as the Scriptures into the requirements of the particular formative principle and the needs of the particular epoch. The dogmatic scheme is too often the mould into which the gold of the Scriptures and the silver of the creed are poured to coin a series of definitions, and fashion a system of theology which not only breaks up the concrete and harmonious whole of the Scriptures into fragments, stamping them with the imprint of the particular conception of the theologian in order to their reconstruction; but not infrequently the constructed system becomes an idol of the theologian and his pupils, as if it were the orthodox, the divine truth, while a mass of valuable scriptural and symbolical material is cast aside in the process, and lies neglected in the workshop. In course of time the symbols as well as the Scriptures are overlaid with glosses and perplexing explanations, so that they become either dark, obscure, and uncertain to the ordinary reader, or else have their meanings deflected and perverted, until they are once more grasped by a living, energetical faith in a revived state of the Church, and burst forth from their scholastic fetters, that Holy Scripture, the Church's creed, and Christian life may once more correspond. While traditionalism and scholasticism have not prevailed in the Protestant churches to the same extent as in the Greek and

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Roman churches; for the right of private judgment and the universal priesthood of believers have maintained their ground with increasing vigour in Western Europe and America since the Reformation; yet it is no less true that the principle of traditionalism is ever at work in the chairs of theology and in the pulpits of the Church: so that in seeking for truth and in estimating what is binding on faith and conscience, even Protestants must distinctly separate the three things: Bible, symbol, and tradition; the Bible, the sole infallible norm; the symbol, binding those who hold to the body of which it is the banner; the tradition of any sect or school which demands at the most the respect, reverence, careful consideration, and the presumption in its favour on the part of the adherents of that sect or school. It is assumption for it to claim the same authority as Bible, Church, or Catholic tradition. It will be tested and tried, if worthy of consideration, and it must take its chances in the crucible.

It is of vast importance that we should make these distinctions on the threshold of the study of the critical theories; for there is no field in which modern, local, and provincial tradition has been more hasty in its conclusions, more busy in their formation, more dogmatic and sensitive to criticism, more reluctant and stubborn to give way to the truth, than in the sacred fields of the Divine Word. Thus criticism is confronted at the outset now as ever with two *a priori* objections.

1st. There are those who maintain that their traditional views of the Sacred Scriptures are inseparably bound up with their doctrine of inspiration; so that even if they should be in some respects doubtful or erroneous, they must be left alone for fear of the destruction of the doctrine of inspiration itself. This is true of those traditional theories of inspiration which in some quarters have expanded so as to cover a large part of the ground, and commit themselves to theories of text, and author, date, style, and integrity of writings, in accordance with a common, but, in our judgment, an injudicious method of discussing the whole Bible under the head of Bibliology in the prolegomena of the dogmatic system; but this is not true of the symbolical doctrine of inspiration, still less of the script-

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ural doctrine. The most that this objection can require of the critics is, that they should be careful and cautious of giving offence, or of needlessly shocking prejudice; that they should be respectful and reverent of the faith of the people and of revered theologians; but it is not to be supposed that it will make them recreant to their trust of seeking earnestly, patiently, persistently, and prayerfully for the truth of God. In fact, these school doctrines of inspiration have obtruded themselves in place of the symbolical and scriptural doctrine, and it is necessary to destroy these school doctrines in order to the safety of the biblical doctrine and the symbolical doctrine. However distressing this may be to certain dogmatic divines and their adherents, it affords gratification to all sincere lovers of the truth of God.

2d. There are those who claim that their traditional theory is the logical unfolding of the doctrine of the Symbols and the Scriptures. But this is begging the very question at issue, which will not be yielded. Why should dogmatic theologians claim exemption from criticism and the testing of the grounds of their systems? Such an arbitrary claim for deductions and consequences is one that no true critic or historian ought to concede: for, by so doing, he abandons at once the right and ground of criticism, and the inductive methods of historical and scientific investigation; and sacrifices his material to the dogmatist and scholastic, surrendering the concrete for the abstract. The very sensitiveness to criticism displayed in some quarters justifies suspicion that the theories are weak and will not sustain investigation.

Traditional theories cannot overcome critical theories with either of these *a priori* objections of apprehended peril to faith or pretended logical inconsistencies with dogma, but must submit to the test of criticism. One of the most characteristic principles of Puritanism is that:

> "God alone is Lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men, which are in anything contrary to His Word or beside it in matters of faith and worship; so that, to believe such doctrine, or to obey such commandments out of conscience, is to betray true liberty of conscience; and the

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requiring an implicit faith, and an absolute and blind obedience, is to destroy liberty of conscience and reason also." [1]

Biblical Criticism bases its historic right on the principles of the Reformation and of Puritanism, and it finds no hindrance in the Catholic principle of the supremacy of Church tradition, for thus far these present no obstacles to criticism. It is the unchurchly, undefined, and unlearned tradition which presumes to obstruct the work of Biblical Criticism.

Recent critical theories arise and work as did their predecessors, in the various departments of the study of Holy Scripture. Here is their strength, that they antagonize modern traditional dogma with the Bible itself, and appeal from provincial *school* theology to Catholic credal theology. Unless traditional theories of inspiration can vindicate themselves on biblical grounds, meet the critics, and overcome them in fair conflict, in the sacred fields of the Divine Word, sooner or later traditional theories will be driven from the field. It will not do to antagonize critical theories of the Bible with traditional theories of the Bible; for the critic appeals to history against tradition, to an array of facts against so-called inferences, to the laws of probation against dogmatic assertion, to the Divine Spirit speaking in the Scriptures against external authority. History, facts, truth, the laws of thought, are all divine products, and most consistent with the Divine Word, and they will surely prevail.

The great majority of professional biblical scholars in the various universities and theological halls of the world, embracing those of the greatest learning, industry, and piety, demand a revision of traditional theories of the Bible, on account of a large induction of new facts from the Bible and history. These critics must be met with argument and candid reasoning as to these facts and their interpretation, and cannot be overcome by mere cries of alarm for the Church and the Bible, which, in their last analysis, usually amount to nothing more than peril to certain favourite views. What peril can come to the Holy Scriptures from a more profound critical study

[1] *Westminster Conf. of Faith*, XX. 2; see also A. F. Mitchell, *The Westminster Assembly: its History and Standards*, London, 1883, pp. 8 *seq.*, 465.

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of them? The sword of the Spirit alone will conquer in this warfare. Are Christian men afraid to put it to the test? For this is a conflict after all between true criticism and false criticism; between the criticism which is the product of the evangelical spirit of the Reformation, and critical principles that are the product of deism and rationalism. Biblical criticism has been marching from conquest to conquest, though far too often at a sad disadvantage, like a storming party who have sallied forth from their breastworks to attack the trenches of the enemies of the Bible, finding in the hot encounter that the severest fire and gravest peril are from the misdirected batteries of their own line. We do not deny the right of dogmatism and the *a priori* method, within their proper spheres; but we maintain the greater right of criticism and the inductive method in the field of the study of Holy Scripture and their far greater importance in the acquisition of true and reliable knowledge of Holy Scripture. If criticism and dogmatism are harnessed together, a span of twin steeds, they will draw the car of theology rapidly towards its highest ideal; but pulling in opposite directions they tear it to pieces.

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CHAPTER V

HISTORY OF THE CANON OF HOLY SCRIPTURE

THE first work of Biblical Criticism is to investigate the Canon of the Bible and to determine, so far as possible, the entire extent and the exact limits of Holy Scripture. This investigation is first of all an historical study. It is first necessary for us to know what writings have in fact been officially recognized as canonical in the different epochs in the history of Israel and the Christian Church. When we have all the historical facts before us, then we may by induction establish principles and rules for the critical investigation of the Canon and apply those rules for its final testing and verification. The term Canon was first applied to Holy Scripture by the Greek Fathers of the fourth Christian century.[1] But the underlying conception of a sacred collection of literature, or books of divine authority, as the norm of religion, faith, and morals, is much more ancient. This conception is in some respects more fully expressed in the terms, "*the Holy Scriptures*,"[2] and "*the Scriptures*,"[3] which, though most ancient, have continued to the present day as the most common and appropriate titles of the Bible. Still more ancient are the terms *the Book* or *Books of the Law*, *the Law of Yahweh*, *the Law of God*, *the Law*;[4] and *the Book of the Covenant*, *the Cove-*

[1] Buhl, *Kanon und Text des Alt. Test.*, Leipzig, 1891, *s.* 1; Holtzmann, *Einleitung in d. Neue Test.*, 2te Aufl., 1886, *s.* 162 *seq.*

[2] γραφαὶ ἅγιαι, Rom. 1^2; (τὰ) ἱερὰ γράμματα, 2 Tim. 3^{15}; Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.*, Proœm 3; Philo, *Legat. ad Caium*, § 29, II. 574; αἱ ἱεραὶ βίβλοι, Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.*, Proœm 4; 2^{16}, 20^{261}, etc.; Philo, *De Vita Mos.*, lib. 3, t. 2, p. 163; τὰ βιβλία τὰ ἅγια, 1 Macc. 12^9.

[3] αἱ γραφαί, Mt. 22^{29}; John 5^{39}; Acts $17^{2.\ 11}$; הספרים, Dan. 9^2.

[4] τὰ βιβλία τοῦ νόμου, 1 Macc. 1^{56}; the Book of the Law, Neh. 8^8; 2 Chr. 34^{15}; the Law of Yahweh, Ezr. 7^{10}; 1 Chr. 16^{40}; 2 Chr. 35^{26}; the Law of God, Neh. $10^{29.\ 30}$; ὁ νόμος, John 10^{34}; 1 Cor. 14^{21}; התורה, Neh. $10^{35.\ 37}$; cf. my article on תורה in Robinson's Gesenius *Hebr. Lexicon*, new edition, B.D.B.

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nant,[1] that is, the covenant between God and His people. The two ancient divisions of the Bible persist to the present time as the Old Covenant or Testament, and the New Covenant or Testament.

I. The Formation of the Old Testament Canon

It is necessary to go much further back in the history of the formation of the Canon than biblical scholars usually do. It is the common opinion that the formation of the Canon began with Ezra.[2] Others think that it began with the official adoption of the Deuteronomic code.[3] But if we are to go back to the adoption of the code of the Law by Ezra, or further back to the code of Deuteronomy, why should we not go still further back to the code of the Covenant and to the primary code of the Ten Words? These earlier codes were something more than "preparations for a Canon"; they were recognized as of divine authority, no less truly by the earlier generations, than were the Deuteronomic code in the reign of Josiah and the Priest code in the time of Ezra.

1. Accordingly the formation of the Canon began with the promulgation of the Ten Words as the fundamental divine Law to Israel. These Ten Words were given in their original form as brief, terse words or sentences. The specifications and reasons were added in the several different documents of the Hexateuch, and these were eventually compacted together in the two versions, Ex. 20 and Deut. 5.[4] These Ten Words were given by the theophanic voice of God to Israel on Mount Horeb. They were taken up into all the original documents of the Hexateuch. They lie at the basis of the entire legislation. They have the authority of God, and public recognition and adoption. They were kept, on the two tables of stone, in

[1] *βίβλος διαθήκης*, Eccl. 24[23]; *βιβλίον διαθήκης*, 1 Macc. 1[57]; cf. *ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης*, 2 Cor. 3[14].

[2] Buhl, *Kanon und Text des Alt. Test.*, s. 8.

[3] Ryle, *The Canon of the Old Testament*, London, 1892, pp. 47 *seq.* See also Cornill, *Einleitung*, 1891, s. 277.

[4] See "Genesis of the Ten Words," in my *Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, new edition, New York, 1897, pp. 181 *seq.*

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the holy ark in the most Holy Place of the tabernacle and the temple. If any document fulfils all the tests of canonicity the Tables of the Law certainly do.

The promulgation of the Ten Words was soon followed by the giving of the Book of the Covenant. On the basis of this Book of the Covenant, the covenant of Horeb was established by a covenant sacrifice in which the people solemnly pledged themselves to obedience, and they were sprinkled with the blood of the covenant in order to consecrate them in this covenant relation. Their representatives then partook of the sacrificial feast of the covenant in the presence of the Theophany.[1]

This covenant is the one upon which the entire subsequent religion of Israel depends. It is the old covenant to which the new covenant established by Jesus, in connection with the institution of the sacramental feast of the Lord's Supper, is the antithesis. No book that ever was written fulfils so entirely the tests of canonicity as this fundamental Book of the Covenant upon which all subsequent Hebrew law is built. The Book of the Covenant appears in one form in the Judaic narrative,[2] in another in the Ephraimitic narrative,[3] and has also been taken up into the Deuteronomic code.[4] There can be little doubt that the original Book of the Covenant contained only the brief terse Words; and that the other types of Hebrew law, such as statutes, judgments, and commands, contained in the Greater Book of the Covenant and in the Deuteronomic code, are later additions from varied sources, in the development of Hebrew Law in the northern and southern kingdoms.

2. There is no evidence of any canonical advance until the reign of Josiah, when the Deuteronomic code was brought to light and received canonical recognition.[5]

[1] Ex. 24^{1-11}. See Briggs, *Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, new edition, 1897, pp. 6 *seq.*

[2] Ex. 34. See "The Decalogue of J and its Parallels in the other Codes," in my *Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, new edition, pp. 189 *seq.*

[3] Ex. 20^{22}–23. See "The Greater Book of the Covenant and its Parallels in the later Codes," *l.c.* pp. 211 *seq.*

[4] See *l.c.*, pp. 243 *seq.*

[5] 2 Kings 22–23 = 2 Chr. 34–35. See Ryle, *Canon of the Old Testament*, for an admirable exposition of this event. See also my *Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, pp. 15 *seq.*, 81 *seq.*

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3. It is agreed among scholars that the first layer of the present Hebrew Canon, *The Law* (embracing the five books, Genesis to Deuteronomy), was constituted and officially adopted through the influence of Ezra and Nehemiah,[1] and the nation was solemnly engaged, by covenant and by oath, to obey it.

4. It has been very commonly held among the Jews and the Christians that the entire Canon of the Old Testament was fixed in the time of Ezra.

(*a*) But there is nothing in the story of Nehemiah to justify such an opinion. Nevertheless Nehemiah 8–10 has been interpreted as referring to the entire Canon on the basis of a legend, in the Apocalypse of Ezra,[2] a pseudepigraphical writing dating from the close of the first century of our era. The story is that the whole Canon was recalled to the memory of Ezra by divine inspiration and recorded by him with the help of five of his disciples.

(*a*) On the face of it the story is a legend, but it doubtless had an older tradition at its basis. It is probable that the whole legend is a gradual evolution of the story given in Nehemiah.

(*β*) It is unknown to Josephus and Philo, and there are no traces of it in any previous writer, or any contemporary writer.

(*γ*) It is inconsistent with the fact that the Samaritan Canon is confined to the Pentateuch, which could not have been the case if the separation of the Samaritans from the Jews had taken place subsequent to the establishment of the entire Canon of the Old Testament.

(*δ*) It is also opposed by the fact that a considerable portion of the Prophets, and a large part of the other writings, were composed subsequent to Ezra.

(*ε*) Furthermore, the threefold division of the Hebrew Canon bears on its face the evidence that the Canon was formed in three successive layers.[3]

(*b*) Another legend is the story that the whole Canon of the

[1] Neh. 8–10.

[2] Chap. 14^{19} *seq.* This is 2 Esdras of the Greek Apocrypha and 4 Ezra of the English Apocrypha. See Briggs, *Messiah of the Apostles*, pp. 11 *seq.*, see p. 257.

[3] See Ryle, *Canon of the Old Testament*, pp. 239 *seq.*, for a thorough discussion of this passage of the Apocalypse of Ezra and its historical influence.

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Old Testament was fixed by the men of the Great Synagogue. There can be no doubt that modern Protestant opinion as to the Great Synagogue is based upon the statements of Elias Levita[1] and Buxtorf.[2] But these statements are simply the use, without critical examination, of Jewish legends which unfolded during the centuries of Rabbinical literature from a slender support in the Mishnaic tract Pirqe Aboth[3] and a Baraitha of the Talmud.[4]

> The Pirqe Aboth states that: "Moses received the Torah from Sinai and delivered it to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the prophets, and the prophets to the men of the Great Synagogue. They said three things: Be deliberate in judgment, and raise up many disciples, and make a fence to the Torah. Simon the Just was of the remnants of the Great Synagogue." (Chap. I.)
>
> The Baraitha of the Baba Bathra says: "The men of the Great Synagogue wrote Ezekiel and the Twelve, Daniel and the Roll of Esther, whose sign is קנגד."

These passages represent that the men of the Great Synagogue wrote, that is, collected and edited, Ezekiel, the twelve Minor Prophets, Daniel and Esther; and that they received and transmitted the Torah. Nothing is said in either passage of their having anything to do with the organization of a Canon of Holy Scripture, or of their addition of any writing to the Canon. The legend of the establishment of the Canon of the Old Testament by the men of the Great Synagogue is thus a later evolution of the story of the editing of certain Old Testament writings by them, and of their part in the transmission of the Torah. But even this primitive story of the Mishna and Baraitha is unhistorical, for the simple reason that it makes Simon the Just, of the time of Alexander the Great, a member of a synagogue which the tradition elsewhere assigns to the age of Ezra and Nehemiah. In fact, this legend is more unsubstantial than the other.

[1] *Massoreth Ha-Massoreth*, edited by Ginsburg, 1867, pp. 112 *seq.*

[2] *Tiberias sive Commentarius Masorethicus*, 1620.

[3] Strack, *Die Sprüche der Väter*, Karlsruhe, 1882; Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, Cambridge, 1877.

[4] See pp. 252 *seq.*

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(*a*) Back of these Rabbinical sayings of the second and third Christian centuries, there is no historical evidence whatever of the existence of any such body of men as the Great Synagogue. The silence of all writings from the first century backwards is absolute. They could not have omitted to mention such a body as this if it ever had an existence, because it came within their scope to do so if so important a thing as the final determination of the Canon of the Old Testament had been undertaken by such a body of men. The apocryphal literature in its wide and varied extent knows nothing of such a body. The numerous pseudepigraphical writings maintain unbroken silence. Philo and Josephus are unconscious of anything of the kind. The New Testament writers ignore it and write as if it never existed.

(*β*) The legend of the determination of the Canon by Ezra and his disciples, already considered, is inconsistent with the fixing of the Canon by the men of the Great Synagogue, even if Ezra were at their head. The legend of Ezra's activity is much earlier than that of the activity of the men of the Great Synagogue. It is unlikely that it would have originated, if there had ever been any such legend of the work of the men of the Great Synagogue prior to it.

(*γ*) It is opposed by the fact that a considerable number of the writings of the Old Testament were composed subsequently to the supposed times of the Great Synagogue.

(*δ*) The well-known disputes as to the Canon among the Jews in the first Christian century could hardly have taken place, if such a venerable body as the men of the Great Synagogue had determined everything relating to the Canon.

(*ε*) It is improbable that the Greek version would have added anything to the Sacred Writings, if they had been fixed so long before by the men of the Great Synagogue.

This legend must be dismissed as nothing more than a pure invention made by the early rabbins to establish an unbroken continuity of sacred teachers of the Law, who might transmit it as so many links in the chain of authority.[1]

[1] See Kuenen, *Ueber die Männer der grossen Synagoge*, in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Freib. 1894, *s.* 125 *seq.*; also Ryle, *Canon of the Old Testament*,

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(*c*) The Hebrew Scriptures have a second division which bears the name Prophets. In the earliest Hebrew list known to us, they are arranged as follows: Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, and the Twelve.[1] This represents a second layer of canonical formation. It does not embrace the book of Daniel, and therefore must have been fixed before Daniel gained canonical recognition. It includes the prophecy Is. 24–26, which probably belongs to the time of Alexander the Great. Therefore this Canon cannot be earlier than the Greek period subsequent to Alexander in the third century B. C. This is confirmed by the testimony of Jesus ben Sirach from the early part of the second century B.C. In Ecclesiasticus,[2] in the praise of the fathers, he goes over the heroes of the books of the Law, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, and the prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve, especially mentioning the latter by the technical name of the Twelve.[3] It is evident that the collection of the Twelve had then been closed, and all the Prophets were used as sacred books. That seems to carry with it the entire prophetic collection as we now have it. Furthermore, Daniel cites Jeremiah as belonging to the books,[4] which implies a collection of prophetic books of recognized divine authority.

In the prologue to Ecclesiasticus, written by the grandson of the author in the last half of the second century B.C., it is said that: "Many and great things have been delivered unto us by the Law and the Prophets, and by others that have followed their steps"; and the author speaks of his grandfather, Jesus ben Sirach, as having "given himself to the reading of the Law and the Prophets and other books of our fathers." These passages clearly recognize the division of the Prophets as next in the Canon to the division of the Law.

It is also probable that this second formation of the Canon, composed of the Law and the Prophets, is reflected in the phrase "the Law and the Prophets" of New Testament times.[5]

Excursus A, pp. 250 *seq.* Both of these are valuable discussions of the subject. They make it perfectly evident that no such body as the Great Synagogue ever existed.

[1] See pp. 252 *seq.*

[2] Chapters 44–50.

[3] Ecclus. 49^{10}. רנם שנים עשר הנביאים.

[4] Dan. 9^{2}.

[5] Mt. 5^{17}; Acts 13^{15}.

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The second Canon of the Old Testament seems to have been established in the high-priesthood of Simon, whose character and administration are so highly praised by Ben Sirach.[1]

(5) The third layer of the Hebrew Canon is composed of the Writings. These in the oldest lists are, Ruth, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Lamentations, Daniel, Esther, Ezra, and Chronicles.

(*a*) It is still held by some scholars that the testimony of the grandson of Ben Sirach in his prologue to Ecclesiasticus is in favour of the opinion that the third division of the Canon had been fixed before his time. But the terms that are used do not make this evident. In the one passage he says: "by the Law and the Prophets, and by others that have followed their steps." In the other passage he says: "the reading of the Law and the Prophets and other books of our fathers." The Law and the Prophets are technical terms, but the other expressions differ so greatly in the two passages from one another, and also from the later technical term, that they evidently are not technical terms. It is quite true that none of the writings contained in the third division of the Hebrew Canon were composed subsequently to the second half of the second century B.C., but that does not prove that they had been collected into a canon in the third century B.C., or included by this prologue in its reference to the other writers or other books.

(*b*) It is improbable that the Greek Septuagint version would have added to this third division of the Canon and rearranged the books composing it, if it had been fixed before the translations were made.

The Septuagint gives a much larger collection of writings. The story prevailed for many centuries in the Eastern and Western churches that this translation was made by seventy-two accomplished scholars chosen from the twelve tribes of Israel, with the coöperation of Ptolemæus Philadelphus, king of Egypt, and the Jewish high-priest of Jerusalem, and that they were inspired to do their work by the Divine Spirit. This story has been traced to its simpler form in Josephus[2]

[1] Ecclus. 50.

[2] *Antiq.* XII. 2.

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and Philo,[1] and back of these to the original letter of Aristeas, and that has been proved to be a forgery[2] and its statements have been shown to be wide of the truth. An internal examination of the Septuagint version shows it to have been made by different men on different principles and at different times.

Frankel is followed by a large number of scholars in the opinion that the Septuagint was a Greek Targum which grew up gradually at first from the needs of the synagogue worship in Egypt and then from the desire of the Hellenistic Jews to collect together the religious literature of their nation, just as the Palestinian and Babylonian Targums were subsequently made for the Jews of Palestine and Syria who spoke Aramaic.[3]

Some of the sacred books, such as Daniel and Esther, have additional matter not found in the Hebrew Massoretic text. The apocryphal writings are mingled with those of the Hebrew Canon without discrimination.[4] As Deane[5] says:

> "If we judge from the MSS. that have come down to us, it would be impossible for any one, looking merely to the Septuagint version and its allied works, to distinguish any of the books in the collection as of less authority than others. There is nothing whatever to mark off the canonical writings from what have been called the deuterocanonical. They are all presented as of equal standing and authority, and, if we must make distinctions between them, and place some on a higher platform than others, this separation must be made on grounds which are not afforded by the arrangement of the various documents themselves."

(*c*) Another evidence for the fixture of the Old Testament Canon has been found in a supposed writing of Philo of the first Christian century.[6] This work speaks of the Law, the Prophets, hymns, and other writings, making either three or four classes, but without specification of particular books. But this writing has recently been proved to have been written in the

[1] *Vita Mosis*, II. §§ 5–7.

[2] The original text of the letter is best given in Merx, *Archiv für Wissenschaftliche Erforschung des Alten Testaments*, I. pp. 242 *seq.* Halle, 1870. See also pp. 188 *seq.*

[3] Frankel, *Vorstudien z. d. Septuaginta*, Leipzig, 1841; Scholtz, *Alexand. Uebersetz. d. Buch Iesaias*, 1880, pp. 7 *seq.*

[4] See p. 138 for the order of the books in the several codices of the Septuagint.

[5] *Book of Wisdom*, Oxford, 1881, pp. 37 *seq.* [6] *De Vita Contemp.* S. III.

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third century A.D., and wrongly attributed to Philo.[1] The testimony of Philo is therefore reduced to the books that he quotes as of divine authority. He uses all of the Rabbinical Canon except Ruth, Esther, Ezekiel, Lamentations, Daniel, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs.[2] He uses Proverbs and Job. This we would expect from Philo's type of thought and the subject-matter of his writings. But his omission of Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs is surprising. These writings belong to the same class of Wisdom Literature as Job and Proverbs. They would have given him the very best field for his peculiar method of allegory. Ezekiel and Daniel, the symbolical prophets, we would expect him to make use of. Under these circumstances it is not valid to argue against the canonicity of the apocryphal books because Philo does not quote them as authoritative. The books of the Palestinian Canon which he omitted came within his scope more than the apocryphal writings. If silence is to be used against the Apocrypha, it is still more telling against those writings of the third Canon which he omits.

> "It is abundantly clear that to Philo the Pentateuch was a bible within a bible, and that he only occasionally referred to other books whose sanctity he acknowledged, as opportunity chanced to present itself. There are two reasons which, whether considered separately or in conjunction, may be said in a measure to account for Philo's silence in respect of these four books. (1) In the 1st century A.D. some of the books of the Hagiographa were probably not yet accepted by all Jews as worthy to be ranked among the Holy Scriptures. (2) Some of the books of the Hebrew Scriptures were translated into Greek much later than others; and the problems of the Greek text in, e.g. Daniel and Esther, show that there was often a considerable difference between the text of rival Greek versions, which fact must be considered to be incompatible with the early recognition of their sacred authority among the Jews of the Dispersion.

[1] Lucius, *Die Therapeuten und ihre Stellung in der Askese*, Strassburg, 1880; Strack, art. *Kanon*, in Herzog, 2te Aufl., vii. p. 425; *Einleitung*, 5te Aufl., 1898, *s.* 174; Massebieau, *Le Traité de la Vie Contemplative*, Paris, 1888, maintains its genuineness; and Sanday, *Inspiration*, 1893, p. 99, says: "the tide of opinion seems to have turned in its favour." I cannot agree with him.

[2] Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, 3te Ausg. 1803, I. p. 98.

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"It must be remembered that the mere citation of a book is not the same as the recognition of its Divine Inspiration. In the case of the books of Judges and Job, Philo quotes from them, but it is not strictly accurate to say that he definitely acknowledges their position as inspired Scripture. The evidence does not permit us to go so far. At the same time it is practically impossible that a book like Judges, included as it was among the "Prophets" of the Hebrew Canon of Scripture, should have been rejected by Philo; and exceedingly unlikely that Job, one of the most important of the poetical Hagiographa, should not have ranked in his estimation as Scripture. While we may feel convinced that these books were in Philo's Scripture, the evidence does not amount to actual demonstration.

"The case is different with Esther, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, and Daniel, which have been among the latest books to be received into the sacred Canon. It may indeed be said of any one of them, as might, perhaps, be said of the book of Ezekiel, that they did not furnish Philo with suitable material for quotation, or that Philo was, for some reason, not so close a student of these books.

"But another explanation is possible. In the case of all four of these books, there is good ground for supposing that their Canonicity had not been fully recognized in Egypt in the lifetime of Philo. And while, in view of other evidence, we may claim that the Canonicity of Daniel was probably generally established in Palestine in the 1st century B.C., and possibly also that of Ecclesiastes, we have not the right to make the same plea for the recognition of Esther and the Song of Songs." [1]

(*d*) Josephus [2] mentions 22 books as making up his Canon — five of the Law, thirteen of the Prophets, and four of the poems and precepts. He uses all of the Talmudic Canon except Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, and Job.[3] The silence of Josephus as to these cannot be pressed, because they did not clearly come within his scope. Various efforts have been made to determine his books, but without conclusive results. If on the one hand the lists of Origen and Jerome favour the Talmudic Canon, the list of Junilius Africanus favours the exclusion of Chronicles, Ezra, Job, Song of Songs, and Esther.[4] Graetz [5] excludes the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes from the list of

[1] Ryle, *Philo and Holy Scripture*, 1895, pp. xxxii, xxxiii.
[2] *Contra Apion*, I. 8. [3] Eichhorn, in *l.c.*, I. p. 123.
[4] See Kihn, *Theodore von Mopsuestia und Julius Africanus als Exegeten*, Freib. 1880, p. 86. [5] *Gesch. d. Juden*, III. p. 501, Leipzig, 1863.

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Josephus. He falls, then, by his 22, just these two short of the Talmudic list of 24. This neglect of these two writings by Josephus would coincide with their neglect by Philo and the New Testament, and with the strong opposition to them on the part of many Palestinian Jews in the first Christian century. It seems to me unwarranted to suppose that Josephus attached Ruth to Judges and Lamentations to Jeremiah without counting them. It is a conjecture without sufficient evidence to sustain it. We are left by Josephus in uncertainty as to certain Old Testament books. Moreover, the statements of Josephus do not carry with them our confidence as to the views of the men of his time. Zunz is correct in his statement: "Neither Philo nor Josephus impart to us an authentic list of the sacred writings."[1]

(*e*) We know that several books were in dispute among the Pharisees, such as Ezekiel, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, and Esther. They were generally, but not unanimously, acknowledged. The Sadducees are said by some of the Fathers to have agreed with the Samaritans in rejecting all but the Pentateuch. This must be a mistake. But we can hardly believe that they accepted Ezekiel and Daniel in view of their denial of angels and the resurrection. The Essenes and the Zealots agreed in extending the Canon to esoteric writings. The Apocalypse of Ezra mentions 70 of these as given to Ezra to interpret the 24, and so of even greater authority. These parties differ from the Pharisees only in that they committed the esoteric wisdom to writing, whereas the Pharisees handed it down as tradition, and prohibited the committing it to writing, until at last it found embodiment in the several layers of the Talmuds.

There is little doubt that the Canon of the Palestinian Jews received its latest addition by common consent not later than the time of Judas Maccabeus,[2] and no books of later composition were added afterward; yet the schools of the Pharisees continued the debate with reference to some of these writings until the assembly of rabbins decided it at Jamnia. The Hellenistic Jews had a wider and freer conception of the Canon.[3]

[1] *Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, 1832, p. 18.

[2] Strack, in Herzog, *Real-Encyk.* 2te Aufl., vii. p. 426: Ewald, *Lehre d. Bibel von Gott*, I. p. 363.

[3] Ewald, in *l.c.*, p. 364.

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The order of the formation of the third layer of the Canon may be conceived as follows. The first of the Writings to gain recognition was the book of Psalms. The earlier minor Psalters were collected in the Persian period; but the composition of psalms continued during the Greek period deep into the Maccabean age. The Psalter of Solomon, collected in the middle of the first century B.C.,[1] gives us the limit beyond which we cannot go. Its use in the temple worship, and above all in the synagogue, and at the great feasts, at festival meals, in pilgrimages, and in processions, gave it popular authority as Holy Scripture. It is probable that the phrase "the Law of Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms"[2] represents the synagogue use of the term and the popular opinion. The earliest writing which quotes the Psalter as Scripture is the first book of Maccabees at the close of the second century.[3] The general recognition of the Psalter must have preceded this date, and accordingly not be later than the middle of the second century B.C.

The next writings to receive recognition were doubtless Job and Proverbs, the chief monuments of the Wisdom Literature. This Wisdom Literature exercised a great influence among the Jews in the first and second centuries B.C., as we learn from the Wisdom of Ben Sirach, which also gained in later times canonical recognition by not a few Hebrew rabbins; and in the New Testament times, as we learn from the apocryphal Wisdom of Solomon, the Wisdom of Jesus of Nazareth as contained in the Logia of Matthew and cited in our Synoptic Gospels,[4] and in the Pirqe Aboth or Sayings of the Jewish Fathers. The books of Ruth and Lamentations received early recognition; but were assigned different places in the Palestinian and Alexandrinian Canons. The book of Daniel also was early recognized as the parent of the later favourite apocalyptic literature, as represented especially in the Book of Enoch and the Apocalypse of Ezra, which also in their turn received

[1] Ryle and James, *Psalms of Solomon*, 1891; Briggs, *Messiah of the Gospels*, 1894, pp. 31 *seq.*

[2] Lk. 24^{44}. [3] 1 Macc. 7^{17}, quotes from Ps. $79^{2,3}$.

[4] See my articles on the "Wisdom of Jesus the Messiah," in the *Expository Times*, June, July, August, and November, 1897.

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canonical recognition by many Jews and Christians. But the books of Ecclesiastes, Songs of Songs, Esther, Ezra, and Chronicles only gradually won their way, and did not finally gain their place in universal recognition until the assembly of Jamnia.

The third layer of the Canon of the Old Testament was not definitely limited among the Jews until the close of the first Christian century. After the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D., the Jewish rabbins established themselves at Jamnia. Two assemblies seem to have been held there; one about 90 A.D., the other in 118 A.D. At these assemblies, under the presidency of Eleazar ben Azariah, the canonicity of the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes was discussed. They were finally decided to be canonical, and so the third Canon of the Old Testament was closed[1] for the Hebrews.

"All the Holy Scriptures defile the hands: the Song of Solomon and Ecclesiastes defile the hands. R. Judah says, The Song of Solomon defiles the hands, but Ecclesiastes is disputed. R. Jose says, Ecclesiastes does not defile the hands, but the Song of Solomon is disputed. R. Simeon says, Ecclesiastes belongs to the light things of the school of Shammai, and the heavy things of the school of Hillel. R. Simeon, son of Azai, says, I received it from the seventy-two elders on the day when they enthroned R. Eleazer, son of Azariah in the council, that the Song of Solomon and Ecclesiastes defile the hands. R. Akiba said, God forbid that a man of Israel should ever deny that the Song of Solomon defiles the hands. For no day in the history of the world is worth the day when the Song of Solomon was given to Israel. For all the writings are holy, but the Song of Solomon is holy of holies. And if there has been any dispute, it referred only to Ecclesiastes, R. Johanan, son of Joshua said, the companions of R. Akiba according to the son of Azar so they disputed, and so they decided.[2]

"In the Talm. Babli. Meg. 7ª, 'Rabbi Meir saith: The book Koheleth defileth not the hands, and with respect to the Song of Songs there is difference of opinion. Rabbi Joshua saith:

[1] Grätz, *Gesch. d. Juden*, 1863, III. pp. 496 *seq.*; W. Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 2d ed., London, 1892, p. 185; Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*, London, 1887, pp. 280 *seq.*

[2] *Mishna*, Tract *Yadaim*, iii. See Robertson Smith in *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, p. 186, note.

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The Song of Songs defileth the hands, and with respect to Koheleth there is difference of opinion. Rabbi Simeon saith: Koheleth belongeth to the things which the school of Shammai maketh easy and the school of Hillel maketh difficult; but Ruth, the Song of Songs, and Esther defile the hands. Rabbi Simeon ben Menasiah saith: Koheleth defileth not the hands, because it containeth the Wisdom of Solomon.'"[1]

II. The Canon of Jesus and His Apostles

The New Testament does not determine the extent and limits of the Canon of the Old Testament. Jesus gives His authority to the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms,[2] which alone were used in the synagogue in His times; but the Psalms only of the Writings are mentioned. There are no sufficient reasons for concluding that by the Psalms Jesus meant all the other books besides Law and Prophets. If the term "Writings" had become a technical term for the third division of the Canon, it is improbable that the Gospel of Luke would substitute Psalms for it; all the less that Psalms has a definite historical sense.

The New Testament uses for the Old Testament the following general terms: (1) the term *Scriptures* for the whole;[3] or *Sacred Writings;*[4] (2) *Law*, referring to the Psalter;[5] referring to several passages of the Prophets;[6] and to Isaiah;[7] (3) *Prophets;*[8] (4) *Law and Prophets;*[9] *Moses and Prophets;*[10] *Law of Moses and the Prophets;*[11] (5) *Law of Moses and Prophets and Psalms.*[12] This fluctuation shows that in the minds of the writers of the New Testament there was no definite threefold division known as Law, Prophets, and Writings.

Indeed the New Testament carefully abstains from using the writings disputed among the Jews. It does not quote at all Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Esther, Ezra, Nehemiah; and

[1] See Ryle, *Canon of the Old Testament*, 1892, pp. 198 *seq.*
[2] Lk. 24^{44}.
[3] Acts $17^{2.\ 11}$; $18^{24.\ 28}$.
[4] 2 Tim. 3^{15}.
[5] John 10^{34}; 15^{25}.
[6] John 12^{34}.
[7] 1 Cor. 14^{21}.
[8] Lk. 24^{25}; Acts 13^{27}.
[9] Mt. 5^{17}; Acts 13^{15}.
[10] Lk. $16^{29.\ 31}$; 24^{27}; Acts 26^{22}.
[11] Acts 28^{23}.
[12] Lk. 24^{44}.

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only incidentally Ezekiel and Chronicles in the same way as apocryphal and pseudepigraphical books are used. Was this silence discretionary, in order to build only on books recognized by all, or does it rule from the Canon those books so ignored? [1]

Thus the book of Jude cites the Apocalypse of Enoch and the Assumption of Moses,[2] both belonging to the pseudepigrapha, which did not receive recognition in the Hebrew Canon. So also the earliest Christian writing outside of the New Testament, the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, cites twice from the Old Testament [3] and thrice from the Apocrypha.[4]

We may not be able to answer this question positively. But these things are plain. (*a*) The New Testament gives its authority only to the books of the Old Testament which it cites as Scripture. (*b*) There seems to be no good reason why the New Testament writers should not have cited these other books, and therefore we cannot certainly say that their silence is of no consequence. On the other hand, we cannot say that these Old Testament writings fairly came within the scope of the New Testament writings, and that therefore the omission of them condemns them. The most that we can say, is that the New Testament neither condemns them nor confirms them. It is evident that Charles Hodge is in serious error when he says, "Protestants answer it (the question as to canonicity) by saying, so far as the Old Testament is concerned, that those books, and those only, which Christ and His apostles recognized as the written Word of God, are entitled to be regarded as canonical." [5] In fact, Jesus and His apostles nowhere undertake to define the Canon of the Old Testament, and their incidental use of the Old Testament, when summed up, leaves several books undefined as to their canonicity.

"The controversies as to the date of the formation of the Jewish Canon seem really to turn upon the ambiguity in the meaning of the word 'canon' itself. If by 'canon' we mean the estimate of

[1] Eichhorn, *l.c.*, I. *s.* 104. [2] Jude 9–14.

[3] Lines 273 *seq.* from Mal. $1^{11.\ 14}$; lines 315 *seq.* from Zec. 14^{5}.

[4] Lines 91 *seq.* from Ecclus. 4^{5}; lines 86 *seq.* from Ecclus. 4^{31}; lines 7 *seq.* from Tobit 4^{15}.

[5] *Systematic Theology*, Vol. I. p. 152.

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certain books as sacred and inspired, then we have proof that the Canon of the Old Testament existed from the time of Hillel, Philo, and the New Testament, if not from the time of the books of Maccabees and Ecclesiasticus. But if by the Canon we mean that this estimate was formally and authoritatively recognized and that a list of books was drawn up to which the estimate applied, then we cannot say that the Canon of the Old Testament was formed before the transactions at Jamnia at the end of the first and beginning of the second centuries."[1]

This is quite true, as we shall see later on. We have to distinguish between individual recognition, recognition by common consent, and official recognition. In fact, these are three different stages in the historical formation of the Canon.

III. The Formation of the Canon of the New Testament

The Canon of the New Testament began very much as the Canon of the Old Testament began, and it unfolded and enlarged itself gradually in the growth of the Christian Church.

1. The earliest effort among the disciples of Jesus was to collect the words of the Lord. This was done by St. Matthew in his Logia.[2] This collection was used in our Gospels of Mark, Matthew, and Luke, as a primary authority, very much as the Book of the Covenant was used in the several documents of the Hexateuch. The use that was made of such logia by Clement, Barnabas, Hermas, and especially Papias, makes it clear that the Christians of their time regarded all such logia of the Lord as of normal divine authority.[3]

The story of Our Lord's life early received attention. Mark gives the most primitive conception of the life of Jesus. The gospel of Mark was used by our Matthew and Luke. Our

[1] Sanday, *Inspiration*, 1893, p. 123.

[2] Other collections were made, as is evident from the recently discovered fragment of a collection of Logia of Jesus. See facsimile, translation, and notes in *Logia Jesu, Sayings of Our Lord*, from an early Greek papyrus, discovered and edited, with translation and commentary, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt. London, 1897; *Two Lectures on the Sayings of Jesus* recently discovered at Oxyrhynchus, by Walter Lock and William Sanday, Oxford, 1897.

[3] Holtzmann, *Einleitung*, 2te Aufl., Freib. 1886, *s.* 110 *seq.*

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gospel of John is probably based upon an original gospel of the apostle John, very much as our gospel of Matthew is based on the primitive Matthew. The four gospels constitute the first layer of the New Testament Canon. The four gospels gained the consensus of recognition in the Church by the middle of the second century, prior to Justin,[1] who cites them as authoritative, and represents that they were read in the churches alongside of the Old Testament prophets; and to Tatian, who compacted them together in his Diatessaron to be the official gospel of the Syrian Church for several generations.[2]

2. The next layer of the Canon was the thirteen epistles of Paul (Romans, 1, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, 1, 2 Thessalonians, Philippians, Philemon, Ephesians, Colossians, 1, 2 Timothy, Titus) and Acts. To these the epistle to the Hebrews was generally attached in the East but not in the West. This layer of the Canon had certainly gained universal recognition by the close of the second century.

The first and the second layer of the Canon are alone recognized in the *Doctrine of Addai*, which gives us the primitive usage of the Church of Edessa.[3]

Zahn[4] says that "the two chief groups of which the New Testament of the Catholic Church consisted, the fourfold gospel and the thirteen Pauline epistles, were present as collections, and quite widely circulated, at the latest about 125. They must have originated, to use a round number, before the year 120." This is, however, an extreme position, not firmly supported by the evidence.[5]

3. A third layer of the Canon only gained gradual recognition. This layer eventually received the name of the Catholic Epistles. Of these, 1 Peter and 1 John were recognized by common consent in the second century; but all the others, James, 2 Peter, Jude, 2 and 3 John, were disputed. The Reve-

[1] *Apol.* I. 66, 67; *Dial.* 49, 100.

[2] Jülicher, *Einleitung*, 1894, *s.* 292 *seq.*

[3] *Doct. Addai*, p. 46. See Zahn, *Gesch. d. Neutest. Kanon*, I. *s.* 373; Sanday, *Studia Biblica*, III. p. 245.

[4] *Geschichte des Neutest. Kanon*, I. *s.* 797.

[5] Harnack, *Das Neue Testament um das Jahr 200*, 1889; Jülicher, *Einleitung*, 1894, *s.* 292 *seq.*

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lation was also doubted or denied. All of these except James were lacking in the earliest Syriac New Testament, and there is not a trace of any of them in Syriac Christian literature before 350 A.D.[1] There was a large number of other writings besides, such as the Apocalypse of Peter, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Epistles of Clement, accepted by some as canonical and by others rejected.

The Muratorian fragment from the last years of the second century, representing the common opinion of Rome at the time, includes in its list the Gospels, Acts, thirteen epistles of Paul, 1 and 2 John, Jude, and Revelations of John and Peter; but it says that 2 John and Jude have as little right to their names as Wisdom to that of Solomon, and that the Revelations of John and Peter were not for public reading. It also states that the Shepherd of Hermas was only for private reading. Excluded from the list are Hebrews, James, 1 and 2 Peter, and 3 John. The Cheltenham list agrees with this position in part by omitting Hebrews, 2 Peter, James, and Jude.

"Hebrews was saved by the value set upon it by the scholars of Alexandria; the Apocalypse by the loyalty of the West; and the Epistle of St. James by the attachment of certain churches in the East, especially as we may believe that of Jerusalem."[2] And again, "What a number of works circulated among the churches of the second century, all enjoying a greater or less degree of authority, only to lose it! In the way of Gospels, those according to the Hebrews, according to the Egyptians, according to Peter; in the way of Acts, the so-called 'Travels' (περίοδοι) of Apostles, ascribed by Photius to Leucius Charinus, the Preaching of Peter, the Acts of Paul and Thecla; in the way of Epistles, 1 and 2 Clement, Barnabas; an allegory like the Shepherd of Hermas; a manual like the *Didaché;* an Apocalypse like that of Peter. Truly it may be said that here, too, the last was first and the first last. Several of these works had a circulation and popularity considerably in excess of that of some of the books now included in the Canon. It is certainly a wonderful feat on the part of the early Church to have by degrees sifted out this mass of literature; and still more wonderful that it should not have discarded, at least so far as the New Testament is concerned,

[1] See Jülicher, *Einleitung*, s. 337 *seq.*
[2] Sanday, *Inspiration*, pp. 24, 25.

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one single work which after generations have found cause to look back upon with any regret. Most valuable, no doubt, many of them may be for enabling us to reconstruct the history of the times, but there is not one which at this moment we should say possessed a real claim to be invested with the authority of the Canon."[1]

The New Testament writings were critically examined by Origen early in the third century. He divided them into three classes: (1) those universally accepted, the four Gospels, Acts, the thirteen Pauline Epistles, Hebrews, 1 Peter, 1 John, and the Apocalypse (the first and second Canons); (2) those that were to be rejected; (3) the doubtful writings, James, Jude, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John.

Influenced by Origen, Eusebius in his Church History makes essentially the same classification. In the first class he includes all of Origen's list except Revelation, of which he says: "After them is to be placed, if it really seem proper, the Apocalypse of John, concerning which we shall give the different opinions at the proper time." In the second class he mentions: Acts of Paul, Shepherd of Hermas, Apocalypse of Peter, Barnabas, and the Teaching of the Apostles. He seems inclined to class here also the Revelation, with the Gospel to the Hebrews, for he says: "And besides, as I said, the Apocalypse of John, if it seem proper, which some, as I said, reject, but which others class with the accepted books. And among these some have placed also the Gospel according to the Hebrews, with which those of the Hebrews that have accepted Christ are especially delighted."[2]

Thus there is the same fluctuation of opinion in the third layer of the Canon of the New Testament that we have seen in the third layer of the Canon of the Old Testament, and outside of this layer, apocryphal and pseudepigraphical New Testament writings corresponding with the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical Old Testament writings. The many Jewish apocalypses and Sibylline oracles and Christian pseudepigrapha which were written during the first and second

[1] *l.c.*, pp. 27, 28.
[2] III. 25. See edition of McGiffert, pp. 155 *seq.*

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centuries B.C. and in the first and second centuries A.D. were cited without discrimination, excepting by a few critics such as Origen and Jerome.[1]

IV. The Canon of the Church

The Christian Church made no official determination of the Canon of Holy Scripture at any of the great œcumenical councils. The only definitions of the Canon that were officially made were by a provincial council at Laodicea in the East; and by provincial synods in the West, at Hippo and Carthage; and then all confirmed by the Greek Trullan council in 692 A.D. Their definitions represent a difference of opinion in the Catholic Church of the fourth century which persisted until the Reformation.

The Council of Laodicea, composed of Bishops of Phrygia and Lydia in the middle of the fourth century (between 343 and 381 A.D.), prohibited the public use of any other than canonical books of the Old and New Testaments.[2]

There is a list of the canonical books in the Sixtieth Canon of this council, but this seems to have been a later addition.[3]

The list excludes the apocryphal books of the Old Testament except Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremiah, and in other respects limits itself to the Canon of the Palestinian Jews. It gives all of the present New Testament Canon except the Apocalypse. This represents the critical tendencies of the Eastern Church. The Syrian Christians were still more critical. The book of Chronicles is not in the ancient Syriac version, and is neglected by Ephraem in his commentaries. Theodore of Mopsuestia also excludes Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther,

[1] Sanday, "Value of Patristic Writings for the Criticism and Exegesis of the Bible," *Expositor*, February, 1880; Davidson, *Canon*, pp. 101 *seq.*

[2] Mansi, *Concill. nov. coll.*, II. 574, Canon 59, *ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικοὺς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐδὲ ἀκανόνιστα βιβλία, ἀλλὰ μόνα τὰ κανονικὰ τῆς καινῆς καὶ παλαιᾶς διαθήκης.*

[3] Its authenticity is attacked by Spittler, *Krit. Untersuchung des 60 Laodic. Kanons*, 1777; but defended by Bickell, *Stud. und Krit.* 1830, III. *s.* 591 *seq.*; Hefele, *Conciliengesch.*, I. *s.* 750; and others. Sanday, *Inspiration*, p. 60, says: "It is generally agreed that the list appended as *Can.* LX. to the Council of Laodicea is not original."

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and Job. The Nestorian Canon excludes Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther.[1] The Apocalypse of John is ignored by Chrysostom, Theodoret, and many others. Jerome gives his sanction to the Palestinian Canon of the Old Testament and excludes the Apocrypha. He[2] recognizes that the second Epistle of Peter and James were deemed by some to belong to those authors; that Jude was rejected by some; that 2 and 3 John were ascribed to the Presbyter John by some. He also mentions doubts as to the five Catholic epistles, Hebrews, and the Apocalypse.[3] The Synod of Hippo in 393 A.D. and of Carthage in 397 A.D., under the influence of Augustine, decided for the larger Canon, including the apocryphal books of the Old Testament and the full Canon of the New Testament. This opinion is sustained by the oldest Greek Uncials.[4]

The Vatican Codex includes in the Old Testament the Greek Esdras, Wisdom of Solomon, Wisdom of Sirach, Greek Esther, Judith, Tobit, Baruch, Letter of Jeremiah, and Theodotian's Daniel. The Sinaitic Codex has Tobit, Judith, 1 and 4 Maccabees, Wisdom of Solomon, Wisdom of Sirach, the entire New Testament, and the Epistle of Barnabas. The Alexandrian Codex has Baruch, Epistle of Jeremiah, Theodotian's Daniel, Greek Esther, Tobit, Judith, Greek Esdras, 1, 2, 3, 4 Maccabees, Prayer of Manasseh, Wisdom of Solomon, Wisdom of Sirach, and in addition to the New Testament three epistles of Clement.

The Cheltenham list (359 A.D.?) mentions,[5] besides the Palestinian Canon, 1 and 2 Maccabees, Tobit, and Judith. In the New Testament it omits Hebrews, 2 Peter, James, and Jude.

The Ethiopic Version gives a still more extensive Canon of the Old Testament, including the apocalypses of Ezra and Enoch, the martyrdom of Isaiah, and the book of Jubilee.

[1] Buhl, *Kanon*, *s.* 52.

[2] *De Viris illustribus*, 1, 2, 4, 9.

[3] Epistola 129 *ad Dardanum*.

[4] See Gregory, *Prolegomena*, pp. 346, 355; Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint*, I. pp. xvii, xx, xxii. See also pp. 195 *seq.*

[5] See Sanday, "Cheltenham List of the Canonical Books," in *Studia Biblica*, III. 1891, pp. 217 *seq.*, where many valuable tables are given.

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The opinion of Augustine prevailed in the Western Church, and the limits of the Canon were by general consent the larger Augustinian Canon, including the Apocrypha with the Old Testament, and the full New Testament Canon. Jerome, however, had influence upon a few scholars. Fewer entertained doubts as to such a book as Esther in the Old Testament, and the Apocalypse of John in the New Testament.

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CHAPTER VI

CRITICISM OF THE CANON

We have traced the History of the Canon of the Old and New Testament Scriptures and have seen its gradual formation, at first by the recognition of the writings one after another by individuals, then by common consent, and at last by official action in the Synagogue and in the Church. The limits of the Canon of the Old Testament were defined by the official action of the Synagogue at Jamnia; but the limits of the Canon were never officially defined by the Church except in provincial synods of limited influence and authority. This was the situation at the Protestant Reformation, when for the first time the limits of the Canon became a burning question in the Church.

I. The Canon in the Reformation

The Reformation was a great *critical* revival, due largely to the new birth of learning in Western Europe. The emigration of the fugitive Greeks from Constantinople, after its capture by the Turks, had planted a young Greek culture. A stream of thought burst forth, and poured like a quickening flood strong and deep over Europe. Cardinal Ximenes, with the aid of a number of Christian and Jewish scholars, such as Alphonso de Zamora, Demetrius Ducas, and Alphonso de Alcala, issued the world-renowned Complutensian Polyglot, 1513–17. The Greek New Testament was studied with avidity by a series of scholars, among whom Erasmus was preëminent. He published the first Greek Testament in 1516. Elias Levita and Jacob ben Chayim introduced Christians into a knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures. Reuchlin laid the foundation for

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Hebrew scholarship among Christians, by publishing the first Hebrew grammar and lexicon combined in 1506.[1] This return to the original text of the Old and New Testaments aroused the suspicions of the scholastics and monks, and the new learning was assailed with bitterness. Even Levita had to defend himself against the charge of heterodoxy for teaching Christians the Hebrew language, the law of Moses, and the Talmud.[2] But the Reformers took their stand as one man for the critical study of the Sacred Scriptures, and investigated the original texts under the lead of Erasmus, Elias Levita, and Reuchlin.

This critical study of Holy Scripture raised many questions which had been long sleeping or whose feeble voice had been easily suppressed by ecclesiastical authority. It soon became evident to all that many doctrines and practices resting upon traditional custom were imperilled; and the authority of the Church, especially as expressed through the papal administration, began to be seriously questioned. Several of the apocryphal books seemed to sustain doctrines and practices which some of the Reformers found to be opposed to the teachings of the New Testament. Esther, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs were difficult to reconcile with Christianity. The book of James and the Apocalypse did not seem easily to reconcile with the epistles of Paul. And so the canonicity of the apocryphal books of the Old Testament and several of the writings of the stricter Canon of the Old Testament and even of the Canon of the New Testament were suspected, doubted, or denied. The Protestant Reformers appealed from the traditions of the Church and its customs, and the authority of the prelates and the pope, to Christ and the Holy Scriptures. This raised necessarily the question, which are the Holy Scriptures? What writings are to be regarded as canonical? The hierarchy maintained that it was the province of the Church to determine by its authority, as expressed through the papal administration, not only the interpretation of Holy Scripture, but also the limits of Holy Scripture, and so forced for the first

[1] Gesenius, *Gesch. d. hebr. Sprache*, pp. 106 *seq.*

[2] See his *Massoreth Ha-Massoreth*, edited by Ginsburg, London, 1867, pp. 97 *seq.*

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time in Christian history an official determination of the extent and limits of the Canon by the authority of the Church. The Protestant Reformers declined to recognize the authority of the Church in these particulars.

Luther in his controversy with Eck said, "The Church cannot give any more authority or power than it has of itself. A council cannot make that to be of Scripture which is not by nature of Scripture."[1] Calvin says:

> "But there has very generally prevailed a most pernicious error that the Scriptures have only so much weight as is conceded to them by the suffrages of the Church, as though the eternal and inviolable truth of God depended on the arbitrary will of men." . . . "For, as God alone is a sufficient witness of Himself in His own Word, so also the Word will never gain credit in the hearts of men till it be confirmed by the internal testimony of the Spirit. It is necessary, therefore, that the same Spirit, who spake by the mouths of the prophets, should penetrate into our hearts, to convince us that they faithfully delivered the oracles which were divinely intrusted to them."[2]

This principle is well expressed in the 2d Helvetic Confession, the most honoured in the Reformed Church:

> "We believe and confess the canonical Scriptures of the holy prophets to be the very true Word of God and to have sufficient authority of themselves, not of men" (Chap. I.). "Therefore in controversies of religion or matters of faith we cannot admit any other judge than God Himself, pronouncing by the holy Scriptures what is true and what is false; what is to be followed, or what is to be avoided" (Chap. II.).

The Gallican Confession gives a similar statement:

> "We know these books to be canonical, and the sure rule of our faith, not so much by the common accord and consent of the Church, as by the testimony and inward persuasion of the Holy Spirit, which enables us to distinguish them from other ecclesiastical books" (IV. Art.).[3]

Thus while other testimony is valuable and important, yet, the decisive test of the canonicity and interpretation of the

[1] *Disputatio excel. D. theolog. Joh. Eccii. et Lutheri, hist.*, III. pp. 129 *seq.*; Berger, *La Bible au Seizième Siècle*, Paris, 1879, p. 86.

[2] *Institutes*, I. 7.

[3] See also the *Belgian Confession*, Art. V.

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Scriptures is God Himself speaking in and through them to His people. This alone gives the *fides divina*. This is the so-called formal principle of the Reformation, no less important than the so-called material principle of justification by faith.[1]

The Reformers applied this critical test to the traditional theories of the Bible, and eliminated the apocryphal books from the Canon. They also revived the ancient doubts as to Esther, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Epistle of James, 2 Peter, Jude, and the Apocalypse. The Reformed symbols elaborated the formal principle further than the Lutheran, and ordinarily specified the books that they regarded as canonical. In this they rejected the traditions of the early Christian Church.

The Church of Rome, in accordance with its principle of church authority and tradition, determined the apocryphal books to be canonical at the Council of Trent, and defined officially the extent and limits of the Canon, and excluded all doubts and questionings on the Canon from the realm of orthodoxy. The Protestant Reformers accepted the Canon of their symbols, excluding the apocryphal books, not because of the Jewish tradition, which they did not hesitate to dispute, as they did that of the Church itself, but for higher internal reasons. It is doubtless true[2] that the Reformers fell back on the authority of Jerome in their determination of the Canon, as they did largely upon Augustine for the doctrine of grace; but this was in both cases for support against Rome in authority which Rome recognized, rather than as a basis on which to rest their faith and criticism. They went further back than Jerome to the more fundamental principle of the common consent of the believing children of God, which in course of time eliminated the sacred canonical books from those of a merely national and temporary character, because these books approved themselves to their souls as the very Word of God. As Dr. Charteris says:

[1] Dorner, *Gesch. Prot. Theo.*, pp. 234 *seq.*, 379 *seq.*; Julius Müller, "Das Verhältniss zwischen der Wirksamkeit des heiligen Geistes und dem Gnadenmittel des göttlichen Wortes," in his *Dogmat. Abhandlungen*, 1871, pp. 139 *seq.*; Reuss, *Histoire du Canon*, pp. 308 *seq.*

[2] W. Robertson Smith, *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 1881, p. 41.

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"The Council of Trent had formally thrown down a challenge. It recognized the canon because of the traditions of the Church, and on the same ground of tradition accepted the unwritten ideas about Christ and His apostles, of which the Church had been made the custodian. The reformers believed Scripture to be higher than the Church. But on what could they rest their acceptance of the canon of Scripture? How did they know these books to be Holy Scriptures, the only and ultimate divine revelation? They answered that the divine authority of Scripture is self-evidencing, that the regenerate man needs no other evidence, and that only the regenerate can appreciate the evidence. It follows from this, if he do not feel the evidence of their contents, any man may reject books claiming to be Holy Scripture."[1]

It is true this test did not solve all questions. It left in doubt several writings which had been regarded as doubtful for centuries. But uncertainty as to these does not weaken the authority of those that are recognized as divine; it only affects the extent of the Canon, and not the authority of those writings regarded as canonical.

"Suppose we were not able to give positive proof of the divine inspiration of every particular Book that is contained in the Sacred Records, it does not therefore follow that it was not inspired; and yet much less does it follow that our religion is without foundation. Which I therefore add, because it is well known there are some particular Books in our Bible that have at some times been doubted of in the Church, whether they were inspired or no. But I cannot conceive that doubt concerning such Books, where persons have suspended their assent, without casting any unbecoming reflections, have been a hindrance to their salvation, while what they have owned and acknowledged for truly divine, has had sanctifying effect upon their hearts and lives."[2]

This is the Protestant position. Unless these books have given us their own testimony that they are divine and therefore canonical, we do not receive them with our hearts; we do not rest our faith and life upon them as the very Word of God; we give mere intellectual assent; we receive them on authority, tacitly and without opposition, and possibly with the dogma-

[1] "The New Testament Scriptures: their Claims, History, and Authority," *Croall Lectures*, 1882, 1883, p. 203.

[2] Ed. Calamy, *Inspiration of the Holy Writings*, London, 1710, p. 42.

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tism which not unfrequently accompanies incipient doubt, but also without true interest in them, and true faith in their divine authority, and the certainty of their divine contents. The Canon of Holy Scripture as defined by the Reformed symbols may be successfully vindicated on Protestant principles. The Church has not been deceived with regard to it. Esther, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, and the Apocalypse will verify themselves in the hearts of those who study them. But it is illegitimate to first attempt to prove their canonicity and then their inspiration, or to rely upon Jewish Rabbinical tradition any more than upon Roman Catholic tradition, or to anathematize all who doubt some of them, in the spirit of Rabbi Akiba and the Council of Trent. The only legitimate Protestant method is that of the Reformers: first prove their canonicity from their own internal divine testimony, and accept them as canonical because the Christian soul rests upon them as the veritable divine Word. "For he that believes what God saith, without evidence that God saith it; doth not believe God, while he believes the thing that is from God, *et eadem ratione, si contigisset Alcorano Turcico credidisset.*" [1]

The fault with the Reformers was not in their use of this sure test, but in their neglect to use it with sufficient thoroughness. Unfortunately they allowed themselves to be influenced by other subjective tests and dogmatic considerations. Thus Luther, by his exaggeration of his interpretation of the Pauline doctrine of justification, was unable to understand the Epistle of James, and spoke of it as "an epistle of straw." There can be no doubt that the rejection of 2 Maccabees was due in great measure to its support of the Roman Catholic doctrine of sacrifices for the dead; [2] and that the Wisdom of Sirach was rejected partly, at least, because of its supposed countenance of the Roman Catholic doctrine of salvation by works. Such dogmatic objections influenced greatly the Reformers in their views as to the entire Apocrypha. They did not apply their principle in its simplicity and in its purity, but allowed themselves to confuse it with other less valid considera-

[1] Whichcote, *Eight Letters of Dr. A. Tuckney and Benj. Whichcote*, 1753, p. 111.

[2] 2 Macc. 12^{39-45}.

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tions. This set a bad example to their successors, who were more subjective and dogmatic in their principles, and less evangelical and vital.

Furthermore, the Protestant Reformers, in the matter of the Canon, were simply claiming a liberty of opinion with regard to the limits of the Canon which had been freely exercised by the early Christian Fathers, and which, indeed, had never been seriously questioned in the Christian Church. It was not necessary for them to battle against Catholic tradition, which indeed was undoubtedly on their side, if only they traced the tradition far enough backwards in the historic development of the Catholic Church.

In fact, the Roman Catholics, on the one side, were claiming the right of the Church to define the doctrine of the Canon of Holy Scripture, and they exercised that right for the first time in Christian history. The Church had the same right to define the Canon of Holy Scripture as to define other Christian doctrines. Unfortunately the Council of Trent was not a truly œcumenical council. It represented only a portion of the Christian Church, and therefore its definitions are the definitions of the Roman Catholic party in the Church. They do not represent the Greek, Oriental, and Protestant communions.

On the other hand, the Protestant Reformers were not simply exercising the right of private opinion with reference to certain books, whether they belonged to the Canon or not; but they set up a new test of canonicity, which, however true and reliable it may be in itself, had not the consent of antiquity, and ought not to have been imposed upon Christians as a new dogma. When the Reformed symbols undertook to rule the apocrypha out from the Canon of Holy Scripture, they were officially limiting the Canon of Holy Scripture, no less truly than the Council of Trent, only they represented a much smaller constituency and a lesser section of the Church of Christ. The practical result was that the Council of Trent defined a larger Canon, the Reformed synods a smaller Canon.

So long as the controversy with Rome was active and energetic, and ere the counter-reformation set in, the Protestant principle maintained itself; but as the internal conflicts of

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Protestant churches began to absorb more attention, and the polemic with Rome became less vigorous, the polemic against brethren more violent, the Reformed system of faith was built up by a series of scholastics over against Lutheranism, and Calvinistic scholastics contended against Arminianism. The elaboration of the Protestant Reformed system by *a priori* deduction carried with it the pushing of the principles of Protestantism more and more into the background. The authority of the Reformed Faith and Tradition assumed the place of the Roman Faith and Tradition; and the biblical scholarship of Protestant churches, cut off from the line of Roman Tradition, sought historical continuity and worked its way back along the line of Hieronymian Tradition to the earlier Jewish Rabbinical Tradition; and so began to establish a Protestant traditional orthodoxy in the Swiss schools under the influence of Buxtorf, Heidegger, and Francis Turretine; and in the Dutch schools under the influence of Voetius.

Lutheran theology had the same essential development through internal struggles. The irenical school of Calixtus at Helmstädt had struggled with the scholastic spirit, until the latter had sharpened itself into the most radical antagonism to the Reformed Church and the Melanchthon type of Lutheran theology. Carlov stated the doctrine of verbal inspiration in the same essential terms as the Swiss scholastics, and was followed therein by the Lutheran scholastics generally.

> "It treated Holy Scripture as the revelation itself, instead of as the memorial of the originally revealed, ideal, actual truth; the consequence being that Holy Scripture was transformed into God's exclusive work, the human element was explained away, and the original living power thrust away behind the writing contained in letters. Faith ever draws its strength and decisive certainty from the original eternally living power to which Scripture is designed to lead. But when Scripture was regarded as the goal, and attestation was sought elsewhere than in the experience of faith through the presence of truth in the Spirit, then the Reformation standpoint was abandoned, its so-called material principle violated, and it became easy for Rationalism to expose the contradictions in which the inquirers had thus involved themselves."[1]

[1] Dorner, *System of Christian Doctrine*, Vol. II. p. 186.

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II. The Canon of the British Reformation

The Church of England was, at the Reformation, composed of varied elements. The Reformation in England was born of the native British stock of Christianity; and yet, owing to the oft-repeated persecutions by Church and State, the English Reformers were banished to the continent, and when they returned, after the persecution had relaxed, they brought with them, — some, influences from Wittenburg; others, influences from Strassburg, Basel, Zurich, and Geneva. The English Reformation was thus enriched by the mingling together of all the influences of the Reformation; but it was also forced to confront the very serious problem of welding together all these influences. That which could not be accomplished on the continent could hardly be accomplished under still greater difficulties in Great Britain.

Three parties came into conflict in the British churches, — the more conservative Anglo-Catholic party, the more radical Puritan party, and the mediating or comprehensive party. The mediating party expressed its views on the Canon of Holy Scripture in the *Articles of Religion.* They take an intermediate position between the Protestant Reformers and the Roman Catholics in their doctrine of the Canon:

> "In the name of the Holy Scripture, we do understand those Canonical books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church." The twenty-four books of the Hieronymian Canon of the Old Testament are then mentioned. It then continues: "And the other books (as Hierome saith) the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners: but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine." It then names fourteen apocryphal books, and concludes: "All the books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive and account them for Canonical." (Art. VI.)

The Articles thus base themselves on the Hieronymian tradition as the Roman Catholic Church did on the stronger Augustinian tradition; but they do not claim the authority of the Church to define the Canon, and they do not set up any test of canonicity.

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The Scotch Confession of 1560, however, maintains the position of the Protestant Reformers:

"As we beleeve and confesse the Scriptures of God sufficient to instruct and make the man of God perfite, so do we affirme and avow the authoritie of the same to be of God, and nether to depend on men nor angelis. We affirme, therefore, that sik as allege the Scripture to have na uther authoritie bot that quhilk it hes received from the Kirk, to be blasphemous against God, and injurious to the trew Kirk, quhilk alwaies heares and obeyis the voice of her awin spouse and Pastor; bot takis not upon her to be maistres over the samin." (Art. XIX.)

Thomas Cartwright, the chief of the English Puritans, takes the same view:

"*Q.* How may these bookes be discerned to bee the word of God?

"*A.* By these considerations following:

"First, they are perfectly holy in themselves, and by themselves: whereas all other writings are prophane, further then they draw holinesse from these; which yet is never such, but that their holinesse is imperfect and defective.

"Secondly, they are perfectly profitable in themselves, to instruct to salvation, and all other are utterly unprofitable thereunto, any further then they draw from them.

"Thirdly, there is a perfect concord and harmonie in all these Bookes, notwithstanding the diversity of persons by whom, places where, and time when, and matters whereof, they have been written.

"Fourthly, there is an admirable force in them, to incline men's hearts from vice to vertue.

"Fifthly, in great plainenesse and easinesse of stile, there shineth a great Majesty and authority.

"Sixthly, there is such a gracious simplicity in the writers of these Bookes, that they neither spare their friends, nor themselves, but most freely, and impartially, set downe their owne faults and infirmities as well as others.

"Lastly, God's owne Spirit working in the harts of his children doth assure them, that these Scriptures are the word of God." [1]

III. The Puritan Canon

The Westminster Confession gives expression to the mature Puritan faith respecting the Scriptures:

[1] Thos. Cartwright, *Treatise of the Christian Religion*, London, 1616.

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§ 2. "Under the name of Holy Scripture, or the word of God written, are now contained all the books of the Old and New Testament, which are these" (mentioning the 66 books commonly received). "All which are given by inspiration of God to be the rule of faith and life."

§ 3. "The books commonly called Apocrypha, not being of divine inspiration, are no part of the canon of the Scripture; and therefore are of no authority in the Church of God, nor to be any otherwise approved, or made use of, than other human writings."

§ 4. "The Authority of the Holy Scripture, for which it ought to be believed and obeyed, dependeth not upon the testimony of any man or church, but wholly upon God, (who is truth itself,) the author thereof; and therefore it is to be received, because it is the word of God."

§ 5. "We may be moved and induced by the testimony of the Church to an high and reverent esteem for the Holy Scripture; and the heavenliness of the matter, the efficacy of the doctrine, the majesty of the style, the consent of all the parts, the scope of the whole, (which is to give all glory to God,) the full discovery it makes of the only way of man's salvation, the many other incomparable excellencies, and the entire perfection thereof, are arguments whereby it doth abundantly evidence itself to be the word of God; yet, notwithstanding, our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth, and divine authority thereof, is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the word in our hearts." (I. § 2–5.)

The Westminster Confession distinguishes in its statements (1) the external evidence, the testimony of the Church; (2) the internal evidence of the Scriptures themselves; (3) the *fides divina*. Here is an ascending series of evidences for the authority of the Scriptures. The *fides humana* belongs strictly only to the first class of evidences. This testimony of the Church is placed first in the Confession because it is weakest. The second class not only gives *fides humana*, but also *divina*, owing to the complex character of the Scriptures themselves; but the third class, as the highest, gives purely *fides divina*. The Confession carefully discriminates the weight of these evidences. The authority of the Church only induces "an high and reverent esteem for the Holy Scripture." The internal evidence of the "excellencies and entire perfection thereof are arguments whereby it doth abundantly evidence

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itself to be the word of God"; but our "full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth and divine authority thereof" come only from the highest evidence, "the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the word in our hearts." In accordance with this, "The authority of the Holy Scripture dependeth wholly upon God."[1] On this principle, then, the Canon is determined. The books of the Canon are named,[2] and then it is said, "All which are given by inspiration of God to be the rule of faith and life." The apocryphal books are no part of the Canon of Scripture, because they are not of divine inspiration.[3] It is, therefore, the authority of God Himself, speaking through the Holy Spirit, by and with the Word to the heart, that determines that the writings are infallible as the inspired Word of God, and it is their inspiration that determines their canonicity.

Thus the Westminster Confession stated the point of view of the Protestant Reformers. The members of this assembly of divines were not as a body scholastics, though there were scholastics among them; but were preachers, catechists, and expositors of the Scriptures, with a true evangelical spirit. They were called from the active work of the ministry, and from stubborn resistance to Prelatical authority, to the active work of reforming the Church of England into closer conformity with the Reformed Churches of the continent. Among the doctrines to be reformed was the doctrine respecting the Holy Scripture. The Puritans were not content with the statement of the Articles as to the Canon. They were determined to take an advanced Reformed position. Accordingly they state the three tests of canonicity and give each its proper place and order in the argument. In this respect they made an important dogmatic advance, but it was an advance only of a single party in the Church of England. The Prelatical view is stated by Bishop Cosin:[4]

> "For though there be many *Internal Testimonies* belonging to the Holy Scriptures, whereby we may be sufficiently assured, that they are the true and lively oracles of God, . . . yet for the par-

[1] § 4. [2] § 2. [3] § 3.

[4] *Scholastic History of the Canon*, London, 1657, pp. 4 *seq.*

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ticular and just *number of such books*, whether they be more or less, than either *some private persons*, or some *one particular church* of late, have been pleased to make them, we have no better nor other *external* rule or testimony herein to guide us, than the constant voice of the *catholic* and *universal Church*, as it hath been delivered to us upon *record* from one generation to another."

This view not only antagonizes the views of the Puritans and continental Reformers, but it is a reaction from the moderate intermediate statement of the Articles towards the Roman Catholic position.

The Puritans in the Westminster Assembly in revising Article VI. of the Articles of Religion erased the statements: "Of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church"; "And the other books (as Hierome saith) the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine." And they changed the statement: "All the books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive and account them for canonical"; so as to read: "All which books, as they are commonly received, we do receive and acknowledge them to be given by the inspiration of God; and in that regard, to be of the most certain credit, and highest authority."

Charles Herle, the Prolocutor of the Westminster Assembly, states the Protestant position over against the Roman:

"They (the Papists) being asked, why they believe the *Scripture* to be the *Word of God?* Answer, because the *Church* says 'tis so; and being asked againe, why they beleeve the Church? They answer, because the *Scripture* saies it *shall be guided into truth;* and being asked againe, why they beleeve that very Scripture that says so? They answer, because the *Church* says 'tis *Scripture*, and so (with those in the Psalm xii. 8), they walk in a *circle* or on *every side*. They charge the like on us (but wrongfully) that we beleeve the *Word*, because it sayes it self that it is so; but we do not so resolve our *Faith;* we *believe unto salvation*, not the *Word* barely, because it witnesses to itself, but because the *Spirit* speaking in it to our *consciences* witnesses to them that it is the Word indeed; we resolve not our *Faith* barely either into the *Word*, or *Spirit* as its single ultimate *principle*, but into the testimony of the *Spirit* speaking to our *consciences* in the Word."[1]

[1] *Detur Sapienti*, London, 1655, pp. 152, 153.

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The Puritans were in radical opposition to Rome. They were maintaining the *formal* principle of Protestantism. If they had not taken this position, they would have been powerless. As Reuss says:

> "Nothing was more foreign to the spirit of Luther, of Calvin, and their illustrious fellow-laborers, nothing was more radically contrary to their principles, than to base the authority of the Sacred Scriptures upon that of the Church and its tradition, to go in effect, to mount guard over the fathers, and range their catalogues in line, cause their obscurities to disappear by forced interpretations and their contradictions by doing violence to them, as is the custom of our day. They very well knew that this would have been the highest inconsistency, indeed the ruin of their system, to attribute to the Church the right of making the Bible after they had contested that of making the doctrine; for that which can do the greater can do the less."[1]

There never had been a period in which the authority of Holy Scripture was more hotly discussed than in the times of the English Commonwealth. In 1647 the London ministers (many of whom were members of the Westminster Assembly) issued their testimony against false views of Holy Scripture as well as of other matters. They mention as

> "*Errors against the Divine Authority of the Holy Scripture, That* the Scripture, whether true Manuscript or no, whether Hebrew, Greek, or English, it is but human; so not able to discover a divine God. Then where is your command to make that your rule or discipline, that cannot reveal you God, nor give you power to walk with God? *That*, it is no foundation of Christian Religion, to believe that the English Scriptures, or that book, or rather volume of books called the Bible, translated out of the originall Hebrew and Greek copies, into the English tongue are the Word of God. *That*, questionless no writing whatsoever, whether translations or originalls, are the foundation of Christian Religion."[2]

[1] Reuss, *Histoire du Canon*, p. 313.

[2] *A Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ and to our Solemn League and Covenant.* Subscribed by the ministers of Christ within the Province of London, Dec. 14, 1647. London, 1648. Similar testimonies were signed in many of the English counties during the same year. In the McAlpin collection of the library of the Union Theological Seminary, N.Y., there are ten of them.

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William Lyford, an esteemed Puritan divine, wrote a commentary on this testimony of the London ministers.[1]

After controverting the "foure fold error: (1) of them that would place this authority (of Scripture) in the Church; (2) of them who appeale from scripture to the spirit; (3) of them that make reason the supreme Judge; (4) of them that expound scripture according to Providences," he goes on to expound the position of the Puritans.

"The authority and truth of God speaking in the Scripture, is that upon which our faith is built, and doth finally stay itselfe: The ministry of the Church, the illumination of the Spirit, the right use of reason are the choicest helps, by which we believe, by which we see the law and will of God; but they are not the law itself; the divine truth and authority of God's word, is that which doth secure our consciences. . . . If you ask what it is that I believe? I answer, I believe the blessed doctrines of salvation by Jesus Christ; if you ask, why I believe all this, and why I will venture my soul to all eternity on that doctrine? I answer, because it is the revealed will of God concerning us. If you ask further, How I know that God hath revealed them? I answer, by a two-fold certainty; one of faith, the other of experience; (1) I do infallibly by faith believe the Revelation, not upon the credit of any other Revelation, but for itselfe, the Lord giving testimony thereunto, not only by the constant Testimony of the Church, which cannot universally deceive, nor only by miracles from heaven, bearing witness to the Apostle's doctrine, but chiefly by its own proper divine light, which shines therein. The truth contained in Scripture is a light, and is discerned by the sons of light: It doth by its own light, persuade us, and in all cases, doubts, and questions, it doth clearly testifie with us or against us; which light is of that nature, that it giveth Testimony to itself, and receiveth authority from no other, as the Sun is not seene by any light but his own, and we discerne sweet from soure by its own taste. . . . (2) Whereunto add, that other certainty of experience, which is a certainty in respect of the Affections and of the spiritual man. This is the Spirit's seal set to God's truth (namely), the light of the word; when it is thus shewen unto us, it doth work such strange and supernatural effects upon the soul; . . . It persuades

[1] *The Plain Man's sense exercised to discern good and evil, or A Discovery of the Errors, Heresies, and Blasphemies of these Times, and the Toleration of them, as they are collected and testified against by the ministers of London, in their Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ.* London, 1655.

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us of the truth and goodness of the will of God; and of the things revealed; and all this by way of spiritual taste and feeling, so that the things apprehended by us in divine knowledge, are more certainly discerned in the certainty of experience, than anything is discerned in the light of naturall understanding."

"They that are thus taught, doe know assuredly that they have heard God himselfe: In the former way, the light of Divine Reason causeth approbation of the things they believe. In the later, the Purity and power of Divine Knowledge, causeth a taste and feeling of the things they heare: And they that are thus established in the Faith, doe so plainly see God present with them in his Word, that if all the world should be turned into Miracles, it could not remove them from the certainty of their perswasion; you cannot unperswade a Christian of the truth of his Religion, you cannot make him thinke meanly of Christ, nor the Doctrine of Redemption, nor of duties of Sanctification, his heart is fixed trusting in the Lord. So then we conclude, that the true reason of our Faith, and ground, on which it finally stayeth itself, is the Authority of God himself, whom we doe most certainly discerne, and feele to speake in the word of faith, which is preached unto us."[1]

This is the true doctrine of the Puritans, in which they know no antagonism between the human reason, the religious feeling, and the Divine Spirit in the Word of God. It is a merciful Providence that they were guided to this position, for, if they had gone with the Swiss scholastics in basing themselves on Rabbinical tradition as to the Old Testament, they would have committed the British churches to errors that have long since been exploded by scholars.

IV. Discussion of the Canon in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

British Christianity had to struggle with the Friends (or Quakers), who exalted the authority of the inner light above the letter of Scripture, as well as with the Roman Catholics, who subjected the Canon to the authority of the Church. But there was also the contention between the Puritan doctrine as stated in the Westminster Confession and the doctrine as stated by Bishop Cosin. Few were willing to abide by the simple and indefinite statement of the English Articles of Religion.

[1] *l.c.*, pp. 39 *seq.*

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Bishop Cosin misled Anglicans, and even later Presbyterians, into a false position. How can we ascertain the voice of the Church as to the Canon, and how determine the genuine Christian traditions? There is no voice of the universal Church. As we have seen, prior to the Reformation, only provincial synods spoke, and these differed, — one following the Hebrew Canon and another the Greek Canon, — and thus exposed the differences which have always been in the Church.

At the Reformation the Roman Catholic Council of Trent decided for one Canon, the Protestant synods for another Canon. We must wait for a reunited Christendom before the Church can give its authority to fix the Canon, even if it has in itself the divine authority to do so. The Protestant Confessions deny the right of the Church so to do. It remains to be seen whether Protestantism will ever consent to an ultimate definition of the Canon even by the Reunited Church.

It will hardly be claimed that we should submit the question of the Canon to a majority vote of the Fathers. Even if we were willing to do this, we could not secure the voice of the majority, because the writings of the majority have perished. It will hardly be claimed that we should follow the maximum of the writings regarded as canonical. If we should do this, we would have to enlarge the extent of the Canon beyond that of the Council of Trent. If we should follow the minimum, we would limit still more than the Protestant Canon. Shall we pursue the *via media?* But who shall define the width of even the middle way? There is no pathway to certainty in any of these directions.

The conflicts of conformists and non-conformists, and the struggle between evangelical faith and deism in Great Britain, and of scholasticism with pietism on the continent, caused the scholastics to antagonize the human element in the sacred Scriptures, and to assert the external authority of traditional opinions and of Protestant orthodoxy over the reason, the conscience, and the religious feeling; while the apologists, following the deists into the field of the external arguments for and against the religion and doctrines of the Bible, built up a series of external evidences which were sufficiently strong to over-

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come the deists intellectually, and to drive them into atheism and pantheism. All this was at the expense of vital piety in the Church; for the stronger *internal* evidence was neglected. The dogmatists forgot the caution of Calvin: "Those persons betray great folly who wish it to be demonstrated to infidels, that the Scripture is the Word of God, which cannot be known without faith"[1] and they exposed the Church to the severe criticism of Dodwell:

> "To give all men Liberty to judge for themselves and to expect at the same time that they shall be of the preacher's mind, is such a scheme for unanimity as one would scarce imagine any one would be weak enough to devise in speculation, and much less that any could ever prove hardy enough to avow and propose to practice,"[2]

and led some to the conclusion that there was an "irreconcilable repugnance in their natures betwixt reason and belief."[3]

The efforts of the more evangelical type of thought which passed over from the Puritans into the Cambridge school, and the Presbyterians of the type of Baxter and Calamy, to construct an evangelical doctrine of the reason and the religious feeling in accordance with Protestant principles, failed for the time, and the movement died away, or passed over into the merely liberal and comprehensive scheme, or assumed an attitude of indifference between the contending parties. The Protestant rule of faith was sharpened more and more, especially among the Independents, and the separating Presbyterian churches of Scotland, after the fashion of John Owen, rather than of the Westminster divines; whilst the apologists pressed more and more the dogmatic method of demonstration over against criticism.[4]

The Reformed faith and evangelical religion were about to be extinguished when, in the Providence of God, the Puritan vital and experimental religion was revived in Methodism, which devoted itself to Christian life, and so proved the saving element in modern British and American Christianity.

The Churches of the continent of Europe were allowed, in

[1] *Institutes*, VIII. 13.
[2] *Religion not founded on Argument*, pp. 90 *seq.*
[3] In *l.c.*, p. 80.
[4] Lechler, *Gesch. d. Deismus*, 1841, pp. 411 *seq.*

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the Providence of God, to meet the full force of Rationalism and pay the penalty of the sinful blunders of the scholastics of the previous century. The Canon was criticised by Semler and his school, and canonicity became a purely historical question. Schleiermacher was raised up to be the father of modern evangelical German theology. He began to recover the lost ground and to build the structure of modern theology in the true mystic spirit on the religious feeling apprehending Jesus Christ as Saviour. A series of intellectual giants have carried on his work, such as Neander, Tholuck, Rothe, Müller, and Dorner. These led German Theology back to the position of the Protestant Reformers and the principle of the divine evidence.

It is not safe to follow the German divines in all their methods and statements. These depend upon the century of conflict which lies back of them and through which we have not passed. British and American theology has its own peculiar principles, methods, and work to perform. It is now in the crisis of its history, the same essentially that German theology had to meet at the close of the eighteenth century. The tide of thought has ebbed and flowed between Great Britain and the continent several times since the Reformation. The tide has set strongly now in our direction.

V. A Modern American Theory of Canonicity

In recent times another method of determining canonicity has been proposed. It does not have the stamp of antiquity upon it, it has no ecclesiastical authority behind it, and yet it makes loud claims of orthodoxy for itself. It has been taught by some modern Presbyterians that the Canon is fixed by the authority of the prophets who wrote the books.

Dr. A. A. Hodge states:

> "We determine what books have a place in this Canon or divine rule by an examination of the evidences which show that each of them, severally, was written by the inspired prophet or apostle whose name it bears, or, as in the case of the Gospels of Mark and Luke, written under the superintendence and published by

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the authority of an apostle. This evidence in the case of the sacred Scriptures is of the same kind of historical and critical proof as is relied upon by all literary men to establish the genuineness and authenticity of any other ancient writings, such as the odes of Horace or the works of Herodotus. In general this evidence is (*a*) Internal, — such as language, style, and the character of the matter they contain; (*b*) External, — such as the testimony of contemporaneous writers, the universal consent of contemporary readers, and corroborating history drawn from independent credible sources."[1]

It is just this theory of the Canon taught by the Princeton school of theology and their numerous adherents, and also by Dr. Shedd and other theologians of other schools, that forced American Presbyterianism into such a serious and unreasonable war against the Higher Criticism. Dr. Shedd goes so far as to say: "If, as one asserts [referring to my words], 'the great mass of the Old Testament was written by authors whose names are lost in oblivion,' it was written by *uninspired men*. . . . This would be the inspiration of indefinite persons, like Tom, Dick, and Harry, whom nobody knows, and not of definite historical persons, like Moses and David, Matthew and John, chosen by God by name and known to men."[2]

This theory is shattered on the fact that the writings of the Canon do not, as a rule, give the names of their prophetic authors. The only reference to authors in connection with most of the writings of the Old Testament is in traditions which are not found in the earliest Hebrew manuscripts and authorities. Therefore, we cannot be sure of these authors. We cannot safely build the authority of the Canon of Holy Scriptures on such questionable authority as there may be in the names of authors whose only connection with the writings rests upon the uncertainties of tradition. We cannot build certainty on uncertainty. We cannot find divine authority in fluctuating human traditions.

The five books of the Law, — the entire first Canon; the four prophetic histories, — the entire first division of the second Canon; are anonymous in the original Hebrew text. A

[1] *Commentary on the Confession of Faith*, pp. 51, 52.
[2] See my *Authority of Holy Scripture*, pp. 93, 94.

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very considerable portion of the four latter prophets consists of anonymous prophecies which have been attached to the prophecies which bear names. Thus all of the first Canon and the major part of the second Canon are anonymous. Of the third Canon the three former writings, Psalms, Proverbs, and Job, are anonymous; of the five Rolls all are anonymous; of the latter writings all three are anonymous. Thus of the entire Old Testament Canon the only writings which can be said to gain authority from the names of the authors are the four latter Prophets; and with regard to these it is necessary to consider how little we know of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Haggai, and Zechariah apart from their own writings. And as for the minor prophets, what, apart from their writings, are Hosea, Amos, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, to us? And as for Joel and Obadiah, we cannot tell, apart from a critical study of their writings, when they lived, and the results of that investigation are uncertain. And the book of Jonah is a post-exilic work of the imagination using the name of Jonah as a convenient hero for the story. Consider for a moment, in the light of the Higher Criticism, the absurdity of this theory of building the authority of the Canon on the authority of authors. How can they prove the canonicity of the Psalms, unless they build on the old traditional theory that David wrote them? Some of the choicest Psalms are not fathered by any titles. Will they cut these out of the Psalter? Even if all the names mentioned in the traditional psalms were the authors of the psalms which bear their names, they can only vouch for portions of the psalms as they were originally written. But who shall vouch for those psalms as edited and adapted to synagogue worship in our Psalter? To establish the authority of our Canon, it is of at least as much importance that the editor should be inspired as the original author. The final editor is responsible for our Psalter. Here is a case where an inerrant original autograph is of little value. The autograph of the final editor is needed, and no one proposes to name him.

But some will say Jesus and the apostles vouch for the divine authority of the Psalter. True; but was there no sufficient evidence that the Psalter was canonical prior to the testimony

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of Jesus Christ? Did the Old Testament wait for His authority to make it canonical? The Hebrews did not think so when they put it in their third Canon. And Jesus did not think so, for He did not make it canonical; He recognized it as already a part of the Canon.

The scientific work of the Higher Criticism destroys this modern theory of the authority of the Canon and forces us back either upon the Roman Catholic doctrine of the authority of the Church, or else the opinion of the Protestant Reformers, as elaborated and improved and best stated in the Westminster Confession:

> "The authority of the Holy Scripture, for which it ought to be believed and obeyed, dependeth not upon the testimony of any man or church, but wholly upon God, (who is truth itself,) the author thereof; and, therefore, it is to be received, because it is the word of God."[1]

This principle of establishing the Canon lifts it above mere ecclesiastical authority, far above the speculations of dogmaticians and fluctuating traditions, and builds it on the rock summit of the authority of God Himself.

It was ever the internal divine evidence and the holy character of Holy Scriptures that persuaded the ancients of their canonicity, and these evidences have persuaded devout souls in all times.

But some say: you are giving every man the right to make his own Bible. Not so; criticism takes from every denomination of Christians and from tradition and from the theologians their spurious claims to determine the Canon of Holy Scripture for all men; but it does not give that authority to any individual man. It puts the authority to determine His Holy Word in God Himself. It teaches us to look for the divine evidence in the Holy Scriptures themselves. It tells us to open our minds and hearts and submit ourselves to the message of the Divine Spirit and accept the Bible God has made for us. But it does tell every man to make up his own mind as to the authority of the writings which are said to belong to Holy Scripture. It endorses the right of private judgment in

[1] I. 4.

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this matter as in all others. It makes the divine authority of the Canon, and of every writing in the Canon, a question between every man and his God.

The Princeton school of theology has misled the Presbyterian Church into a false position, which is neither that of the Roman Catholic Church, nor that of the Protestant Reformers or British Puritans, nor the intermediate and cautious position of the Anglican divines. They have incautiously risked the Canon of Holy Scripture with the traditional theories of authorship and the results of the Higher Criticism. They have induced a recent Presbyterian General Assembly to decide against an orthodox opinion and in favour of heterodoxy.

It is perilous to follow these blind guides of British and American scholasticism and fall into the ditch that lies in their path.[1] It is wise to learn from the experience of those who have passed through the conflict and achieved the victory. It is prudent to do all that is possible to prevent the ruin to American Christianity that is sure to come if ecclesiastical leaders continue to commit the old blunders over again. The revival of true vital religion, and the successful progress of theology in the working out of the principles inherited from the Protestant Reformation, depend upon a speedy reaction from the scholastic theology of the Zurich Consensus and the exaggerated Puritanism of John Owen and the provincial types of theology, and a renewal of the life and unfettered thought of the Reformation and of British Christianity in the first half of the seventeenth century.

It is the inevitable result of research into the Canon of Holy Scripture that the last word should be spoken by Holy Scripture itself. It is the Divine Spirit alone who gave the divine evidence in the past and upon whom we must rest for our evidence in the present and the future. We cannot be certain that anything comes from God unless it bring us personally something evidently divine. If the Divine Spirit has left some of the ancient writings in doubt in the minds of some of the ancients, and some with less internal and external evidence than others, this is not to question the divine voice, which gives

[1] Mt. 15^{14}.

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certainty to those who are capable and willing to receive it. It should stir us up to a more thorough study of these Holy Scriptures, lest in some way we should not have discerned that divine evidence which has been graciously imparted to students who may have been more faithful or more devoted than ourselves. We should maintain our own freedom to question and to reject from the Canon such writings as do not justify themselves in the arena of criticism; and at the same time we should respect the opinion of those who think that they have evidence that we have thus far been unable to receive, and above all we should be extremely reluctant to dissent from the historic consensus of the Christian Church in this matter, and especially the official deliverances of Holy Church.

VI. The Determination of the Canon

It has become more and more evident, since Semler[1] reopened the question of the Canon of Holy Scripture, that the only safe position is to build on the rock of the Reformation principle of the Sacred Scriptures. This principle has been enriched in two directions, — first, by the study of the unity and harmony of the Sacred Scriptures as an organic whole, and, second, by the apprehension of the relation of the faith of the individual to the consensus of the Church.

The principles on which the Canon of Holy Scripture is to be determined are, therefore, these:

(1) The testimony of the Church, going back by tradition and written documents to primitive times, presents probable evidence to all men that the Scriptures, recognized as of divine authority and canonical by such general consent, are indeed what they are claimed to be.

This testimony is quite unanimous as to the entire Protestant Canon. The Roman Catholic Church testifies to the apocryphal Books of the Old Testament in addition. The testimony of the Church from the fourth until the sixteenth century is overwhelmingly in favour of the apocryphal books likewise. In the Canon of the Church the historic testimony of its

[1] *Abhandlung von freier Untersuchung des Kanon*, 4 Bde. 1771–1775.

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formation is strongest as to the Law in the Old Testament and the Gospels in the New Testament, next strongest as to the Prophets in the Old Testament and the book of Acts and the Pauline epistles in the New Testament. In the third layer of the Canon of the Old Testament the Psalter, Proverbs, Job, and Daniel, have the authority of the New Testament, and Ruth and Lamentations have never been doubted; in the third layer of the Canon of the New Testament, 1 Peter and 1 John seem to have remained undoubted from the second century. As regards all of these books the historical evidence is so strong that it could hardly be stronger. As regards the books of Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Esther, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles, these have all had to battle for recognition in the Canon from the most ancient times, and doubts and denials have arisen in modern times. The same may be said of James, 2 Peter, Jude, 2 and 3 John, and Revelation in the New Testament. These may with propriety be regarded as having a lower grade of evidence; and men may be permitted to doubt their canonicity without censure now as they were in ancient times. The historical evidence for all of these is very strong. They have all won their way into the Canon after a stout and long-continued struggle, and they have all maintained their place and resisted every subsequent attack upon them. We may also be permitted to say that it is doubtful whether the ultra-Protestant hostility can be maintained against all the apocryphal books. The Wisdom of Sirach and the Wisdom of Solomon are in the Roman Catholic Canon, and are used in the liturgy of the Church of England. They impress many minds more favourably than Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs. 1 Maccabees is also in the Roman Catholic Canon, and seems to be in itself an important if not an essential book in the development of Biblical History. There are many who derive more religious benefit from it than from Esther. The Benedicite of the three children, inserted in the Greek Version of Daniel, has been used from the earliest times in Christian worship, and has indeed exerted a more sacred influence than the whole of the Hebrew Daniel. The tendency among thoughtful Protestants is to restore these writings to the Canon.

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(2) The Scriptures themselves, in their pure and holy character, satisfying the conscience; their beauty, harmony, and majesty, satisfying the æsthetic taste; their simplicity and fidelity to truth, together with their exalted conceptions of man, of God, and of history, satisfying the reason and the intellect; their piety and devotion to the one God, and their revelation of redemption, satisfying the religious feelings and deepest needs of mankind, — all conspire to convince that they are indeed sacred and divine books.

This argument will appeal to different men in different ways. It will depend partly upon the Higher Criticism of the Scriptures, partly upon their interpretation, and upon Biblical History and Biblical Theology. The books of Jonah, Esther, and Daniel will appeal to some minds much more powerfully if they are seen to be historical fiction than if they appear to be historical books full of legends and mistakes. The Song of Songs will commend itself as canonical to a man who discerns it to be a drama of marital love, when he could not accept it if it were supposed to be merely an allegory of the love of Christ to His Church, or a collection of love songs. Ecclesiastes might be rejected by a man, if all its sayings were regarded as equally authoritative, but accepted if he were able to distinguish the God-fearing words from the sceptical words. It depends in great measure upon the kind of history, religion, and morals one finds in the biblical writings how far he will be convinced that they are divine books. Many men have been driven away from the Bible by the false science, gloomy religion, and immoral theology that Christian teachers have too often obtruded upon it. If the Bible is to exert the influence of its own character upon men, it must be stripped entirely free from all the false characteristics that have been attributed to it. If men are not won by the holy character of the biblical books, it must be because for some reason their eyes have been withheld from seeing it.

(3) The Spirit of God bears witness by and with the particular writing, or part of writing, in the heart of the believer, removing every doubt and assuring the soul of its possession of the truth of God, the rule and guide of the life. This argu-

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ment is of no value except to a believer, to a devout Christian. But to such an one it is the invincible divine argument.

(4) The Spirit of God bears witness by and with the several writings in such a manner as to assure the believer in the study of them that they are the several parts of one complete divine revelation, each writing having its own appropriate and indispensable place and importance in the organism of the Canon.

This is a cumulative argument. The certainty that one writing in the Bible is divine, makes it easier to recognize another writing. If the character of one canonical book has been discerned, it is easier to recognize another book having that same character. As the number of books increases about which there is certainty, the difficulties as regards the others decrease. Practically there is little if any doubt in the minds of Christians as regards the great majority of the biblical books. Only a few of them are doubted now by any Christians. Only a few have ever been doubted. The path of certainty is from the known to the unknown. Furthermore, the structure of the Canon is of immense importance. We have seen its historic importance. It has also an inductive importance. The books of the Bible constitute an organic whole under the two Covenants. When the mind has studied them thus organically, the Divine Spirit guides in their organic study and so gives what may be regarded as organic certainty; that is, the certainty that the books have their essential place in the organism of the Divine Word.

(5) The Spirit of God bears witness to the Church as an organized body of such believers, through their free consent in various communities and countries and centuries, to this unity and variety of the Sacred Scriptures as the one complete and perfect Canon of the divine word to the Church.

This argument is really the old historic argument fortified by the vital argument of the divine evidence. The testimony of the Church as an external human historical organization cannot give certainty. But when we come to know that the Church has been guided by the Divine Spirit in all the centuries, first in the formation of the Canon of Holy Scripture, and then

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in its recognition of the Canon in the three stages, — individual recognition, consensus, and official determination; that the same Holy Spirit who gives certainty to-day has given certainty to the Church in all the ages of the past, working in the individual and also in the entire organism, — then we may know that the testimony of the Church is the testimony of the Divine Spirit speaking in the Church and through the Church. We recognize the same voice in the Bible and in the Church and in our own Reason. The argument is complete, because the Divine Spirit has spoken to us with the same voice and to the same effect through the three media in which alone He speaks to man. The official fixing of the Canon by the Church varies as to the apocryphal books alone. The tendency among Protestants is back to the Apocrypha. It is altogether probable that if we could have a reunited Church, the Church would define a Canon with unanimous consent.

The logical order of the testimony is this: the human testimony, the external evidence, attains its furthest possible limit as probable evidence, bringing the inquirer to the Scriptures with a high and reverent esteem of them. Then the internal evidence exerts its powerful influence upon his soul, and at length the divine testimony lays hold of his entire nature and convinces and assures him of the truth of God and causes him to share in the consensus of the Christian Church.

> "Thus the Canon explains and judges itself; it needs no foreign standard. Just so the Holy Spirit evokes in believers a judgment, or criticism, which is not subjective, but in which freedom and fidelity are combined. The criticism and interpretation, which faith exercises, see its object not from without, as foreign, or as traditional, or as in bondage, but from within, and abiding in its native element becomes more and more at home while it ascribes to every product of apostolic men its place and proper canonical worth." "True faith sees in the letter of the documents of Revelation the religious content brought to an immutable objectivity which is able to attest itself as truth by the divine Spirit, which can at once warm and quicken the letter in order to place the living God-man before the eyes of the believer." [1]

[1] Dorner, *System der Christlichen Glaubenslehre*, Berlin, 1879, I. pp. 667 *seq.*; *System of Christian Doctrine*, Edinburgh, 1881, II. pp. 229 *seq.*

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The reason, the conscience, and the religious feeling, all of which have arisen during these discussions of the last century into a light and vigour unknown and unanticipated at the Reformation, should not be antagonized the one with the other, or with the Spirit of God, but should all be included in that act and habit of faith by which we apprehend the Word of God. These cannot be satisfied by the external authority of scholars or schools, of Church or State, of tradition or human testimony, however extensive, but only by a divine authority on which they can rest with certainty. Men will recognize the canonical writings as their Holy Scripture, only in so far as they may be able to rise through them as external media to the presence of their Divine Master, who reigns in and by the Word which is holy and divine, in so far and to that extent that it evidently sets Him forth.

As I have elsewhere said: "It is the testimony of human experience in all ages that God manifests Himself to men and gives certainty of His presence and authority. There are historically three great fountains of divine authority — the Bible, the Church, and the Reason."[1]

Men will recognize the Divine Voice whenever and wherever it speaks to them. Some men are convinced as to the truth by the Divine Voice speaking through the Church alone, others by the Divine Spirit speaking through the Bible, and still others only through the witness in their own Reason. Blessed be he who knows the voice of the Spirit equally well in the three relations.

[1] See Briggs, *Authority of Holy Scripture*, An Inaugural Address, 9th edition, 1896, pp. 25 *seq.*; Briggs, *The Bible, the Church, and the Reason*, 2d edition, 1894, pp. 57 *seq.*

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CHAPTER VII

HISTORY OF THE TEXT OF THE HEBREW BIBLE

TEXTUAL Criticism has to determine the Text of the Bible. It is necessary to study the history of the Text, and then apply the principles of Textual Criticism to manuscripts, versions, and citations, and so endeavour to ascertain the original text upon which they all depend. The Text of the Bible has passed through similar changes to those that are manifest in all other kinds of literature. The citations of the Bible have the same indefiniteness and the same variations from the original as citations from other writings. The Versions have the same difficulties and departures from the original as other translations. The manuscripts have gone through the same experiences of wear and tear as other manuscripts. The same mistakes of copyists have been made, — by omission, insertion, transposition, haste, and indistinctness of vision or utterance. The same use of conjecture has been made by scribes to remove difficulties and errors.

I. THE ORIGINAL TEXT OF THE HEBREW BIBLE

The history of the Text of the Old Testament begins with the history of the Canon. The earliest Canon was written upon tables of stone, — the Ten Words upon two tables, the Words of the Book of the Covenant in pentades and decalogues upon several tables.[1] The Deuteronomic code of law was written on a roll, probably of skin. Jeremiah's collection of prophecies was written on a similar roll, and so were all the

[1] See Briggs' *Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, new edition, 1897, pp. 6 *seq.*, 181 *seq.*, 189 *seq.*, 211 *seq.* Cf. Dt. 27^{2-4}; Jos. 8^{32}.

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sacred writings of the Old Testament from that time onward. It is probable that papyrus was used for private manuscripts; but for public manuscripts it is improbable that anything else than skin was used.[1] In ancient times each sacred writing was written upon a separate roll. The first layer of the Hebrew Canon, the Law, was probably written on several skins, eventually on five, corresponding with the five books which gave their name to the Pentateuch. The second layer of the Canon was written on eight rolls. The twelve minor Prophets were written sometimes on separate rolls, as is evident from the differences of arrangement in the earliest Hebrew and Greek manuscripts; but usually on the same roll, after their number was definitely fixed in the Canon. The third layer of the Canon was for a long time as indefinite in the number of rolls as in the number of writings which were supposed to constitute it.[2]

The first Canon was certainly written in the ancient Hebrew alphabet, which was a variety of the Phœnician script, such as that used on ancient Maccabean coins, in the Siloam inscription, and on the Mesha Stone.[3] The Samaritan codex of the Pentateuch is still preserved in characters of the same essential type. That was the sacred alphabet of the Canon, when the Samaritans separated from the Jews of Jerusalem.[4]

According to the Talmud, on the authority of Mar Zutra of the fourth century, or Mar Ukba of the third century, "The Law was at first given to Israel in Hebrew writing and in the sacred language; but in the time of Ezra, the Law was given a second time in Assyrian writing and in the Aramaic language. Then they chose for Israel the Assyrian writing and the sacred language, and they left to the Idiots the Hebrew writing and the Aramaic language." There can be no doubt from the context that by "the Idiots" was meant the Samaritans, and that the Assyrian writing is that of the square Aramaic character.[5] This statement con-

[1] Jer. $36^{2 \text{ seq.}}$ See Loisy, *Histoire Critique du Texte et des Versions de la Bible*, 1892, Tom. 1er, pp. 95 *seq.*

[2] See pp. 124 *seq.* [3] See p. 48. [4] See pp. 121, 185.

[5] *Talm. Bab. Sanh.*, 22 *a*. See Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, 1890, pp. ix. *seq.*; Neubauer, *Studia Biblica*, III., 1891, pp. 9 *seq.*; and Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*, 1897, pp. 288 *seq.*, — all of whom give the original and translation.

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firms what is plain from other sources of information: that the Samaritans had retained the Law in the old Hebrew writing, and that the Jews had adopted the Aramaic writing in its stead. In other respects this statement is either false or purely conjectural. It is not true that the Samaritans used the Aramaic language for the Law. The Samaritan codex is in the Hebrew language as well as the Hebrew writing. The Samaritans made a Targum, or popular translation of the Law, in the Samaritan language; but the Jews did precisely the same, making an Aramaic Targum for Palestine and the East, and a Greek Targum for Egypt and the West. There is no historic evidence that the Jews abandoned the old Hebrew writing because of any influence from the Samaritans. There is no historic evidence for the opinion that Ezra introduced the Aramaic writing. It is altogether improbable that he gave the Law in the Aramaic language, and that subsequently the scribes returned to the original Hebrew text of it. Neubauer defends the tradition so far as the writing is concerned,[1] principally on the ground that, if the Hebrew characters had once impressed their sanctity "on the mind of the nation through their use in transcribing Scripture," they would never have been abandoned. He thinks, therefore, that the two kinds of writing existed side by side from the time of Ezra until the Maccabean age. But this argument, if sound, is equally valid as regards the statement of these Sopherim that the Law was given by Ezra in the Aramaic language. If the Law had been given by Ezra in the Aramaic language and the Aramaic script, the writing would have sustained the language and the language the writing, and neither would have been abandoned. But the Samaritans would not have retained the Hebrew writing and the Hebrew language of the Law under these circumstances, especially as we now know that the law code of the present Pentateuch did not exist for the Jews until Ezra brought it to them.[2] The statement that Ezra gave the Law in the Aramaic language is not at present defended by any one. The opinion that Ezra gave the Law in Aramaic characters is in the same sentence of the Talmud. The discrediting of the one clause discredits likewise the other. It is not worthy of any more consideration in itself, and there is no historic evidence whatever to sustain it.

We have at present no means of determining when the Aramaic characters were introduced for the canonical writings. It seems probable that this change took place at first among

[1] *l.c.*, p. 13.

[2] See pp. 322 *seq.*

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the Jews of Mesopotamia and Babylon, especially in the private manuscripts, and then extended over the Aramaic-speaking world even into Egypt, where the Jews were under Aramaic influence until the Greek conquest under Alexander. The irresistible tendency was to use the Aramaic writing with the Aramaic language, and to transliterate the old Hebrew characters, which were constantly growing unfamiliar even to scholars. The only restraining influence would be in Palestine, and especially at Jerusalem, the centre and capital of the Jews' religion.

During the earlier Maccabean wars most of the copies of the Law were destroyed by the Syrian oppressors. The pious Jews of Palestine had to resort to their Eastern or their Egyptian brethren for manuscripts. These manuscripts were probably written in Aramaic characters. Few manuscripts written in the old Hebrew characters were now left, and these were gradually crowded out of use.[1] It is probable, therefore, that it was first in the Maccabean age that the authoritative codices of the Law were written in the Aramaic characters. And it may be that the collection of sacred books made by Judas Maccabeus was in this writing.[2]

The second layer of the Canon, the Prophets, was not only originally written in the Hebrew writing, but it is also extremely probable that the Prophets were collected into the Canon in Hebrew writing. They were all composed and collected before the Maccabean age. This is evident from the fact that there are many errors in transmission, which can be explained only from a confusion of letters which were dissimilar in the Aramaic alphabet, and only similar in the old Hebrew alphabet.[3]

The writings of the third Canon extend into the Maccabean age. It is probable that all those written before this time were written in the old Hebrew letters. But the book of Daniel gives us several chapters in the Aramaic language. This was doubtless written in the Aramaic writing, and it is

[1] See Neubauer, *Studia Biblica*, III. p. 14. [2] 2 Macc. 2^{14}.

[3] Graetz (*Krit. Com. z. d. Psalmen*, s. 130 *seq.*) and Ginsburg (*Introduction*, pp. 291–295) give examples from Judges, Samuel, Jeremiah, Isaiah, and Ezekiel.

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probable that the Hebrew which incorporated it was also written in Aramaic characters. It may well be that Esther and Ecclesiastes were originally written in Aramaic characters, as well as many of the Apocrypha. There can be little doubt that the Psalter,[1] Proverbs,[2] Job, and Lamentations were originally written with the ancient letters. It is also probable in the case of Ezra,[3] Nehemiah, Chronicles, and Ruth. It is doubtful with the other writings.

During this period of the formation of the official Canon, and of the substitution of the Aramaic characters for the Hebrew, there were certain changes in the text which have left their permanent traces.

(*a*) Emendations were made chiefly for religious reasons.

The substitution of the word *Lord*, אדני, for the divine name *Yahweh*, יהוה, was certainly prior to the earliest layer of the Septuagint Version; for κύριος is constantly substituted for it. There are traces of such substitution in the Hebrew text itself.

The substitution of *Bosheth*, בשת, *shame*, for *Baal*, בַּעַל, the god of the Canaanites, and also for Baal in proper names compounded with Baal, was made before the Septuagint translation of the Prophets, but was not thoroughly carried out in all the texts.[4] The change in proper names is usual in Samuel, where the Chronicler preserves the original form.[5] This seems to indicate that this change was made by the scribes chiefly in the time before the final admission of Chronicles into the Canon. The

[1] Perles (*Analekten*, 1895, pp. 50 *seq.*) gives examples of errors in the Psalter and Job, which can only come from the ancient Hebrew letters.

[2] Baumgartner (*Étude critique sur l'État du Texte du Livre des Proverbes*, Leipzig, 1890) makes it plain that, while the larger proportion of the errors of transliteration in the text of Proverbs is due to mistakes in the distinguishing of similar letters of the Egyptian Aramaic alphabet, and a smaller number to mistakes in the older Aramaic alphabet, there is still a limited number that can be explained only by the ancient Hebrew alphabet.

[3] Ginsburg (*Introduction*, p. 293) gives Ezra 6[4] as an example of a mistake of *Aleph* for *Tav* in the old Hebrew alphabet. But Baumgartner (*l.c.*, *s.* 279) thinks that such mistakes might be as well explained from the ancient Aramaic alphabet also.

[4] Cf. ἡ βάαλ, Jer. 2[23], 7[9], 11[13. 17], 19[5]; Hos. 2[10], 13[1]; Rom. 11[4]; which implies the reading of *αἰσχύνη* for βάαλ. See Dillmann, *Baal mit d. weibl. Artikel.* in the *Monatsberichte d. Königl. Acad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1881.

[5] However, in 2 Sam. 11[21] the Septuagint, Syriac, and Vulgate versions all read ירבעל, and in 2 Sam. 23[8] Lucian's text of the Septuagint preserves Ἰεσβάαλ.

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same is true of the reading of *Shame, Bosheth*, בשת, for *King, Melekh*, מלך, when applied to the god of the Ammonites.[1]

(*b*) The earlier scribes also acted as editors. They divided first the Law and then the Psalter into five books. These divisions are not logical divisions. The natural divisions in both cases would be into three books. The divisions are mechanical, and they were doubtless made for liturgical reasons. Another ancient division for both the Law and the Psalter, into seven books, is mentioned in the Talmud.[2] These divisions all may have reference to the use of the Law and the Psalter at the feasts of the Jews.

(*c*) The scribes also divided the sacred books into sections. These sections do not correspond altogether with the later sections of the Talmudic and Massoretic periods, but they were doubtless arranged for public reading in the synagogues. Two such sections are mentioned in the New Testament.[3]

(*d*) No verses are known so far as prose writings are concerned; but the ancient poems in the historical books, and the poetical books of Psalms, Lamentations, and the Wisdom Literature, were certainly written in distich, tristich, tetrastich, and the like. It is probable that the greater portion of the poetry in other books was written in this way also. This enabled Josephus and even Jerome to speak of trimeters, tetrameters, and hexameters. But this method of writing poetry was subsequently lost, except for the ancient poems in the Pentateuch, because of the Massoretic system of accentuation for cantilation in the synagogue.[4]

II. The Text of the Canon of the Sopherim

There is no evidence of any attempt to establish an official Hebrew text until after the destruction of Jerusalem by the

[1] Lev. 18^{21} (Sept. B ἄρχων); 20^{2-5} (Sept. ἄρχων); 1 K. 11^{7} (Sept. βασιλεύς); 2 K. 23^{10} (Sept. Μόλοχ); Jer. 32^{35} (Sept. Μολὸχ βασιλεύς).

[2] *Talm. Shabboth*, 115 *b*, 116 *a*; *Midrash Bereshith Rabba*, LXIV. fol. 71 *d*, Num. 10^{35}; *Vayyikra Rabba*, Lev. 9^{1}; Rashi on Prov. 9^{1}.

[3] The section of the Bush ἐπὶ τοῦ βάτου Mk. 12^{26}, referring to Ex. 3, and ἐν Ἠλείᾳ Rom. 11^{2}, referring to the story of Elijah, 1 K. 19, are the only two known to the New Testament.

[4] See Chap. XIV. pp. 362, 363.

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Romans in 70 A.D. There was indeed a codex of the Law in the temple, which was taken by Titus to Rome among the spoils.[1] But the ancient Greek Version, the ancient Syriac Version, the earliest Aramaic Targums, and the citations in the New Testament, the Book of Jubilees,[2] and other writings of the first and second centuries B.C. and the first century A.D., make it evident that there was no official Hebrew text until the second century A.D.

After the destruction of Jerusalem the scribes made a rally at Jamnia, where they established a school and held several assemblies.[3] They determined the extent of the Canon and occupied themselves with fixing the text of the manuscripts which had been saved from the wreck of war. There can be no doubt that Rabbi Akiba and his associates at Jamnia not only fixed the Canon of the Old Testament, but also established the first official Hebrew text of the Canon.[4] There is a fixture in the consonantal text of Hebrew manuscripts from the second century onwards, which can be accounted for only by the establishment at that time of such an official text.[5] This text was established in troublous times, when it was impossible to give the time and painstaking required for such an undertaking. There was no leisure to correct even the plainest mistakes.[6] It was made by the comparison of a few manuscripts. Tradition speaks of three, in cases of disagreement the majority of two always determining the correct reading.

[1] Josephus, *B. J.*, VII. 5, § 5. This is said to have been given by the Emperor Severus, about 220 A.D., to a synagogue built by him at Rome. Ginsburg, (*l.c.*, pp. 410 *seq.*) gives a list of thirty-two readings said to have been taken from this codex.

[2] The Book of Jubilees, or Little Genesis, as it is sometimes called, testifies to a text somewhat different from that of the Sopherim. See Dillmann, *Beiträge aus. d. Buch d. Jubiläen z. Kritik. d. Pentateuch-Textes*, *Sitzungsberichte d. König. Preus. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1883. The same is true with reference to other pseudepigrapha.

[3] See pp. 130, 131.

[4] See Bacher, *Hebr. Sprachwissenschaft*, 1892, *s.* 2.

[5] Olshausen, *Psalmen*, *s.* 18; Lagarde, *Anm. z. Griech. Uebersetzung d. Proverbien*, 1863, *s.* 444 *seq.*; Kuenen, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 1894, *s.* 83 *seq.* This is denied by Hermann Strack, in *Semitic Studies in Memory of A. Kohut*, 1897, p. 571, on the ground that he has found in ancient manuscripts a very great number of various readings which are unknown to scholars.

[6] Cornill, *Ezechiel*, 1886, *s.* 10.

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The Sopherim found in the court of the temple the codex מצוני, and the codex וצטוטי, and the codex הוא. In one they found written מצון אלהי קדם (Deut. 33^{27}), and in two written מענה אלהי קדם; and they accepted two, and rejected one. In one they found written וישלח את וצטוטי בני ישראל (Ex. 24^{5}), and in two written וישלח את נערי בני ישראל; and they accepted two, and rejected one. In one they found written nine times היא instead of הוא, and in two written eleven times היא; and they accepted the two, and rejected the one.[1]

Some scholars think that all manuscripts varying from the official text were ruthlessly destroyed.[2] Whether this was so or not, it is altogether probable that the destruction of manuscripts during the war of Hadrian (132–135 A.D.) would so reduce the number of competing manuscripts, that the official manuscripts of the scribes would gain the supremacy.

The official text of the Hebrew Bible in the second Christian century was composed of consonantal letters alone. Even the quiescent letters,[3] which were used in ancient times, before the invention of vowel points, to indicate the vowel in difficult words, were not used with any precision;[4] and later scribes were free to exercise their own judgment in the use of them. And so the Massoretic text perpetuates a great lack of uniformity and even inaccuracy of usage. The text used by the translators of the Septuagint was without separation of words and without the final letters, and also with occasional abbreviations; but the Sopherim of the second and third centuries made the separation of words, introduced the five final letters, and removed all abbreviations.[5] The work of the Sopherim continued until the sixth century, when the Massorites began their labours. The work of the Sopherim, as described in the Talmud and early Rabbinical commentaries, was:

(1) the fixing of the pronunciation of certain words;

(2) the removal of certain superfluous particles from the text;

[1] *Jerusalem Taanith*, IV. 2; *Sopherim*, VI. 4. See Ginsburg, *Introduction to Hebr. Bible*, pp. 408, 409, who gives text and translation.

[2] Nöldeke, Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift*, 1873, *s.* 444 *seq.*; W. R. Smith, *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 2d ed., pp. 62 *seq.*

[3] יהוא.

[4] Ginsburg, *Introduction*, pp. 137 *seq.*; Perles, *Analekten*, *s.* 35.

[5] Ginsburg, *Introduction*, pp. 297 *seq.*

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(3) the mention of words which, though not written, yet ought to be read, and the designation of words which, though written, ought not to be read.

The Babylonian Talmud gives these three under the technical terms: (1) מקרא סופרים; (2) עיטור סופרים; (3) קריין ולא כתיבן, וכתיבן ולא קריין. As examples of the first are, ארץ when alone or preceded by the article, שמים, מצרים. The second gives five instances in which the conjunction *Waw, and,* is to be omitted (Gen. 18^5, 24^{55}; Nu. 31^2; Pss. 36^7, 68^{26}). The third mentions that פרת, *Euphrates,* is to be inserted (2 Sam. 8^3); איש, *man* (2 Sam. 16^{23}); באים, *they are coming* (Jer. 31^{38}); לה, *to her* (Jer. 50^{29}); את (Ruth 2^{11}); אלי, *to me* (Ruth $3^{5,17}$); and the following words are not to be read: נא (2 K. 5^{18}); ואת (Jer. 32^{11}); ידרוך, *let him bend* (Jer. 51^3); חמש, *five* (Ezek. 48^{16}); and אם, *if* (Ruth 3^{13}). *Nedarim,* 37 *b*–38 *a.* These are only specimens of a larger number of instances in these departments which are given in later times.

(4) Extraordinary points were placed above letters or words to indicate that they were spurious.

The *Siphri,* the earliest Midrash, or commentary on Numbers, gives ten of these, — Nu. 9^{10}; Ge. 16^5, 18^9, 19^{33}, 33^4, 37^{12}; Nu. 21^{30}, 3^{39}, 29^{15}; Deut. 29^{28}, — all in the Pentateuch. They were subsequently increased to fifteen by adding four from the Prophets, — 2 Sam. 19^{20}; Is. 44^9; Ezek. 41^{20}, 46^{23}, — and one from the Writings, Ps. 27^{13}.[1]

(5) Letters were suspended in order to express doubt as to their propriety.

נ, in Jud. 18^{30}, changes *Moses* to *Manasseh* in order to remove reproach from the name of Moses. ע, in Ps. 80^{14}, indicates a doubtful reading, as between יאר, *the Nile,* and יער, *forest;* and a preference for the latter with possibly a reference to Rome instead of the original reference to Egypt. The other two instances (Job $38^{13,15}$) indicate a preference for רשעים over רשים, in order not to offend the dignity of David and of Nehemiah.[2]

(6) The letter Nun was inverted before and after a clause, in order to indicate bracketed material, which was, in the opinion of the scribes, out of place.[3]

[1] See Ginsburg, *l.c.*, pp. 319 *seq.*, who gives the original, a translation, and comments on the fifteen examples.

[2] *Sanhedrin,* 10, 3 *b.*

[3] Numbers $10^{35,36}$; Ps. $107^{23,24,25,26,27,28,29}$; so *Siphri* on Nu. 10^{35}, *Talm. Sabbath,* 115 *b*–116 *a*; *Sopherim,* VI. 1.

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(7) There are also certain corrections or emendations of the scribes.

תקון סופרים. A list of eleven of these is given in the Mechiltha on Ex. 15[7] (of the second century): Zec. 2[12]; Mal. 1[13]; 1 Sam. 3[13]; Job 7[20]; Hab. 1[12]; Jer. 2[11]; Ps. 106[20]; Nu. 11[15]; 2 Sam. 20[1]; Ezek. 8[17]; Nu. 12[12]. These were subsequently increased to eighteen by seven additional ones: Ge. 18[22]; 2 Sam. 16[12]; 1 K. 12[16]; 2 Ch. 10[16]; Hos. 4[7]; Job 32[3]; Lam. 3[20].

Nu. 11[15] was changed from ברעתך, *Thy evil*, the evil sent by God upon Israel, to ברעתי, *my evil*, in order to avoid the reference to God and a possible imputation of moral evil to Him.

Hab. 1[12] was changed from לא תמות, *Thou diest not*, to לא נמות, *we shall not die*, because it was supposed that the very thought of God as dying was unworthy of Him. A full discussion of all these passages is given by Ginsburg.[1]

(8) The scribes also strove to remove from the text indelicate expressions, anthropomorphisms, and other statements unworthy of their religion.

The Talmud[2] gives the rule: In every passage where the text has an indelicate expression a euphemism is to be substituted for it, as for instance, for ישגלנה, *ravish, violate, outrage* (Deut. 28[30]; Is. 13[16]; Jer. 3[3]; Zech. 14[2]), ישכבנה, *to lie with*, is to be substituted; for עפלים, *posteriors* (Deut. 28[27]; 1 Sam. 5[6], 6[4]) read טחורים, *emerods;* for חריונים, *dung, excrements*, or חרי יונים, *doves' dung* (2 K. 6[25]), read דביונים, *decayed leaves;* for חראיהם or חריהם, *excrement* (2 K. 18[27]; Is. 36[12]) substitute צואה, *deposit;* for שינידם, *urine* (2 K. 18[27]; Is. 36[12]), read ממי רגליהם, *water of their feet;* for למחראות, *middens, privies* (2 K. 10[27]), substitute למוצאות, *sewers, retreats.*[3]

(9) They removed expressions which seemed blasphemous.

Ginsburg[4] gives as a specimen of this 2 Sam. 12[14], where it is said of David: "Howbeit, because by this deed thou hast greatly blasphemed Yahweh." The scribes have inserted "enemies," so as to make them, rather than David, guilty of the blasphemy. He also mentions Ps. 10[3], where ברך, *bless*, has been inserted as a gloss to נאץ, *blaspheme*, and calls attention to other substitutions of ברך for קלל.

[1] *Introduction*, pp. 347 *seq.*
[2] *Megilla*, 25 *b*; *Jerusalem Megilla IV.*
[3] See Ginsburg, *l.c.*, p. 346.
[4] *L.c.*, pp. 363 *seq.*

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(10) The Sopherim also made divisions in the sacred text. The earliest of these were the sections called *Parashiyoth*. In the first century there were similar divisions, but the present ones belong to the Sopherim.[1] There are two kinds, the open and the closed, the one indicating a greater division than the other.[2]

The Sopherim also arranged the Pentateuch for liturgical purposes. The Palestinian Jews divided it into 154 sections, called *Sedarim*, for a triennial course of Sabbath readings. The Babylonian Jews had a division of fifty-four Sedarim for an annual course of Sabbath readings.[3] Besides these there were verses called *Pesukim*, already mentioned in the Mishna.[4]

The Prophets and the Writings have also Parashiyoth and Sedarim. Some of these come from the most ancient times, others from the Sopherim. But it is probable that the present Sedarim date from the Massoretic period. There are, however, selections for Sabbath reading called *Haphtaroth*, twenty-seven in the former Prophets, and fifty-two in the latter Prophets. Such selections were made in the first century, but the selection then seems to have been made by the reader at the time.[5] But they were fixed by the Sopherim, as they are referred to in the Mishna.[6]

There were, moreover, differences of reading which came down in the two great schools of the Sopherim, — the Palestinian and the Babylonian, — which are mentioned in the Talmud. These, and all other matters connected with the text, were more precisely indicated in the work of the Massorites.

[1] *Megilla*, III., 5; *Shabb.*, f. 103 *b*; *Menach.*, f. 30 *f*; Hupfeld, *Stud. und Krit.*, 1837, *s.* 837 Anm.

[2] There are 290 open Parashiyoth in the Pentateuch and 379 closed Parashiyoth. In some manuscripts and in printed texts these are indicated by ס and פ in the spaces.

[3] The numbers 54, 154, were for the extra month which was introduced every five or six years to make up for the inexactness of the ancient year. According to Ginsburg (*l.c.*, pp. 33 *seq.*) there are really 167 Sedarim in the Pentateuch.

[4] *Megilla*, IV. 4.

[5] Lk. 4^{16}; Acts $13^{15, 27}$.

[6] But the order of the Talmud does not agree with the order of the later manuscripts, and there is a difference in usage between the German and the Spanish Jews.

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III. The Massoretic Text of the Old Testament

The difference between the work of the Sopherim and of the Massorites is thus stated by Ginsburg : [1]

> "Henceforth the Massorites became the authoritative custodians of the traditionally transmitted text. Their functions were entirely different from those of their predecessors, the Sopherim. The Sopherim, as we have seen, were the authorised revisers and redactors of the text according to certain principles, the Massorites were precluded from developing the principles and altering the text in harmony with these Canons. Their province was to safeguard the text delivered to them by 'building a hedge around it,' to protect it against alterations, or the adoption of any readings which still survived in manuscripts or were exhibited in the ancient Versions. For this reason, they marked in the margin of every page in the Codices every unique form, every peculiarity in the orthography, every variation in ordinary phraseologies, every deviation in dittographs, etc."

The principal work of the Massorites was in fixing the traditional pronunciation of the words and sentences of the Sacred Writings and the traditional method of reading the sacred books in the synagogue. This was accomplished by the systems of vowel points and accents which they added to the sacred unpointed text, and the diacritical signs which they established. The simplest, and probably the earliest, addition to the text was the point in the bosom of the letter,[2] which indicates sometimes that the letter is doubled ; [3] sometimes that it is unaspirated and hard ; [4] and sometimes that a quiescent letter has its full consonantal power ; [5] and the stroke above the letter indicating the soft or aspirated letter [6] and the quiescence of the letter.[7]

The Syriac language uses a point for the discrimination of the hard and soft letters, distinguishing by putting it above or below the letter. So also the point beneath a word indicates the simple form of noun or verb, the point above the less simple form. The Syriac also uses two points to indicate the

[1] *l.c.*, p. 421.
[2] דָּגֵשׁ, a point.
[3] Dāgēsh forte, בּ = *bb*.
[4] Dāgēsh lene, בּ = *b*, and not *bh*.
[5] Mappiq, הּ = *ah*, not *ā*.
[6] רָפֶה, *soft*, בֿ = *bh*.
[7] הֿ = *ā*.

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plural number. The Arabic uses the point to discriminate a larger number of letters than the Hebrew; but for a sign of doubling a different sign, called Teshdid, and also a different sign for the Mappiq, called Hemza.

The Hebrew vowel points, as they now exist, have a long historical development back of them. The simplest system of vowel points is the Arabic, which distinguishes only the three simple vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, and the absence of a vowel.

The Syriac gives us a double system, the Greek and the Syrian proper, standing between the Arabic and the Hebrew. The Hebrew has also two systems, the ordinary system and the superlinear system, the latter commonly but incorrectly named the Babylonian. These go back on an earlier, simpler system, somewhat like the Arabic, which has been lost.[1] The origin of the system of pointing the Shemitic languages was probably in the Syrian school at Edessa,[2] and from thence it passed over from Syriac texts at first to Arabic texts and afterward to Hebrew texts. The movement began with diacritical signs, such as we find in the Syriac, to distinguish certain letters and forms. This gave place to a system of vowel points. Among the Hebrews there was a gradual evolution of the present elaborate system. It did not reach its present condition until the seventh century, at Babylon, and the middle of the eighth century of our era, in Palestine.[3]

The accents went through a similar course of development. They serve for a guide in the cantilation of the synagogues, the division of the sentences, and the determination of the tone. These also were modelled after the musical notation of the Syrian Church.[4]

They were not written in Hebrew manuscripts until the close of the seventh century.[5] The earliest effort to divide

[1] Gesenius, *Hebr. Gram.*, ed. Rödiger and Kautzsch, 26 Aufl. p. 31. Trans. Collins and Cowley, 1898, p. 33.

[2] Bacher, *Hebr. Sprachwissenschaft*, 1892, *s.* 6; Harris, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1889, p. 235. This is denied by Gwilliam in *Studia Biblica*, III. p. 64. He thinks that the Syrian Massora was derived from the Hebrews.

[3] Dillmann, *Bibeltext. A. T.*, in Herzog, *Ency.*, II. pp. 394–396.

[4] Wickes, *Treatise on the Accentuation of the Three So-called Poetic Books of the Old Testament*, Oxford, 1881; G. F. Moore, *Proc. Am. Oriental Society*, 1888, p. xxxvii.

[5] Wickes, *l.c.*, p. 8.

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the sentences was doubtless the double point at the close of the verse, and the single point in the middle. This may have been made by the Sopherim. There must have been a long development before the present elaborate systems were devised. There are three systems of accents, the so-called Babylonian, the Palestinian prose system, and the Palestinian poetic system.[1] The poetic system is used only in the Psalter, Proverbs, and Job. The Massorites strove to distinguish between the ordinary cantilation of the Law and the Prophets, and a more melodious rendering for the three great poetical books, just as the Christian Church has one rhythmical form for the Gospels and Epistles, and another for the chanting of the Psalms. It is probable that the Massorites were influenced by Christian usage to make the service of the synagogue more ornate and worthy of their religion.

The work of the Massorites was extended to the use of a number of signs to indicate peculiarities in the text. A little circle above the letter was used to indicate the extraordinary forms of letters,[2] the extraordinary points,[3] the Readings.[4] A little star was used to indicate errors that they would not correct.[5] On the margins and at the end of the manuscripts the Massorites noted the emendations of the scribes, the removal of the conjunction *and*, the differences of readings between the Babylonian and Palestinian authorities, and also between the principal Western authorities. They numbered the sections, verses, words, and letters of the Sacred Writings, and even counted the number of times certain words were used. All of this work is of great value for the history of the Text.

The Massorites did not hesitate to change the order of the

[1] Wickes, *Treatise on the Accentuation of the Twenty-one So-called Prose Books of the Old Testament*, Oxford, 1887, pp. 142 *seq.*, shows that the so-called Babylonian systems of vowel points and accents is Babylonian only in the sense that they are found in Babylonian manuscripts; and he claims that these systems were later modifications of the earlier system, which is now, and has always been, the only official one for the Babylonian as well as for the Palestinian Jews.

[2] Final *Mēm* in middle of word, Is. 9^6; large *Bēth* at the beginning of Genesis; large *Waw* in Lev. 11^{42}; little *Aleph*, Lev. 1^1; suspended letters, Jer. 18^{20}, Ps. 80^{14}. [3] See p. 177. [4] See p. 177.

[5] *Aleph* with *Dāgēsh*, Gen. 43^{26}; neglect of rules of pause, Gen. 11^2, 27^2.

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sacred books. They have transmitted the Prophets in a different order from that given in the Talmud. They arranged the five Rolls for use at the five great feasts of Judaism, and also rearranged the Writings.

The work of the western Massorites reached its culmination in the tenth century, in the text of Ben Asher, and the work of the Orientals about the same time in the text of Ben Naphtali. The text of Ben Asher became the standard text upon which all subsequent manuscripts in the West and all printed editions have been based.[1]

IV. Hebrew Manuscripts of the Old Testament

The Hebrew manuscripts of the Old Testament are divided into three classes: the Palestinian, the Babylonian, and the Samaritan.

1. *The Palestinian Manuscripts*

The most of the manuscripts that have been preserved are of this class. Here we have to distinguish between synagogue rolls and private manuscripts. The former were prepared with so much care that mistakes became difficult. The Mishna[2] prescribes the rules for their preparation with the greatest precision. Hence it is that in manuscripts of the Law thus far collated, of both the Babylonian and the Palestinian groups, the differences in the consonantal text are few and unimportant. The synagogue rolls, however, present only the Law, the pericopes of the Prophets,[3] and the five Rolls;[4] and these are without the Massoretic apparatus and are as a rule not ancient. They are written on rolls of parchment and of leather. The private manuscripts, written also on paper alone, contain the Massoretic apparatus. None of these reach back into the pre-Massoretic period. None of those collated by Kennicott and De Rossi reach back of the eleventh century.[5]

[1] Bacher, *Hebr. Sprachwissenschaft*, s. 10. [2] Sopherim, VI. 4.
[3] The Haptaroth, see p. 179. [4] Ruth, Lam., Esther, Eccl., Song of Songs.
[5] Kennicott, *Vet. Test. Hebr.*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1776, 1780, compares 615 manuscripts, 52 editions and Talmud; De Rossi, *Variæ lection. Vet. Testamenti*, 4 vols., Parma, 1784–1788, compares 731 manuscripts, 300 editions and the ancient versions.

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Several manuscripts at Aleppo, Cairo, in the British Museum, and in the library of the University of Cambridge, are in dispute. Some claim that they belong to the ninth century, but the general opinion is that they are not earlier than the eleventh century.[1]

There are a number of lost manuscripts of the Palestinian school that are renowned.

(*a*) The Codex Mugar is often cited in the earliest existing Hebrew manuscripts, and is regarded by Ginsburg as the oldest of those cited.[2]

(*b*) The Codex Hillel, not earlier than the seventh century A.D., was consulted by Jacob ben Eleazar in the twelfth century.[3]

(*c*) The Codex Ben Asher is of the first half of the tenth century. The entire Massoretic text of the Occidental Jews rests upon this. This manuscript was at first at Jerusalem; afterwards it was removed to Egypt.

(*d*) The Codex Sanbuki probably belonged to a Hungarian family of that name. It is of unknown date. It is cited occasionally on the margin of manuscripts.

(*e*) The Massora also refers to a Jericho codex of the Law, and a Sinai codex of the Prophets.[4]

[1] A codex ascribed to Aaron ben Asher, or Ben Asher the Younger, and preserved in Aleppo, is thought by many to be very ancient. Its antiquity and genuineness is defended by Ginsburg (*Introduction*, pp. 242 *seq.*) as of the date earlier than 980, a copy of which, of about 1009 A.D., being now in the Imperial Public Library at St. Petersburg. So great an antiquity is denied by Wickes (*l.c.*, 1887, pp. vii–ix) and Lagarde (*N. G. G. W.*, 1890, 16). Strack (*Semitic Studies in Memory of A. Kohut*, p. 563) withholds his decision until the manuscript can be more carefully examined. Schiller-Szinessy claims that a Hebrew manuscript numbered No. 12, at the University of Cambridge, England, was of the date of 856, but Neubauer (*Academy*, 1887, p. 321, *Studia Biblica*, III. pp. 28 *seq.*) has disproved it. Ginsburg (*l.c.*, pp. 241 *seq.*) claims that the codex of Ben Asher the Elder, in the synagogue of the Karaite Jews at Cairo, is genuine and of the date of 890–895, and that a copy of it was purchased in the year 1530 and is in the synagogue at Cracow. This is disputed by S. Baer, Wickes, and Neubauer (see *Stud. Bibl.*, III. pp. 25 *seq.*); but Herman Strack (*Semitic Studies in Memory of A. Kohut*, s. 563) thinks that their reasons are insufficient. Ginsburg (*l.c.*, pp. 469 *seq.*) describes a manuscript 4445 of the British Museum Library, which he claims to be of the date of 820–850 A.D.

[2] See Ginsburg, *l.c.*, pp. 429 *seq.*

[3] So David Kimchi testifies (*Michlol*, fol. 78 *b*, col. 2).

[4] Ginsburg, *l.c.*, pp. 434 *seq.*

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2. *The Babylonian Manuscripts*

The earliest known to scholars is the St. Petersburg codex of the Prophets,[1] 916 A.D. The oldest of the entire Bible is a codex at St. Petersburg supposed to be of 1009 A.D.[2] A lost manuscript of the Babylonian school is the Codex Ben Naphtali, which is referred to in the Massora as a standard authority, of the first half of the tenth century A.D. Many of its readings are also preserved by Kimchi in his grammar and lexicon. No copy of this manuscript is known to exist.

3. *The Samaritan Codex*

An ancient manuscript of this codex is preserved in the Samaritan synagogue at Nablous, in Samaria. It is claimed by the Samaritans that it has been handed down from Abisha, the great-grandson of Aaron, whose name is inscribed upon it. It is mentioned by Cyril of Alexandria, Eusebius, Jerome, and Procopius of Gaza among the Fathers, but was lost sight of subsequently until 1616 A.D., when Pietro della Valle procured a copy of it at Damascus. It was published in the Paris Polyglot of 1645 and in the London Polyglot of 1657. At once a hot dispute arose as to its value, which continued for two centuries, Morinus, Houbigant, and Hassencamp exalting it above the Massoretic text; Hottinger, J. D. Michaelis, and Tychsen advocating the superiority of the latter. Gesenius[3] was the first to thoroughly compare the texts. His view was that while the text was an independent one in its origin, it has yet been improved by the Samaritans in order to avoid obscurities, and in the interests of their own religion, at times betraying ignorance of Hebrew grammar and syntax. It has many features of resemblance to the Septuagint Version. Gesenius calculates them at more than one thousand. These facts

[1] Published by Herman Strack in photo-lithograph, *Prophetarum posteriorum Codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus*, St. Petersburg, 1876.

[2] Wickes gives reasons for the opinion that this manuscript is of much later date (*Accents*, IX.). But Harkavy and Strack, 263–274, *Katalog. d. Hebr. Bibelhandschriften*, in St. Petersburg, 1875, and Baer and Strack, *Dikduke hateamim*, XXIV. *seq.*, accept the date. Ginsburg also thinks that this codex does not really represent the Babylonian text, although it has the so-called Babylonian system of vowel points and accents (*l.c.*, pp. 215 *seq.*).

[3] *De Pentateuci Samaritani Origine*, 1815.

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attracted the attention of scholars, so that on the one side Hottinger, Hassencamp, Eichhorn, and Kohn contended that the Septuagint was translated from the Samaritan text, and on the other side Grotius, Usher, and others urged that the Samaritan was made from the Septuagint. Both these views have been shown to be impossible and have been abandoned by recent scholars, who give the text an independent authority. It was, then, either with the Septuagint derived from a common older manuscript of Jerusalem, as Gesenius, Nutt, and others; or, as the differences between them are quite numerous, they are based on independent original manuscripts, the original of the Samaritan text having been brought from Jerusalem by Manasseh when he introduced the Samaritan schism. The text was published again by Blayney, Oxford, 1790, in square characters. The variations from the Massoretic text have been noted by Petermann.[1]

The influence of Gesenius led many of the older scholars to too unfavourable views of this text. Recent scholars show an increasing confidence in its readings.

V. Printed Texts of the Hebrew Bible

1. The earliest printed editions of the Hebrew text were the Psalter at Bologna, 1477, and the Law, 1482. The whole Bible was first printed at Soncino, Lombardy, in 1488; then at Naples, 1491–1493. Another edition was printed at Brescia in 1494. This was used by Luther in making his version. The same text is used in Bomberg's first Rabbinical Bible, 1516–1517, edited by Felix Pratensis, and in his manual editions, 1517 *seq.*; and also by Stephens, 1539 *seq.*, and Sebastian Munster.

2. The second independent text was issued in the Complutensian Polyglot, 1514–1517, of Cardinal Ximenes, with vowel points but without accents.

3. The third independent text was edited by Jacob ben Chayim in the second Rabbinical Bible of Bomberg, 1524–1525. This was carefully revised after the Massora.

[1] *Versuch einer hebräischen Formenlehre nach der Aussprache der heutigen Samaritaner*, Leipzig, 1868.

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All the printed texts from that time until recent times are mixtures of these three texts.

(*a*) The Antwerp Polyglot, 1569–1572, under the management of Arias Montanus.

(*b*) The manual editions of Hutter, 1587 *seq.*

(*c*) Buxtorf's Rabbinical Bible, 1618–1619, and his manual editions.

(*d*) The Paris Polyglot, 1629–1645.

(*e*) The London Polyglot, 1654–1657.

(*f*) A number of manual editions with mixed texts follow: Leusden, 1667; Jablonski, 1699; Baer, 1701; Michaelis, 1720; Van der Hooght, 1705; Opitius, 1709; Hahn, 1831; Theile, 1849.

4. Baer and Delitzsch undertook a fourth independent text by the use of the entire Massoretic apparatus accessible. The several books of the Hebrew text were published apart, 1869–1895, when Baer and Delitzsch having both died, their work remained unfinished.

5. A fifth independent text has just been published by Ginsburg, 1894, which will doubtless for some time be the standard edition of the Massoretic text. It is essentially "based upon the first edition of Jacob ben Chajim's Massoretic recension."[1]

[1] Ginsburg, *Introduction*, Preface.

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CHAPTER VIII

HISTORY OF THE TEXT OF THE GREEK BIBLE

THE Jews in Egypt during the Persian supremacy doubtless used the Egyptian dialect of the Aramaic, which has been preserved to us in certain inscriptions. But soon after the Greek conquest of Egypt, they changed their language to an Egyptian dialect of the Greek. The Jews flourished in Egypt, especially in the new city of Alexandria, and became rich and powerful so that they built many fine synagogues. They soon felt the need in their worship of a translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into the tongue of the people. This began, as in Palestine, by oral translations in the synagogue, but it was not long before it became more important than in Palestine to commit these translations to writing. Accordingly a Greek translation of the Law was first made, then of the Prophets and the Psalms. The other Writings were not used in the synagogue, and therefore they were only translated for private reading at a later date. The legend that the Greek Old Testament was translated all at once by seventy select men, who used a manuscript sent to them from Jerusalem, has no historic basis.[1]

I. THE GREEK SEPTUAGINT

The Greek translation of the Pentateuch was probably made early in the third century B.C., the Prophets and the most of the Writings were translated before the middle of the second century, but the whole of them and the Apocrypha not until the first century.[2] It is quite possible that the Pentateuch

[1] See pp. 124 *seq.*

[2] Grätz (*Gesch. Juden.*, III. pp. 428 *seq.*) holds that the translation was not made under Ptolemæus Philadelphus at the beginning of the third century B.C., but under Ptolemæus Philometer, middle of the second century B.C., and that

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was translated by Palestinian Jews under royal sanction[1] according to the tradition; but the translators of the Prophets and the Writings must have been Egyptian Jews. The books of Samuel and Jeremiah differ in the Greek so very greatly from the Hebrew traditional text that we must conclude that they were translated from manuscripts which were at an early date independent of Palestinian manuscripts; especially as they are free from a considerable number of Midrashim, which must have made their way into the Hebrew text after the Egyptian manuscripts were written, and at a time when scribes felt at liberty to make such considerable additions to the text. Baumgartner has shown that the book of Proverbs was translated from a Hebrew text, written in the Egyptian Aramaic character, and that it shows traces also of having been written in older Aramaic characters after it had been transliterated from the ancient Hebrew characters.[2] Hollenberg makes the same statement for the book of Joshua[3] and Vollers for the twelve minor prophets.[4] Workman makes a similar statement as to Jeremiah, but does not give sufficient evidence of it.[5]

The book of Sirach was translated into Greek about 130 B.C., and added to the sacred books of the Egyptian Canon; and others of the apocryphal books and writings were added,

the Jewish peripatetic Aristobulus played the chief part in its accomplishment; but most scholars agree with Wellhausen that the translation of the Pentateuch was made under Ptolemæus Philadelphus. That is all the letter of Aristeas really refers to. It was quite natural that later tradition should extend it to the whole Old Testament. Besides, the Prologue of the Greek Ecclesiasticus knows, about 130 B.C., of a Greek translation of the Law, the Prophets, and other books.

[1] Buhl (*l.c.*, *s.* 124) calls attention to the fact that the three accounts of the translation of the Law in the letter of Aristeas, the addition to Esther, and the book of Sirach, all agree in representing the translators as being Palestinian, and remarks that the Palestinian Jews really, in most cases, understood Greek better than the Egyptian Jews understood Hebrew, and that the translators would naturally be Palestinian Jews who had recently migrated to Egypt.

Freudenthal (*Hellenistische Studien*, 1875, *s.* 185) has shown that Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Job, and probably Joshua, had been translated by the middle of the second century. Strack (*l.c.*, *s.* 192) agrees to it.

[2] *Étude critique sur l'état du texte du livre des Proverbes*, 1890, pp. 247 *seq.*

[3] *Der Charakter d. Alexand. Uebersetzung d. Buches Josua*, 1876, *s.* 12.

[4] *Z. A. T. W.*, 1883, *s.* 231.

[5] *The Text of Jeremiah*, 1889, pp. 233 *seq.*

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until by the close of the first century B.C. the entire Greek Old Testament had been completed in the Greek language. This was the Bible of the early Christians, not only in Alexandria, but all over the Roman world. The writers of the epistles of the New Testament quote from it, and they are followed by all the sub-apostolic Fathers and Christian writers of the earlier Christian centuries.

II. The Greek New Testament

In the second Christian century the Greek New Testament was added to the Old Testament. The most of the New Testament was originally written in Greek for Greek readers. The Logia of Matthew was written in Hebrew, in order that it might be added to the Holy Scripture for Jewish Christians. The earlier apocalypses of the book of Revelation were also written in Hebrew.[1] The Epistle of James was probably written in Hebrew also, as well as the Canticles of the early chapters of Luke.[2] But these were all translated into Greek, or taken up into larger Greek writings, and their Hebrew originals perished. Accordingly the New Testament became in fact a Greek New Testament.

All of the writings of the Canon of the New Testament were in circulation early in the second century; but they were not collected into a Canon before the latter part of the second century. They were in private manuscripts, and for the most part at least written on papyrus.[3]

> "No autograph of any book of the New Testament is known or believed to be still in existence. The originals must have been early lost, for they are mentioned by no ecclesiastical writer, although there were many motives for appealing to them, had they been forthcoming, in the second and third centuries." . . .
>
> "We know little about the external features of the MSS. of the ages of persecution: but what little we do know suggests that they were usually small, containing only single books or groups of books, and not seldom, there is reason to suspect, of comparatively coarse material." [4]

[1] See Briggs, *Messiah of the Apostles*, p. 301.
[2] See Briggs, *Messiah of the Gospels*, p. 42.
[3] See pp. 133 *seq.*
[4] Westcott and Hort, *New Testament in Greek*, Introduction, pp. 4, 9–10.

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The separate writings were often copied before they were gathered into the groups which constitute the present Canon, and scattered widely over the world. But in the times of persecution large numbers of them were destroyed, especially during the persecution of Diocletian.

The roll of papyrus was the book of the early Christians. For public reading in the churches, rolls of skin were probably used among the Christians, as among the Jews, whenever the community was able to bear the expense. But the entire library of Origen and Pamphilus at Cæsarea consisted of papyrus rolls.[1]

The sacred books of the Old and New Testaments constituted quite a library of these rolls; the rolls ordinarily contained only a single writing. Even the Gospels appear in several different orders on the monuments of the fourth and fifth centuries, showing that each was usually on a separate roll. No monumental evidence of the existence of a codex of parchment appears before the close of the third century; no literary evidence before the middle of the third century. These codices were at first very expensive, and so the papyrus rolls continued in private use deep into the fifth century.[2]

III. Other Greek Versions

The use of the Greek version of the Old Testament by the Christians and its many differences from the Hebrew official text as established by the Sopherim of the school of Rabbi Akiba, excited the hostility of the Jewish scribes, and every effort was made to discredit it. In the first half of the second century A.D. a Greek version was made by Aquila, a pupil of Rabbi Akiba, on the basis of the official Hebrew text.[3] It is extremely literal and endeavours conscientiously to follow the official text.[4]

[1] Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, 1882, *s.* 109.

[2] Schultze, *Rolle und Codex*, in *Greifswalder Studien*, 1895, *s.* 150 *seq.*

[3] *Megilla*, I. 9; *Qidduschin*, I. 1.

[4] The sign of the definite accusative את is translated by σύν, the local ה by δέ, לאמר by τῷ λέγειν. These are striking examples of an extreme literalism which goes so far as to impair the real meaning of the passage. This Aquila is mentioned by Irenæus, *Adv. Hæres*, III. 24; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, V. 8, 10; Jerome

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The greater part of this version has been lost, only fragments having been preserved. At the same time the influence of Aquila may be seen in the revision of the Septuagint text of Ezekiel and Ecclesiastes, into which elements from Aquila have been taken up.[1] Another Greek version was made about the same time by Theodotion. He revised the Septuagint to make it conform to the official text.[2] His translation has only been preserved in fragments, apart from the book of Daniel, which supplanted the Septuagint Version of Daniel in the usage of the Church, and other elements which have been taken up into the Greek Bibles. Symmachus undertook about the same time[3] to make a better Greek version of the Old Testament from a Christian point of view[4] and in more elegant Greek. There are fragments of three other independent Greek versions of the old Testament which have been preserved, known as Quinta, Sexta, and Septima, of unknown origin.[5] These are chiefly of the poetical books. All these make it evident that there was a wide-spread dissatisfaction with the Septuagint at the close of the second and the beginning of the third century, not only on the part of the Jews but also of the Christians. It is probable that the zealous polemic of the Jewish scribes on the basis of the official Hebrew text brought about this serious situation.

IV. The Official Texts of the Greek Bible

Origen during his abode at Cæsarea (232–254 A.D.) made a gigantic effort to remove this dissatisfaction and establish a

on Is. 8^{14}, *Epist.* 57 *ad Pammachium*, c. 11; Origen, *ad Afric* (I. 14, Delarue). Cf. Schürer, *Gesch. d. Jud.*, II. 311. Cornill (*Ezek.*, s. 64, 104) mentions Codex 62 of Holmes, which shows the influence of Aquila. The Septuagint of Koheleth and the Song of Songs also show his influence, not only in the Greek, but also in the Syriac translation. See Buhl, *l.c.*, s. 155.

[1] Cornill, *Ezekiel*, s. 104 *seq.*; Dillmann, *Ueber d. Griech. Uebersetzung der Koheleth*, in *Sitzungsberichte d. König. Preus. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1892.

[2] Theodotion is mentioned by Irenæus (*Adv. Hær.*) as a proselyte of Ephesus. Jerome calls him an Ebionite (*Comm.*, Hab. 3^{11-13}. Cf. *Præf. Comm. in Dan.*).

[3] He is usually assigned to the beginning of the third century. But Epiphanius puts him in the time of Marcus Aurelius. Mercati has recently come to the same conclusion (see Strack, *l.c.*, s. 201).

[4] Eusebius (*H. E.*, VI. 17) and Jerome (*l.c.*) both call him an Ebionite.

[5] Eusebius, *l.c.*, VI. 16.

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reliable Greek text of the Old Testament. He gathered in his Hexapla the Hebrew text, the Hebrew text transliterated into Greek characters, the three versions of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, and a revised Septuagint text.[1]

Where the Septuagint was missing he used Theodotion with an asterisk. There can be little doubt that this revision of the text of the Old Testament was accompanied by a similar movement for the collection of the New Testament writings and a revision of their text. But there is no evidence that Origen had a hand in it.[2]

The text of the Septuagint fixed by Origen in the Hexapla was issued by Eusebius and Pamphilus at Cæsarea, and probably also a revision of the Greek New Testament was made at about the same time under similar influences, and these became the official Greek Bible for the Church of Palestine. Soon afterwards, Hesychius revised the text of the entire Bible in Alexandria, and it became the official text of the Church of Egypt. About the same time Lucian the Martyr (311+) made another independent revision of the entire Greek Bible at Antioch. Thus at the beginning of the fourth century there were three rival texts of the Greek Bible in use.

Jerome refers to the work of Lucian and Hesychius in his *Præf. in Paralip.*, thus, "Alexandria et Ægyptus in Septuaginta suis Hesychium laudat auctorem, Constantinopolis usque Antiochiam Luciani martyris exemplaria probat." Cf. also his *Epist.* 106, *ad Sunniam et Fretelam*, and *Præf. in Evang.*, "I pass over those manuscripts which are associated with the names of Lucian and Hesychius, and the authority of which is perversely main-

[1] The Greek fragments of the Hexapla were gathered by Field (*Origenis Hexaplorum quæ supersunt*, 2 vols.), Oxford, 1867-1875. A Syriac translation of the Septuagint text of the Hexapla was made by Paul of Tella in 616 A.D. A manuscript of this translation of the eighth century was discovered in the Ambrosian Library of Milan and issued by Ceriani in 1874. Still more recently a fragment of the entire Hexapla of a number of the Psalms has been discovered in the Ambrosian Library by Giov. Mercati, who has given a brief account of it in 1896, and who will soon publish it. It embraces Ps. 45 and parts of 17, 27–31, 34, 35, 48, 88 (of the numbers of the Septuagint). Cf. Giov. Mercati, *Un Palimpsesto Ambrosiano dei Salmi Esapli*, Turin, 1898.

[2] See Holtzmann, *Einleitung*, *s.* 47, who quotes from Origen: "In exemplaribus autem Novi Testamenti hoc ipsum posse facere sine periculo non putavi" (in Mt. xv. 14). See, however, Jerome on Mt. 24^{36} and Gal. 3^{1}.

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tained by a handful of disputatious persons. It is obvious that these writers could not amend anything in the Old Testament after the labours of the Seventy; and it was useless to correct the New, for versions of Scripture which already exist in the languages of many nations show that their additions are false."[1] Cf. with reference to Hesychius further Jerome's Comm. on Is. 58^{11}. Nestle, in *Z. D. M. G.*, XXXII. *s.* 481 *seq.*, quotes from a scholion of Jacob of Edessa, the statement that Lucian when he saw אדני in the text and κύριος on the margin he combined the two, Ἀδωναὶ κύριος. A similar conflation is indeed found in the earliest Hebrew text of the Old Testament in the phrase אדניהוה (see Cornill, *Ezekiel*, pp. 172 *seq.*). Nestle (*Marginalien*, Tübingen, 1893, *s.* 45) suggested that Lucian had used the Peshitto version. This was confirmed by Stockmayer in his investigation of the books of Samuel, and is agreed to by Strack (*l.c.*, *s.* 194). Field (*Hexapla*, LXXXVIII.) calls attention to the fact that the formula אדני יהוה, so common in Ezekiel, is given by *Ed. Rom.* κύριος, in *Comp. Ald. Codd.*, III., XII., 26, 42, 49, etc., κύριος κύριος; but in *Codd.*, 22, 36, 48, etc., ἀδωναὶ κύριος.

When Christianity ascended the throne of the Cæsars great efforts were made for the transcribing and distribution of manuscripts to supply the place of those that had been destroyed in the last persecution. Finally the Emperor Constantine, about 332 A.D., ordered Eusebius to prepare "fifty copies of the Sacred Scriptures . . . to be written on prepared parchment in a legible manner, and in a convenient, portable form, by professional transcribers thoroughly practised in their art." These were "magnificent and elaborately bound volumes of a threefold and fourfold form."[2] None of these have been preserved, but we may justly suppose that they were at least as large and stately as the Uncial codices of the fourth century from other cities, which have been preserved. These codices doubtless tended to establish official texts for a large part of the eastern Roman Empire, and it may be that the conflate Syriac text, which became the dominant text from the fourth century onward, dates from these codices.

Many ancient versions were made from the Greek Bible. The

[1] *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2d series, Vol. VI., St. Jerome, p. 488.

[2] Eusebius, *Vit. Constan.*, IV. 36–37; Richardson's edition, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2d series, Vol. I., 1890, p. 549.

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early Latin versions of North Africa and North Italy; the Egyptian versions, the Memphitic and Thebaic, were made in the second century; the Gothic in the fourth century; the Ethiopic in the fourth or fifth centuries, and the Armenian in the fifth century. These represent several stages in the development of the text of the Greek Bible.

V. Manuscripts of the Greek Bible

The earlier manuscripts of the Greek Bible are called Uncials, or Majuscules, because they are written in capital letters without accents; the later are called Minuscules, because they are written in a smaller hand. A careful study of the manuscripts of the Greek Bible on the genealogical principle enables scholars to arrange them in the following groups:

VI. The So-called Neutral Text

The earliest uncial manuscript of the Greek Bible is the Vatican codex, of the fourth Christian century, catalogued as B.

"Written in an uncial hand of the fourth century on leaves of the finest vellum made up in quires of five; the lines, which are of sixteen to eighteen letters, being arranged in three columns containing forty-two lines each, excepting the poetical books, where the lines being stichometrical, the columns are only two. There are no initial letters, although the first letter of a section occasionally projects into the margin; no breathings or accents occur *prima manu*, the punctuation if by the first hand is rare and simple. Of the 759 leaves which compose the present quarto volume, 617 belong to the Old Testament. The first twenty leaves of the original codex have been torn away, and there are *lacunæ* also at f. 178 (part of a leaf) and at f. 348 (ten leaves of the original missing); these gaps involve the loss of Gen. 1^{1}–46^{28}, 2 K. $2^{5\text{-}7,\ 10\text{-}13}$, Ps. 105^{27}–137^{6}; the missing passages in Genesis and Psalms have been supplied by a recent hand. The Prayer of Manasses and the Books of the Maccabees were never included in this codex. The other books are in the following order: Genesis to 2 Chron., Esdras 1, 2, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Job, Wisdom of Solomon, Wisdom of the Son of Sirach, Esther, Judith, Tobit, Hosea, and the other Minor Prophets to Malachi, Isaiah,

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Jeremiah, Baruch, Lamentations, and epistle of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel (the version ascribed to Theodotion)." [1]

It seems best to use Swete's descriptions so far as they go, for this and the other great codices, because they are concise, accurate, and technical; and it is better for scholars to rest upon a common ground in such technical matters. He does not specify the New Testament part of the codices; and these I must add. Codex B has all the New Testament except Heb. 9^{14}–13^{25}, the Pastorals, Philemon, and the Apocalypse.

The Codex Vaticanus represents a text earlier than any of the revisions of the third century, and it belongs to a family which was used by Origen when he made his Hexapla.[2] It gives what Westcott and Hort term the Neutral Text, that is, a text which is free from the corruptions which came in in all the subsequent revisions, although it still has early corruptions of its own.[3] This text is now accessible to scholars in the facsimile Roman edition, and also in a convenient and reliable form in Swete's edition of the Septuagint, published by the University Press of Cambridge, England, which follows the Vatican codex, and only uses the Alexandrian and Sinaitic where the Vatican text is missing.

The next earliest manuscript is the Sinaitic, discovered by Constantinus Tischendorf in 1844–1859.[4] It also is an Uncial of the fourth century.

"Written in an uncial hand, ascribed to the middle of the fourth century, and in lines which, when complete, contain from twelve to fourteen letters, and which are arranged in four columns on unusually large leaves of a very fine vellum, made from the skin of the ass or of the antelope. The leaves are gathered into quires of four, excepting two which contain five. There are no breathings or accents; a simple point is occasionally used. In the New Testament the MS. is complete; of the Old Testament the following portions remain: fragments of Gen. 23, 24, and of Numbers 5, 6, 7, 1 Chron. 9^{27}–19^{17}, 2 Esdras 9, to end, Nehemiah, Esther, Tobit, Judith, 1 Macc., 4 Macc., Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lam. 1^{1}–2^{20}, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon,

[1] Swete, *Old Testament in Greek*, Vol. I. p. xvii.
[2] Strack, *Einleitung*, s. 194; Silberstein. *Z. A. T. W.*, 1893, s. 14.
[3] See Westcott and Hort, *New Testament in Greek*, Introduction, p. 150.
[4] Gregory, *Prolegomena*, pp. 345 *seq.*

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Wisdom of Solomon, Wisdom of the Son of Sirach, Job."[1] This codex not only contains the whole of the present Canon of the New Testament, but also the Epistle of Barnabas and fragments of the Shepherd of Hermas.[2]

This manuscript, usually known as ℵ, but also by others as S, is the nearest in text to the Vatican Codex B; but it contains readings, especially in John, Luke, and the Apocalypse, of the two distinct types which are known as Western and Alexandrian readings.[3]

The differences between these two great Uncials of the fourth century are such as to imply several stages of transmission between them and the time when they departed from a common parent. German scholars, after Tischendorf, value ℵ more highly than British scholars do. The parent manuscript is placed by Hort not later than the early part of the second Christian century.[4] This parent must have been therefore a collection of rolls, a little library of the different writings.

VII. The Egyptian Text

The third great Uncial manuscript is the Alexandrian A, of the British Museum, dating from the fifth century.

"Written in an uncial hand of the middle of the fifth century, on vellum of fine texture originally arranged in quires of eight leaves, occasionally (but chiefly at the end of a Book) of less than eight; three or four and twenty letters go to a line; fifty or fifty-one lines usually compose a column, and there are two columns on a page. Large initial letters, standing in the margin, announce the commencement of a paragraph or section, excepting in Vol. III., which appears to be the work of another scribe. There are no breathings or accents added by the first hand; the punctuation, more frequent than in B, is still confined to a single point. The three volumes, which contain the Old Testament, now consist of 630 leaves. Of these volumes only nine leaves are lost and five mutilated. The portions of the Septuagint, which are thus deficient in A, contained Gen. 14^{14-17}, $15^{1-5.\ 16-19}$, 16^{6-9}; 1 K. 12^{19}–14^{9};

[1] Swete, *Old Testament in Greek*, p. xx.

[2] For a full description of this codex and a history of its discovery by Tischendorf, see Gregory, *Prolegomena*, pp. 345 *seq.*

[3] Gregory, *l.c.*, p. 346.

[4] *New Testament in Greek*, Introduction, pp. 222 *seq.*

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Ps. 49^{19}–79^{10}. The codex opens (1, f. 3) with a table of the books written in uncial letters somewhat later than the body of the MS. The first volume contains the Octateuch with Kings and Chronicles (*ομου βιβλια* $\bar{\varsigma}$). The books of Chronicles are followed (Vol. II.) by the Prophets (*προφηται* $\bar{\iota\varsigma}$) Minor and Major, Jeremiah, including Baruch, Lamentations and the Epistle; Daniel (Theodotion's version) is succeeded by Esther, Tobit, Judith, Esdras 1, 2, and the four books of Maccabees. The third volume contains the Psalter, with Ps. CLI., and the Canticles, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, the Wisdom of Solomon, and the Wisdom of the Son of Sirach. The table shews that the Psalms of Solomon once occupied a place at the end of the fourth volume which contains the New Testament."[1] This codex contains all of the present Canon of the New Testament except Mt. 1^{1}–25^{6}; John 6^{50}–8^{52}; 2 Cor. 4^{13}–12^{7}. It also has the two epistles of Clement except $1^{58\text{-}63}$, $2^{13\text{-}20}$.[2]

This manuscript was in the possession of the Patriarch of Alexandria for many centuries before it was presented to Charles I. of England in 1628. Swete says:[3]

> "It seems probable that A, which, as far back as the furthest period to which we can trace its history, was preserved in Egypt, had been originally written there; and, as Mr. E. M. Thompson has pointed out, the occurrence of Egyptian forms of the Greek letters in the superscriptions and colophons of the books proves that 'the MS., if not absolutely written in Egypt, must have been immediately afterwards removed thither.'"

To the same family belongs the Codex Ephraem C, also of the fifth century, now in the National Library at Paris. It is a bundle of fragments, preserving three-fifths of the whole original manuscript in the uncial character. But it is a palimpsest; that is, the original letters have faded or been washed out, and the manuscript has been written over by selections from Ephraem the Syrian.[4]

The Codex Vaticanus 452 of the Prophets,[5] of the eleventh century, was also originally in the possession of the Patriarch of Alexandria, and presents a text of the same general char-

[1] Swete, *l.c.*, p. xxii.
[2] See Gregory, *Prolegomena*, p. 355.
[3] *l.c.*, p. xxiii, note.
[4] See Gregory, *Prolegomena*, pp. 366 *seq.*
[5] *H. & P.*, 91.

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acter as A.[1] So also does the Codex Ambrosianus of the Law, assigned to the fifth century by Ceriani.[2]

To these may be added the Codex Bodleianus of Genesis of the eighth century.[3] These represent an Alexandrian official text, but probably later than the revision of Hesychius.

E. Klostermann[4] thinks that the recension of Hesychius is represented by Codex Vaticanus, gr. 556.[5] Ceriani claims the text of Codex Marchalianus for Hesychius.[6]

So far as the New Testament is concerned, Hort thinks that the text of A is mixed with both Syrian and Western readings. Silberstein has made a careful examination of the text of 3 Kings (1 Kings of our Bible), and finds that of the 259 Hexapla additions as indicated by the asterisk, nine-tenths appear in A, and that there can be no doubt of the dependence of this text upon the recension of Origen.[7]

Similar detailed work on all the books of the Old and New Testaments is necessary before the exact relation of A to Origen and Hesychius and the earlier Alexandrian text can be fully determined.

"The text of A stands in broad contrast to those of either B or ℵ, though the interval of years is probably small. The contrast is greatest in the Gospels, where A has a fundamentally Syrian text, mixed occasionally with pre-Syrian readings, chiefly Western. In the other books the Syrian base disappears, though a Syrian occurs among the other elements. In the Acts and Epistles the Alexandrian outnumber the Western readings. All books except the Gospels, and especially the Apocalypse, have many pre-Syrian readings not belonging to either of the aberrant types; in the Gospels these readings are of rare occurrence. By a curious and apparently unnoticed coincidence the text of A in several books agrees with the Latin Vulgate in so many peculiar readings devoid of Old Latin attestation as to leave little doubt that a Greek MS. largely employed by Jerome in this revision of

[1] Cornill, *Ezekiel*, *s.* 71.

[2] *Monumenta Sacra et Profana*, III., Mediol., 1864. See also Swete, *l.c.*, p. xxvi, for a full description.

[3] See Swete, *l.c.*, p. xxvi. [4] *Analecta*, *s.* 10. [5] *H. & P.*, 26.

[6] Ceriani, *de Codice Marchaliano*. See Nestle in *Urtext und Uebersetzungen*, *s.* 73.

[7] *Z. A. T. W.*, 1893, *s.* 68, 69; 1894, *s.* 26.

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the Latin version must have had to a great extent a common original with A."[1]

Hort thinks that "Not a single Greek MS. of any age . . . has transmitted to us an Alexandrian text of any part of the New Testament free from large mixture with other texts."[2]

VIII. The Text of the Hexapla

The uncial manuscript Marchalianus of the Prophets, dating from the sixth or seventh century, represents the Greek text of Origen's Hexapla on the margin.[3] The chief authority for this text, however, is the Codex Sarravianus in Leyden, containing the Heptateuch.[4] Codex Venetus, gr. 1, may be added on the authority of Lagarde, Ceriani, and Giesebrecht.[5] Cornill adds also the cursives, Codex Chisianus of the Prophets,[6] the Codex Barberinus of the Prophets.[7] The Codex Coislinianus,[8] containing the Octateuch, also has the text of the Hexapla. The recently discovered Hexapla of a section of the Psalms gives us the exact copy of the work of Origen. The other manuscripts need careful comparison with this so soon as it may be published.

There is no evidence that Origen or Eusebius or Pamphilus issued a revised text of the New Testament.

IX. The So-called Western Text

The Codex Bezæ, D,[9] of the Gospels and Acts, from the sixth century, contains "substantially a Western text of Cent. II., with occasional readings probably due to Cent. IV. . . . Western texts of the Pauline Epistles are preserved in two

[1] Westcott and Hort, *New Testament in Greek*, Introduction, 1882, p. 152.

[2] *l.c.*, p. 150.

[3] This is XII. of *H. & P.* See Cornill, *Ezekiel*, *s.* 15; Nestle, *l.c.*, *s.* 73.

[4] *H. & P.*, IV. and V.; published in phototype by Omont, Leyden, 1897. See Strack, *l.c.*, *s.* 196; Nestle, *Urtext und Uebersetzung*, *s.* 72.

[5] *H. & P.*, 23. E. Klostermann, *Analecta*, *s.* 9–10, 34, shows that it belongs with *H. & P.*, XI., Vat. gr. 2106, making up a complete Old Testament.

[6] This manuscript alone gives the old Greek translation of Daniel; all others give Theodotion.

[7] *H. & P.*, 86, contains the Prophets except Daniel.

[8] *H. & P.*, X. See Buhl, *l.c.*, *s.* 138; Nestle, *l.c.*, *s.* 72.

[9] See Gregory, *Prolegomena*, pp. 369 *seq.*

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independent uncials, D_2 and G_3."[1] This Western text is thus described by Hort:

"The chief and most constant characteristic of the Western readings is a love of paraphrase. Words, clauses, and even whole sentences, were changed, omitted, and inserted with astonishing freedom, wherever it seemed that the meaning could be brought out with greater force and definiteness. They often exhibit a certain rapid vigour and fluency which can hardly be called a rebellion against the calm and reticent strength of the apostolic speech, for it is deeply influenced by it, but which, not less than a tamer spirit of textual correction, is apt to ignore pregnancy and balance of sense, and especially those meanings which are conveyed by exceptional choice or collocation of words. . . .

"Another equally important characteristic is a disposition to enrich the text at the cost of its purity by alterations or additions taken from traditional and perhaps from apocryphal or other non-biblical sources. . . .

"Besides these two marked characteristics, the Western readings exhibit the ordinary tendencies of scribes whose changes are not limited to wholly or partially mechanical corruptions. . . .

"As illustrations may be mentioned the insertion and multiplication of genitive pronouns, but occasionally their suppression where they appeared cumbrous; the insertion of objects, genitive, dative, or accusative, after verbs used absolutely; the insertion of conjunctions in sentences which had none, but occasionally their excision where their force was not perceived, and the form of the sentence or context seemed to commend abruptness; free interchange of conjunctions; free interchange of the formulæ introductory to spoken words; free interchange of participle and finite verb with two finite verbs connected by a conjunction; substitution of compound verbs for simple as a rule, but conversely where the compound verb of the true text was difficult or unusual; and substitution of aorists for imperfects as a rule, but with a few examples of the converse, in which either a misunderstanding of the context or an outbreak of untimely vigour has introduced the imperfect. A bolder form of correction is the insertion of a negative particle, as in Mt. 21^{32} (*οὐ* being favoured, it is true, by the preceding *τον*), Lk. 11^{48}, and Rom. 4^{19}; or its omission, as in Rom. 5^{14}, Gal. 2^{5}, 5^{8}.

"Another impulse of scribes abundantly exemplified in Western readings is the fondness for assimilation. In its most obvious

[1] Westcott and Hort, *l.c.*, pp. 148, 149. D^2 = Codex *Claromontanus*; G^3 = Codex *Bornerianus*.

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form it is merely local, abolishing diversities of diction where the same subject-matter recurs as part of two or more neighbouring clauses or verses, or correcting apparent defects of symmetry. But its most dangerous work is 'harmonistic' corruption; that is, the partial or total obliteration of differences in passages otherwise more or less resembling each other. Sometimes the assimilation is between single sentences that happen to have some matter in common; more usually, however, between parallel passages of greater length, such especially as have in some sense a common origin. To this head belong not only quotations from the Old Testament, but parts of Ephesians and Colossians, and again of Jude and 2 Peter, and, above all, the parallel records in the first three Gospels, and to a certain extent in all four."[1]

There are great differences of opinion as to the value of this Western text, especially between British and German scholars.[2]

Rendel Harris, in his recent study of this text, makes the following statements:

"So extensively has the Greek text of Codex Bezæ been modified by the process of Latinization that we can no longer regard D as a distinct authority apart from it. In the first instance it may have been such; or, on the other hand, it may have been the original from which the first Latin translation was made. But it is probably safe to regard D + d as representing a single bilingual tradition. . . .

"It is the Bezan Latin that is of prime importance, while the *Greek has no certain value except where it differs from its own Latin*, and must not any longer be regarded as an independent authority. . . .

"The coincidences between D and Irenæus take us again to a primitive translation that cannot be as late as the end of the second century. And finally, an examination of the relicts of Tatian's Harmony, and of the Syriac Versions shows reason for

[1] Westcott and Hort, *l.c.*, pp. 122–125.

[2] "Eine rätselhafte Handschrift, über deren Wert die Meinungen weit auseinander gehen. Während die einen in ihr das einzigartige Denkmal einer zwar verwilderten, aber sicherlich manches Ursprüngliche enthaltenden Textesgestalt erblicken, wie sie vor der endlichen Konstituierung des Kanons verbreitet gewesen, gilt sie anderen als der Hauptrepräsentant des durch willkürliche Aenderungen und Interpolationen entstellten sogen. Occidentalischen (western) Textes, und dazwischen stehen eine Anzahl Sonderauffassungen, welche ihrerseits der Eigenart der unter allen Umständen hochbedeutsamen Urkunde Rechnung zu tragen suchen." Von Gebhardt in *Urtext und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, *s.* 31.

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believing that the bilingual at least as concerns the Gospels is older than Tatian."[1]

Harris thinks that the Western text is Roman of the second century and that Tatian, who studied and taught at Rome, used it in his Diatessaron.[2]

Still more recently Resch advanced the theory that the differences in the great original Texts are due to independent translations of a Hebrew original.[3] Chase endeavours to show a strong Syrian influence.[4] Blass has given strong reasons for the opinion that the Western text of Acts rests upon another edition of the original than that used by the other ancient family of manuscripts.[5] Harris in consideration of these theories adheres to his opinion, yet recognizes the force of Blass' arguments.

X. The So-called Text of Lucian

The Western text of the New Testament has apparently nothing exactly to correspond with it in the Greek text of the Old Testament. This is due to the defects of the Greek manuscripts of this text, in that they contain parts of the New Testament alone. It cannot escape attention, however, that whilst this text is sustained by the most ancient Latin and Syriac texts of the New Testament, these same ancient Latin and Syriac texts in the Old Testament sustain the so-called text of Lucian. Driver and Mez[6] both call attention to this and sum up the evidence. Mez calls attention to the facts that Ceriani[7] saw the agreement of the old Latin with Lucian in Lamentations; Vercellone[8] for the codex of Leon, Wellhausen for Samuel, Jacob for the book of Esther, Silberstein[9] for the first book of Kings. Driver says:[10]

[1] *Codex Bezæ* in *Texts and Studies*, Cambridge, II. 1, pp. 114, 161, 192.

[2] *l.c.*, p. 234.

[3] Resch, *Agrapha*, 1892, pp. 350, 351; *Die Logia Jesu nach dem Griechischen und Hebräischen Text wiederhergestellt*, 1898.

[4] Chase, *The Old Syriac Element in the Text of Cod. Bezæ*, 1893.

[5] Blass, *Studien und Krit.*, 1894, *s.* 86–120; *Acta Apost.*, 1896; *Evangelium secundum Lucam secundum formam quae videtur Romanam*, 1897.

[6] Driver, *Samuel*, p. lxxvii; Mez, *Die Bibel des Josephus*, 1895, *s.* 81.

[7] Ceriani, *Mon. Sacr. et Profan.*, 1861, I. 1, p. xvi. (*Addenda*).

[8] Vercellone, *Variæ Lectiones*, II. 436.

[9] *Z. A. T. W.*, 1893, *s.* 20.

[10] *Samuel*, 1890, pp. lxxvii, lxxviii.

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"The conclusion which the facts observed authorize is thus that the Old Latin is a version made, or revised, on the basis of MSS. agreeing closely with those which were followed by Lucian in framing his recension. The Old Latin must date from the second century A.D.; hence it cannot be based upon the recension of Lucian as such: its peculiar interest lies in the fact that it affords independent evidence of the existence of MSS. containing Lucian's characteristic readings (or renderings), considerably before the time of Lucian himself."

Mez carefully examines the citations from the Old Testament in Josephus, *Antiq.*, Books V.–VII., and reaches the conclusion that the so-called text of Lucian is older than Josephus, and that Theodotion made a revision of it.

The Codex Vaticanus 330 was recognized by Field and then by Lagarde as giving essentially the text of Lucian. This manuscript was the chief authority for the text of the Complutensian Polyglot.[1]

In the New Testament the recension of Lucian is not known to exist in any manuscript. This is just as striking as the absence of Western readings from manuscripts of the Old Testament.

XI. The Later Syrian Text

Westcott and Hort distinguish between an earlier and later Syriac revision, and are willing to ascribe the earlier to Lucian. But all the manuscripts except those of the families thus far specified, and consequently the vast majority of all existing manuscripts, belong to the later Syriac revision. Westcott and Hort do not distinguish the earlier Syrian readings and make no effort to ascertain the text of Lucian. Here they are weak. This is their view of Syrian readings:

"The fundamental text of late extant Greek MSS. generally is beyond all question identical with the dominant Antiochian or Græco-Syrian text of the second half of the fourth century. The community of text implies on genealogical grounds a community of parentage: the Antiochian Fathers and the bulk of

[1] Field, *Origenis Hexapl.*, I., Prol., p. lxxxviii; Cornill, *Ezekiel*, s. 65; Buhl, *l.c.*, s. 140. Lagarde also used for Lucian, *H. & P.*, 19, 44, 82, 93, 108, 118, and Cornill, *H. & P.*, 22, 23, 36, 48, 51, 231.

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extant MSS. written from about three or four to ten or eleven centuries later must have had in the greater number of extant variations a common original either contemporary with or older than our oldest extant MSS., which thus lose at once whatever presumption of exceptional purity they might have derived from their exceptional antiquity alone."[1]

This text presupposes the work of Lucian and other rival texts.

"The guiding motives of their criticism are transparently displayed in its effects. It was probably initiated by the distracting and inconvenient currency of at least three conflicting texts in the same region. The alternate borrowing from all implies that no selection of one was made, — indeed it is difficult to see how under the circumstances it could have been made — as entitled to supremacy by manifest superiority of pedigree. Each text may perhaps have found a patron in some leading personage or see, and thus have seemed to call for a conciliation of rival claims."[2]

The general characteristics of these texts are as follows:

"Both in matter and in diction the Syrian text is conspicuously a full text. It delights in pronouns, conjunctions, and expletives, and supplied links of all kinds, as well as in more considerable additions. As distinguished from the bold vigour of the 'Western' scribes, and the refined scholarship of the Alexandrians, the spirit of its own corrections is at once sensible and feeble. Entirely blameless on either literary or religious grounds as regards vulgarised or unworthy diction, yet shewing no marks of either critical or spiritual insight, it presents the New Testament in a form smooth and attractive, but appreciably impoverished in sense and force, more fitted for cursory perusal or recitation than for repeated and diligent study."[3]

Great progress has been made in recent years in the classification of the manuscripts; but much still remains to be done. It seems to be evident that B, ℵ, and their group represent a text earlier than any of the revisions of the third century. We are in the way of determining the text of the Old Testament as revised by Origen and Lucian. The general character and antiquity of the so-called Western text of the New Testament has been established, and the tendency is to an increasing estimate of its value as compared with B. The relation of that

[1] Westcott and Hort, *l.c.*, p. 92. [2] Westcott and Hort, *l.c.*, pp. 133, 134.
[3] Westcott and Hort, *l.c.*, p. 135.

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text to the New Testament revision of Lucian and to the Old Testament Lucian has still to be determined. The school of Westcott and Hort halt in their study of the Syrian text. It is necessary to distinguish between the late Syrian and the earlier Syrian text. They seem altogether uncertain as regards the earlier Syrian text. It is probable that these questions of Textual Criticism will have to be determined by the special study of all the different writings of the Old Testament. Back of the codices of the third century lie libraries of rolls, and in these libraries each roll had a history of its own. The future work of the Textual Criticism of the Greek Bible is largely in the second century B.C.

XII. Printed Texts of the Greek Bible

1. The first printed text of the Greek Bible is in the Complutensian Polyglot, 1514–1517.[1] This text was revised in the Antwerp Polyglot, 1569–1572, and the Paris Polyglot, 1645.

2. Erasmus published his Greek New Testament in five editions, 1516–1535. Luther translated from the second edition of 1519.[2]

3. The Aldine edition[3] of the Old Testament was published at Venice, 1518.

4. Robert Stephens issued four editions of the Greek New Testament, 1546–1551. He used in addition to Erasmus and the Complutensian, fifteen manuscripts,[4] and for the first time in 1551 divided the Greek text into verses.

5. Theodore Beza issued four editions of the Greek New Testament, in folio, 1565–1598, and five octavo editions, 1565–1604. He knew of D of the Epistles, but seems to have made little use of it.[5]

[1] This text was based on the Vatican codices 330, 346 (*H. & P.*, 108, 248), and a few manuscripts of minor importance in Madrid, such as Venet. V. (*H. & P.*, 68).

[2] Erasmus used several manuscripts of Basle, Evv. 1, 2; Acts 2; Apoc. 1, and for the third edition Ev. 61.

[3] It was based on *H. & P.*, 29, 68, 121; Lagarde, *Mitt.* 2, 57; *Sept. St.* 1, 2; Nestle, in *Urtext und Uebersetzungen*, s. 65.

[4] He used but slightly D and L of the Gospels.

[5] Ezra Abbot, *Critical Essays*, 1888, p. 210.

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6. In 1586 there was published at Rome the Sixtine edition of the Greek Old Testament. This was based on B, but the parts lacking in B were supplied from other manuscripts, which were not indicated. This text was also given in the London Polyglot, 1657, with a critical apparatus and various readings.[1]

7. The Elzevirs of Leyden issued a series of editions of the Greek New Testament from 1624 onward. The second edition of the year 1633 claimed to give the received text of the New Testament. But there was no intrinsic merit in these editions based on manuscript authority to justify this reputation.

In the eighteenth century numerous efforts were made to give better texts.

8. Mill issued his New Testament at Oxford in 1707, the text of Stephens of 1550 with a rich critical apparatus.

9. The Codex Alexandrinus was published by Grabe, Lee, and Wigan at Oxford in 1707–1720 with prolegomena.

10. Bengel issued his critical text of the New Testament in 1734. He arranged the manuscripts in two families, the African and the Asiatic.

11. Wetstein published his New Testament in 1751–1752 at Amsterdam, with prolegomena and critical apparatus from the manuscripts. He was the first to designate the manuscripts with letters and numbers.

12. Semler and his pupil Griesbach in their New Testament Criticism divided the manuscripts into three classes: the Western, the Alexandrian, and the Byzantine. Griesbach sums up the characteristics of the two older texts in the phrase "grammaticum egit alexandrinus censor, interpretem occidentalis."[2] His New Testament appeared in several editions from 1774–1806; see especially small edition of 1805.

13. Holmes and Parsons issued their Greek Old Testament at Oxford 1798–1827, citing a mass of manuscripts which they arranged in families in accordance with the great historical editions of the third century, Lucian, Hesychius and Origen. They used 20 Uncials and 277 Minuscules.[3]

[1] These are from A, D; also, according to Nestle, *l.c.*, p. 66; *H. & P.*, IV., XII., 60, 75, 86.

[2] Gregory, *Prolegomena*, pp. 187, 188; see O. von Gebhardt, *l.c.*, *s.* 44.

[3] See Nestle, *l.c.*, *s.* 66, 67.

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14. Lachmann's New Testament appeared in two editions, 1831 and 1850. He disregarded printed texts and limited his text so far as possible to the text[1] of the Eastern family of manuscripts.

Schaff compiles a number of testimonies to Lachmann, and endorses them as follows:

> Tregelles says (p. 99): "Lachmann led the way in casting aside the so-called textus receptus, and boldly placing the New Testament wholly and entirely on the basis of actual authority." Reuss calls him (*Biblioth.*, p. 239) "*vir doctissimus et κριτικώτατος.*" The conservative Dr. Scrivener (p. 422 *seq.*) depreciates his merits, for he defends, as far as possible, the traditional text. But Dr. Hort (*Gr. Test.*, II. 23) does full justice to his memory: "A new period began in 1831, when, for the first time, a text was construed directly from the ancient documents without the intervention of any printed edition, and when the first systematic attempt was made to substitute scientific method for arbitrary choice in the discrimination of various readings. In both respects the editor, Lachmann, rejoiced to declare that he was carrying out the principles and unfulfilled intentions of Bentley, as set forth in 1716 and 1720." Abbot says of Lachmann (in Schaff's *Relig. Encycl.*, I. 275): "He was the first to found a text wholly on *ancient* evidence; and his editions, to which his eminent reputation as a critic gave wide currency, especially in Germany, did much toward breaking down the superstitious reverence for the *textus receptus.*"[2]

15. Tischendorf laboured for thirty years on the text of the Greek Bible. His first edition of the New Testament appeared in 1840, of the Old Testament in 1850. His last edition of the Old Testament was issued in 1860, of the New Testament in 1864–1872. He died before completing the prolegomena. The prolegomena to the New Testament was prepared by Gregory after consulting about a thousand manuscripts, and published in 1884–1894. Tischendorf discovered the Sinaitic codex and many other valuable manuscripts and has done more for the Greek Bible than any one since Origen.

[1] He used manuscripts A, B, C, and P, Q, T, Z of the Gospels, and H of the Epistles. He called in the Western text of D, E, for Acts and G for Epistles, to decide when there was difference between the Orientals. See von Gebhardt, *l.c.*, 46.

[2] Schaff, *Companion to the Greek Testament*, 1883, pp. 256, 257.

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16. Tregelles also devoted his life to the New Testament text and published his works from 1844–1879.

17. The last and in some respects the most solid work on the text of the New Testament is the New Testament of Westcott and Hort, 1881, with an introduction which is the most valuable contribution to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament that has yet appeared; their text was prepared in accordance with the genealogical principle and on the basis of the distinction of four families of manuscripts, the preference as to age belonging to the neutral text of B.

18. The Cambridge school have also given us the best text of the Greek Old Testament in Swete's edition, 1887–1894, based on the correct text of B, which is the earliest and most important authority, with various readings from the other chief authorities. This is preparatory to a much larger work in course of preparation for the University Press by Swete, Brooke, and McLean, with a complete critical apparatus.

19. The plan of Lagarde to edit the chief ancient texts of the Old Testament was begun with his edition of the text of Lucian, but he died after completing the first volume, 1883. The more recent work in textual criticism has been in the detailed labour upon particular books, in which many scholars have done distinguished work. A most important work on the New Testament has been the editing of a number of the writings of the New Testament by Weiss, and of the Acts and Luke by Blass.

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CHAPTER IX

THE TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE

A NUMBER of early versions were made from the Hebrew text of the Old Testament and the Greek text of the New Testament.

I. THE ARAMAIC VERSIONS

The Aramaic versions began in the synagogues of Palestine, Syria, and the Orient, among the Aramaic-speaking Jews, as a necessity of worship in the synagogue, not later than the second century B.C. But the translations were oral, by scribes who had a competent knowledge of both the Hebrew and the Aramaic. Such Aramaic translations were in use in the times of Jesus and His apostles, and were doubtless used by Jesus and His apostles in their public ministry. The citations from the Old Testament in the primitive Gospels were from these Aramaic popular translations.

It is the opinion of many modern critics[1] that the citations from the Old Testament in the New Testament were never made from the Hebrew text, but always from the Greek Targum or the Aramaic Targum. These Targums were modified and improved by paraphrase and explanation from time to time before they were committed to writing. Those that have

[1] Böhl, *Forschungen nach eine Volksbibel zur Zeit Jesu*, Wien, 1873; *Alttest. Citate in Neuen Test.*, Wien, 1878; Toy, *Quotations in the New Test.*, 1884; Neubauer, *Studia Biblica.*, I. 3. Turpie, *The Old Testament in the New*, 1868, pp. 266 *seq.*, classifies the 278 citations as follows: 53 agree with both the Septuagint and the Massoretic text, 10 agree with the Massoretic text alone, 37 agree with the Septuagint, 175 agree with neither, 3 have nothing to correspond with them in the Old Testament. This is strongly in favour of the use of an Aramaic Targum by the New Testament writers.

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been preserved are in the western dialect of the Aramaic, although they were modified in their subsequent use in the synagogues of the Orientals by the introduction of an eastern Aramaic colouring. These Targums do not in all respects conform to the official text of the Sopherim. They represent in some respects an earlier text. The earliest of these Targums, called the Targum of Onkelos, is limited to the Law.[1] It is written in the Judaic dialect. It exhibits the characteristics of the Sopherim in its effort to avoid anthropomorphisms, obscene allusions, and everything unworthy of God in the Jewish religion. But it paraphrases and endeavours to explain the original.[2] A later Targum on the Law not earlier than the seventh century, called the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan, by mistake for Yerushalmi, paraphrases still more largely. It is in a later dialect of Aramaic. Another Targum Yerushalmi has been preserved only in fragments.

An early Targum on the Prophets, called the Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel, written in the Judaic dialect has been preserved. The Talmud[3] alludes to him as a pupil of Hillel and as writing a paraphrase of the Prophets. This translation has been much changed by oral transmission. It is thought by Schürer and Buhl that Joseph the Blind revised it; but Dalman and Nestle deny it. Certainly it preserves much earlier material, which is not in accord with the Hebrew text of the Sopherim or their interpretation.[4]

These Targums represent the oral translations of the Law and the Prophets, as used in the worship of the synagogue. The Targums on the other books are all much later and for private use. The Targums on Psalms and Job are in the

[1] It seems probable that the traditional Onkelos and Aquila are really the same persons, the pupil of Akiba. But there is evidently a mistake of traditional ascription. There is no similarity between the Greek version of Aquila and this Aramaic version. Its method and principles are wide apart.

[2] It was first printed in 1482 at Bologna with Hebrew text and commentary of Rashi, and frequently in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The best edition is Berliner, *Targum Onkelos*, 1884. It was translated with other Targums by Etheridge, 1862–1865.

[3] *Baba Bathra*. VIII. 134 *a*; *Megilla*, f. 3 *a*.

[4] The name of Jonathan is thought by some to be a variation of Theodotion. This Targum is printed in the Rabbinical Bibles and great Polyglots.

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manner of Jonathan, and probably by the same author. The Targum of the Proverbs is nearer to the Hebrew text. The Targum on the five Rolls is ascribed to Joseph the Blind by tradition, but really is not earlier than the eleventh century.[1] There are two Targums on Esther,[2] and a Targum on Daniel of the twelfth century.[3] A Targum on Chronicles of the ninth century[4] resembles closely the Syriac translation in the Syriac Old Testament and may have been made from it. All of the Writings have Targums except Ezra and Nehemiah; but these Targums were private and not official.[5]

II. The Syriac Bible

The earliest translation of the Greek New Testament into Syriac, known to us, is the Diatessaron of Tatian. Next to this in antiquity is apparently the text recently discovered in 1893 by Mrs. Lewis, and published by Bensly, Harris, Burkill, and Mrs. Lewis herself, 1894–1896. Still later is the Curetonian Syriac Gospels, discovered by Cureton in 1858.[6] The Old Testament was translated from the Hebrew into the Syriac for the most part in the second Christian century, and the other books of the New Testament from the Greek so far as the Syrian Church recognized the Sacred Writings as canonical. The official Syriac Bible, called the Peshitto or Peshitta,[7] was of gradual origin on the basis of these older translations.

The Syriac Bible was revised under the influence of Lucian and assimilated to his text of the Septuagint as well as the Greek New Testament. Another version was made in 508 by Philoxenis from the Greek, and this was revised by Thomas of Haraklea in 616 A.D.

[1] These Targums are in the Rabbinical Bibles and great Polyglots.

[2] The earliest of these is in Walton's Polyglot; the other was printed by Francis Taylor, London, 1655.

[3] It is in manuscript in the National Library at Paris.

[4] It was published by Beck, Augsburg, 1680–1683.

[5] Buhl, *l.c.*, *s.* 183.

[6] Cureton, *Remains of a very Ancient Recension of the Four Gospels in Syriac*, London, 1858.

[7] Peshitto is the western Syriac, Peshitta the eastern Syriac, pronunciation.

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III. The Latin Vulgate

Jerome, the greatest biblical scholar of ancient times, devoted a large portion of his life to the revision of the Latin Bible. At first he made a revision of the Italian Latin version used in Rome. He revised the Psalter, and it was used in the Roman churches in Venice until recent times. It is still used in Milan as the Roman Psalter. He made a second revision, which has been used in the Church of France as the Gallican Psalter. He finally undertook to make a new translation from the Hebrew text under the help of Bar Anina, a learned Jew. The Greek versions, especially that of Symmachus, were kept in view. The Hebrew text used by him was the text of the Sopherim. The version was begun in 390 and completed in 405 A.D. The version of Jerome supplanted the older Latin versions; but not without mixture with them in the ecclesiastical manuscripts which have come down to us in the uses of the Latin Church. He did not translate the Apocrypha. These came from the old versions.

The earliest manuscript of the Vulgate is the Codex Amiatinus, prepared shortly before 716 A.D.,[1] in the Laurentian Library, Florence. The Codex Toletanus at Toledo is said to belong to the eighth century. The Codex Fuldensis of the New Testament, in the abbey of Fuldo, dates from 546.[2] The Vulgate was first printed in 1450 at Mainz, and in many subsequent incunabula editions, said to be more than two hundred in number, before 1517 A.D. The first critical edition is in the Complutensian Polyglot, 1517. Protestant editions were issued by Andreas Osiander in 1522, and by Robert Stephens at Paris, 1523 *seq.*, and much improved in 1540. The Tridentine Council, in 1546, declared the Vulgate to be the official text of the Bible. Efforts were then made to prepare an official text. The Sixtine edition was issued in 1590, under the patronage of Pope Sixtus V., as the official edition. This was withdrawn after the death of the pope, and a new text undertaken under the advice of Bellarmin, and issued in 1592 as the Clementine

[1] See *Studia Biblica*, II. pp. 273, 324.
[2] Schaff, *Companion to the Greek Testament*, p. 151.

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text under Clement VIII., and again in 1593, and finally in a more correct form in 1598.

A modern edition of the Vulgate was published in 1822 by Leander Van Ess, who devoted many years to a critical study of it.[1]

IV. The Arabic Version

The Arabic version was made in the tenth century from the Hebrew text of the Old Testament by Rabbi Saadia ha Gaon (942†). The author was a fine Hebrew and Arabic scholar, and his translation is excellent. At times it paraphrases after the manner of the Targums.[2]

V. A Persian Version

A Persian version of the Law was made from the Massoretic Hebrew text in the first half of the sixteenth century by Rabbi Jacob Tawus. It is literal and follows closely the revisions of Aquila and Saadia. It is in the London Polyglot.

VI. English Versions

The Anglo-Saxon versions and the early English versions of Wicklif and the Poor Friars were made from the Latin Vulgate; but during the period of the Reformation, the English Protestant Reformer, William Tyndale, translated from the Massoretic Hebrew text and the Greek New Testament. He translated the New Testament in 1524–1525. He then translated the Law, which was published in 1530, and the book of Joshua in 1531. He probably translated other portions of the Old Testament also before his death, but they were not published. Miles Coverdale translated the whole Bible from the Latin,

[1] Van Ess, *Pragm. Krit. Gesch. d. Vulg.*, Tübingen, 1824; Kaulen, *Gesch. der Vulg.*, Mainz, 1868.

[2] Another Arabic version was made in the eleventh century, but it has been interpolated from the Syriac by a Christian hand. It has been preserved only in the book of Joshua and 1 K. 12 to 2 K. 12^{16}, and Neh. 1–9^{27}. How much more of it there was we know not. There is also a translation of the Law by an African Jew of the thirteenth century, published by Erpenius in 1622.

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the German of Luther, and the Zurich Bible, under the authority of Cromwell, and it was published in 1535.

John Rogers (pseudo-Thomas Matthew) was the literary executor of Tyndale. He published a folio edition of the Bible in 1537. He used Tyndale for the Pentateuch, and Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, and 1 Chronicles, and for the New Testament; but the rest of the Bible was Coverdale's.

Richard Taverner, under the advice of Cromwell, undertook to revise the English Bible, which he did in 1539. He returns to the Vulgate in the Old Testament, but in the New Testament he is more faithful to the original Greek.

Coverdale, under the instruction of Cromwell, undertook another revision and produced what is known as the Great Bible, which was published in 1539. The second edition, 1540, had a preface by Cranmer. This became the authorized version and remained such for twenty-eight years. The larger part of the Scriptures in the Prayer Book of 1549–1552 are from this Bible.

The English exiles at Geneva, William Whittingham, Thomas Sampson, Anthony Gilby, and others, made the so-called Geneva Version. The New Testament was translated from the original Greek by Whittingham in 1557. It is a revision of Tyndale under the influence of Beza. The Old Testament was translated from the Hebrew by Sampson, Gilby, and others, and was published in 1560. This became the standard Bible for the Puritan ministers of England until the version of King James took its place.

Archbishop Parker undertook a new revision, and the work was distributed among a number of bishops, deans, and scholars. It was at last finished and published in 1568. It was revised again in 1572, and became known as the Bishops' Bible.

The Roman Catholics undertook an English version based on the Vulgate but keeping the other versions in view. The New Testament appeared in 1582 at Rheims, the Old Testament in 1609 at Douay.

And so three great parties in England were represented by three English versions of the Bible.

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King James, in accordance with the petition of the Puritans at the Hampton Court Conference in 1604, authorized a new version. Fifty-four scholars were appointed, divided into six companies, to do the work. Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, and Dr. Miles Smith were the final revisers. It was published in 1611, and eventually drove all the Protestant versions from the field. They used Beza's Greek Testament of 1589. It remains the common version of the English-speaking Protestants until the present time.[1]

An Anglo-American revision was made by a large company of scholars representing the different Protestant religious bodies of Great Britain and America. It was completed and published, the New Testament in 1881, the Old Testament in 1884. The New Testament revision was based on the use of all the resources of modern Textual Criticism. The Old Testament revision was based on the currently used Massoretic text, without any attempt to use the resources of the modern Textual Criticism of the Old Testament. It is satisfying neither to the people, who are attached to the common version and see no sufficient reason for abandoning it, nor to scholars, who are displeased with the excessive conservatism and pedantry which characterize it, especially in the Old Testament. It is very desirable that, when the next revision takes place, Roman Catholics and Protestants may unite in it.

VII. Other Versions

(1) *The German Bible.*

German Bibles were among the first books to appear from the press after the invention of printing. Fourteen editions of the High German Bible appeared between 1466 and 1518, besides four editions of the Low German Bible. These were all translations from the Latin Vulgate. Martin Luther made the Bible used by the German people since the Reformation. He issued the New Testament in 1522, the Pentateuch in 1523, and finally completed the Bible in 1534. Many subsequent editions were revised by him, until the tenth, 1544–1545. Luther

[1] Schaff, *Companion to the Greek Testament*, pp. 312 *seq.*

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translated from the Hebrew Old Testament, using the text of Brescia, and from the Greek New Testament, using the edition of Erasmus of 1519.[1] The Roman Catholics issued several rival German Bibles: Emser, in 1527; Eck, in 1537; and the Dominican, Dietenberger, in 1534. This edition was subsequently revised by Ulenberg, in 1630, and at Mainz in 1662, and became the German Catholic Bible. In 1863, at Eisenach, the Evangelical Church Diet appointed a Commission for the revision of Luther's Bible. The New Testament appeared at Halle in 1867, the revised edition in 1870. The *Probebibel* was published in 1883, the revision was finished in 1892. The best German translation of the New Testament is that of Weizsäcker. Kautzsch has recently issued an excellent translation of the Old Testament with critical notes, 2te Aufl., 1896.

(2) *French Versions.*

Lefèvre d'Etaples made a French Protestant version of the Bible, which was published at Antwerp in 1530; but the version of Olivetan, published in 1535 at Neufchâtel and corrected by Calvin, obtained wider recognition. Under the influence of Calvin, the pastors of Geneva undertook a revision under the leadership of Beza, and in 1588 issued a version which maintained its place until the present day. But it is well-nigh supplanted now by a new translation from the original Greek and Hebrew by Dr. Louis Segond. The Old Testament was published in 1874, the New Testament in 1879.

(3) *Dutch Versions.*

A Dutch translation from Luther and the Cologne Bible was issued in 1526 by Jacob van Liesveldt. Van Uttenhove made a new translation from Luther's Bible with the help of Olivetan's, and published it in 1556. The States-General of Holland authorized a new translation in 1624, which was completed and published in 1637. It was called the States Bible, and has held its place until the present time. The new translation authorized by the General Synod in 1854, and published so far as the New Testament is concerned in 1867, has not displaced it.

(4) *Other Translations.*

The Bible was also translated into Italian, Danish, Swedish,

[1] See pp. 186, 206.

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and other modern languages before the Reformation. In the era of the Reformation it was translated into all the European languages. In more recent years, through the labours of foreign missions, it has been translated into the greater part of the known languages of the world. But none of these translations have any value for the purposes of the criticism of the text of Holy Scripture.

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CHAPTER X

TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF HOLY SCRIPTURE

We should not hesitate to recognize that a certain kind of Textual Criticism was used in the most ancient times by the Sopherim and Massorites, who have transmitted to us the traditional Hebrew text of the Old Testament. The work of Origen, Lucian, Hesychius, and Jerome, upon the Greek Bible was also Textual Criticism, so far as they earnestly and industriously sought to get the best text of Holy Scripture. But all this work was carried on in a crude fashion, and without definite principles of Textual Criticism. Biblical Textual Criticism began its work in the era of the Reformation.

I. Textual Criticism at the Reformation

Erasmus led the movement, so far as the Greek Bible is concerned. In 1505 he edited Valla's *Annotations to the New Testament*, in the preface of which he urges a return to the original Greek text and its grammatical exposition. In 1516 he issued his Greek New Testament. This passed through many editions and became the basis for the study of the Greek New Testament among Protestants. An impulse to sound criticism among Roman Catholics had also been given by the Complutensian Polyglot of Cardinal Ximenes.

The Protestant Reformers had given their chief attention to the criticism of the Canon, the establishment of the sole authority of the Scripture, and to its proper interpretation, but they had not altogether overlooked the criticism of the text. With reference to the Old Testament, they had been chiefly influenced by two Jewish scholars, the one Elias Levita, who lived and died in the Jewish faith, the other Jacob ben Chayim,

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who became a Christian. Chayim edited the second edition of Bomberg's Rabbinical Bible and issued an elaborate introduction to it. He also edited, for the first time, the *Massora*. It was a common opinion among the Jews that the vowel points and accents of the Hebrew Scriptures came down from Ezra, and even Moses and Adam. Levita explodes these traditions by the following simple line of argument:

> "The vowel points and the accents did not exist either before Ezra or in the time of Ezra or after Ezra till the close of the Talmud. And I shall prove this with clear and conclusive evidence. (1) In all the writings of our Rabbins of blessed memory whether the Talmud, or the Hagadah, or the Midrash, there is not to be found any mention whatever of or any allusion to the vowel points or accents." (2) and (3) The Talmud in its use of the Bible discusses how the words should be read and how divided. This is inconsistent with an accented official text. (4) "Almost all the names of both the vowel points and the accents are not Hebrew, but Aramean and Babylonian."[1]

The Reformers rejected the inspiration of the Massoretic traditional pointing and only accepted the unpointed text. Luther does not hesitate to speak of the points as new human inventions about which he does not trouble himself, and says, "I often utter words which strongly oppose these points," and "they are most assuredly not to be preferred to the simple, correct, and grammatical sense."[2] He goes to work with the best text he can find to give the Word of God to the people. So Calvin[3] acknowledged that they were the result of great diligence and sound tradition, yet to be used with care and selection. Zwingli gave great value to the Greek and Latin versions and disputed the Massoretic signs.[4]

It is astonishing how far post Reformation Swiss Protestant divines allowed themselves to drift away from this position, and how greatly they entangled themselves once more in the bonds of Rabbinical traditionalism. This was chiefly due to

[1] Levita, *Massoreth Ha-Massoreth*, edited by Ginsburg, pp. 127 *seq.* London, 1867.

[2] *Com. on Gen.* 47^{21}; *on Is.* 9^{6}.

[3] *Com. on. Zech.* 11^{7}.

[4] *Opera ed.* Schult., V. pp. 556 *seq.*

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another Jewish scholar, Azzariah de Rossi,[1] who claims, to use the concise statement of Dr. Ginsburg:[2]

> "That as to the origin and development of the vowels their force and virtue were invented by, or communicated to, Adam, in Paradise; transmitted to and by Moses; that they had been partially forgotten, and their pronunciation vitiated during the Babylonian captivity; that they had been restored by Ezra, but that they had been forgotten again in the wars and struggles during and after the destruction of the second temple; and that the Massorites, after the close of the Talmud, revised the system, and permanently fixed the pronunciation by the contrivance of the present signs. This accounts for the fact that the present vowel points are not mentioned in the Talmud. The reason why Moses did not punctuate the copy of the law which he wrote, is that its import should not be understood without oral tradition. Besides, as the law has seventy different meanings, the writing of it, without points, greatly aids to obtain these various interpretations; whereas the affixing of the vowel signs would preclude all permutations and transpositions, and greatly restrict the sense by fixing the pronunciation."

His principal reliance was upon some passages of the book *Zohar* and other cabalistic writings, which he claimed to be older than the Mishna, but which have since been shown to be greatly interpolated and of questionable antiquity.[3]

Relying upon these, the elder Buxtorf, with his great authority, misled a large number of the most prominent of the Reformed divines of the continent to maintain the opinion of the divine origin and authority of the Massoretic vowel points and accents.[4] In England, Fulke,[5] Broughton,[6] and Lightfoot[7] adopted the same opinion. These Rabbinical scholars exerted, in this respect, a disastrous influence upon the study of the Old Testament.

[1] *The Light of the Eyes*, מאור עינים, 1574–1575, III. 59.

[2] *Life of Elias Levita*, in connection with his edition of Levita's *Massoreth Ha-Massoreth*, London, 1867, p. 53.

[3] Ginsburg in *l.c.*, p. 52; Wogue, *Histoire de la Bible*, Paris, 1881, p. 121.

[4] *Tiberius sive Commentarius Masorethicus*, Basle, 1620.

[5] *A Defence of the Sincere and True Translations of the Holy Scriptures into the English Tongue*, etc., 1583; Parker Society edition, 1843, pp. 55, 578.

[6] *Daniel: his Chaldee Visions and his Hebrew*, London, 1597, on Chap. 9^{26}.

[7] *Chorographical Century*, c. 81; *Works*, Pitman's edition, 1823, Vol. IX. pp. 150 *seq.*

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II. Textual Criticism in the Seventeenth Century

The critical principle reasserted itself mightily through Ludwig Cappellus, of the French school of Saumur, where a freer type of theology had maintained itself. A new impulse to Hebrew scholarship had been given by Amira, Gabriel Sionita, and other Maronites, who brought a wealth of Oriental learning to the attention of Christian scholars. Pocock journeyed to the East, and returned with rich spoils of Arabic literature. France, Holland, and England vied with one another in their use of these literary treasures, and urged them for the study of the Hebrew Scriptures over against the Rabbinical tradition. Erpenius in Holland, the great Arabist, was the teacher of Cappellus, and first introduced his work to the public. Cappellus fell back on the views of Elias Levita, the teacher of the Protestant Reformers, and of these Reformers themselves; and denied the inspiration of the Hebrew vowel points and accents, and the common Massoretic text; and insisted upon its revision, through the comparison of ancient versions.[1] Cappellus was sustained by the French theologians generally, even by Rivetus, also by Cocceius, the father of the Federal school in Holland, who first gave the author's name to the public, and by the body of English critics.[2]

In this connection a series of great Polyglots appeared, beginning with the Antwerp of the Jesuit, Arias Montanus, assisted by And. Masius, Fabricus Boderianus, and Franz Rapheleng;[3] followed by the Paris Polyglot of Michael de Jay,[4] edited by Morinus and Gabriel Sionita; and culminating in the London Polyglot of Brian Walton, in which he was aided by Ed. Castle, Ed. Pocock, Thos. Hyde, and others;[5] the greatest critical achievement of the seventeenth century, which remains as the classic basis for the comparative study of versions until the present day.

[1] His work was published anonymously in 1624 at Leyden under the title *Arcanum punctuationis revelatum*, though completed in 1621.

[2] Comp. Schnedermann, *Die Controverse des Lud. Cappellus mit den Buxtorfen*, Leipzig, 1879.

[3] *Biblia Regia*, 8 vols. folio, 1569–1572.

[4] 1629–1645, 10 vols. folio.

[5] 6 vols. folio, 1657.

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The work of Cappellus remained unanswered, and worked powerfully until 1648. In the meantime the Roman Catholic Frenchman, Morinus, taking the same position as Cappellus, pressed it in order to show the need of Church authority and tradition.[1] This greatly complicated the discussion by making the view a basis for an attack on the Protestant position. The younger Buxtorf was stirred up to maintain the traditional Rabbinical position against Cappellus.[2] The three universities of Sedan, Geneva, and Leyden were so aroused against Cappellus that they refused to allow the publication of his great work, *Critica Sacra*, which, however, appeared in 1650, the first of a series of corresponding productions.[3] Heidegger and Turretine rallied the universities of Zurich, Geneva, and Basle to the Zurich Consensus, which was adopted in 1675, against all the distinguishing doctrines of the school of Saumur, and the more liberal type of Calvinism, asserting for the first and only time in the symbols of any Christian communion the doctrine of *verbal* inspiration, together with the inspiration of accents and points.

Thus the formal principle of Protestantism was straitened, and its vital power destroyed by the erection of dogmatic barriers against Biblical Criticism. "They forgot that they by this standpoint again made Christian faith entirely dependent on tradition; yes, with respect to the Old Testament, on the synagogue."[4]

The controversy between Brian Walton and John Owen is instructive just here. John Owen had prepared a tract[5] in which he takes this position: "Nor is it enough to satisfy us that the doctrines mentioned are preserved entire; every tittle and iota in the Word of God must come under our consideration, as being as such from God."[6]

Before the tract was issued he was confronted by the prolegomena to Walton's *Biblia Polyglotta*, which, he perceived,

[1] *Exercitationes biblicæ*, 1633.
[2] *Tract. de punct. vocal. et accent. in libr. V., T., heb. origine antiq.*, 1648.
[3] See Tholuck, *Akadem. Leben*, II. p. 332.
[4] Dorner, *Gesch. Prot. Theologie*, p. 451.
[5] *The Divine Original, Authority, and Self-evidencing Light and Purity of the Scriptures.*
[6] *Works*, XVI. p. 303.

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undermined his theory of inspiration; and he therefore added an appendix, in which he maintains that:

"The Scriptures of the Old and New Testament were immediately and entirely given out by God himself, His mind being in them represented unto us without the least interveniency of such mediums and ways as were capable of giving change or alteration to the least iota or syllable."[1]

Brian Walton replies to him:

"For when at the beginning of the Reformation, divers questions arose about the Scriptures and the Church; the Romanists observing that the punctuation of the Hebrew text was an invention of the Masorites, they thereupon inferred that the text without the points might be taken in divers senses, and that none was tyed to the reading of the Rabbins, and therefore concluded that the Scripture is ambiguous and doubtful without the interpretation and testimony of the Church, so that all must flee to the authority of the Church and depend upon her for the true sense and meaning of the Scriptures. On the other side, some Protestants, fearing that some advantage might be given to the *Romanists* by this *concession*, and not considering how the *certainty* of the *Scriptures* might well be maintained though the Text were *unpointed*, instead of denying the *consequence*, which they might well have done, thought fit rather to deny the *assumption*, and to maintain that the *points* were of *Divine original*, whereby they involved themselves in extreme labyrinths, engaging themselves in defence of that which might be easily proved to be false, and thereby wronged the cause which they seemed to defend. Others, therefore, of more *learning* and *judgment* knowing that this *position of the divine original* of the *points* could not be made good; and that the truth needed not the patronage of an *untruth*, would not engage themselves therein, but granted it to be true, that the *points* were invented by the *Rabbins*, yet denied the *consequence*, maintaining, notwithstanding, that the reading and sense of the text might be *certain* without *punctuation*, and that therefore the *Scriptures* did not at all depend upon the authority of the *Church:* and of this judgment were the chief *Protestant Divines*, and greatest *linguists* that then were, or have been since in the *Christian World*, such as I named before; Luther, Zwinglius, Calvin, Beza, Musculus, Brentius, Pellicane, Oecolampadius, Mercer, Piscator, P. Phagius, Dru-

[1] *Of the Integrity and Purity of the Hebrew Text of the Scriptures, with Considerations of the Prolegomena and Appendix to the Late "Biblia Polyglotta,"* Oxford, 1659.

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sius, Schindler, Martinius, Scaliger, De Dieu, Casaubon, Erpenius, Sixt. Amana, Jac. and Ludov. Capellus, Grotius, etc. — among ourselves, Archbishop Ussher, Bishop Prideaux, Mr. Mead, Mr. Selden, and innumerable others, whom I forbear to name, who conceived it would nothing disadvantage the cause, to yield that proposition, for that they could still make it good, that the Scripture was in itself a *sufficient* and *certain* rule for faith and life, not depending upon any human authority to support it." [1]

We have quoted this extract at length for the light it casts upon the struggle of criticism at the time. John Owen, honoured as a preacher and dogmatic writer, but certainly no exegete, had spun a theory of inspiration after the *a priori* scholastic method, and with it did battle against the great Polyglot. It was a Quixotic attempt, and resulted in ridiculous failure. His dogma is crushed as a shell in the grasp of a giant. The indignation of Walton burns hot against this wanton and unreasoning attack. But he consoled himself with the opening reflection that Origen's Hexapla, Jerome's Vulgate, the Complutensian Polyglot, Erasmus' Greek Testament, the Antwerp and Paris Polyglots, had all in turn been assailed by those whose theories and dogmas had been threatened or overturned by a scholarly induction of facts..

The theory of the scholastics prevailed but for a brief period in Switzerland, where it was overthrown by the reaction under the leadership of the younger Turretine. The theory of John Owen did not influence the divines who under the authority of the British Parliament constructed the Westminster Confession of Faith:

"In fact, it was not till several years after the Confession was completed, and the star of Owen was in the ascendant, that under the spell of a genius and learning only second to Calvin, English Puritanism so generally identified itself with what is termed his less liberal view." [2]

Owen's type of theology worked in the doctrine of inspiration, as well as in other dogmas, to the detriment of the simpler and more evangelical Westminster theology; and in the latter

[1] *The Considerator Considered*, London, 1659, pp. 220 *seq.*
[2] Mitchell, *Minutes of Westminster Assembly*, p. xx.

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part of the seventeenth century gave Puritan theology a scholastic type which it did not possess before. But it did not prevent such representative Presbyterians as Matthew Poole, Edmund Calamy, and the Cambridge men, with Baxter, from taking the more scholarly position. The critics of the Reformed Church produced masterpieces of biblical learning, which have been the pride and boast of the Reformed Churches to the present. Like Cappellus, they delighted in the name *critical*, and were not afraid of it. John Pearson, Anton Scattergood, Henry Gouldman, and Richard Pearson,[1] and above all Matthew Poole, published critical works of great and abiding merit.[2]

III. Textual Criticism in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

Biblical Criticism continued in England till the midst of the eighteenth century. Mill issued his critical New Testament in 1707, the fruit of great industry, and was assailed by unthinking men who preferred pious ignorance to a correct New Testament.[3] But Richard Bentley espoused the cause of his friend with invincible arguments, and he himself spent many years in the collection of manuscripts. He died leaving his magnificent work incomplete, and his plans to be carried out by foreign scholars.

> For "now original research in the science of Biblical Criticism, so far as the New Testament is concerned, seems to have left the shores of England to return no more for upwards of a century; and we must look to Germany if we wish to trace the further progress of investigations which our countrymen had so auspiciously begun."[4]

Bishop Lowth did for the Old Testament what Bentley did for the New. In his works[5] he called the attention of scholars to the necessity of emendation of the Massoretic text, and

[1] *Critici Sacri*, 9 vols. folio, 1660.
[2] *Synopsis Criticorum*, 5 vols. folio, 1669.
[3] Scrivener, *Introduction to the Criticism of the N. T.*, 2d ed. 1874, p. 400.
[4] Scrivener in *l.c.*, p. 402.
[5] *De Sacra Poesi Hebræorum*, 1753, and *Isaiah: A New Translation, with a Preliminary Dissertation and Notes*, 1778, 2d ed., 1779.

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encouraged Kennicott to collate the manuscripts of the Old Testament, which he did, publishing the result in a monumental work in 1776–1780.[1] This was preceded by an introductory work in 1753–1759.[2]

Bishop Lowth, with his fine æsthetic sense and insight into the principles of Hebrew poetry, saw and stated the truth:

> "If it be asked, what then is the real condition of the present Hebrew Text; and of what sort, and in what number, are the mistakes which we must acknowledge to be found in it: it is answered, that the condition of the Hebrew Text is such, as from the nature of the thing, the antiquity of the writings themselves, the want of due care, or critical skill (in which latter at least the Jews have been exceedingly deficient), might in all reason have been expected, that the mistakes are frequent, and of various kinds; of letters, words, and sentences; by variation, omission, transposition; such as often injure the beauty and elegance, embarrass the construction, alter or obscure the sense, and sometimes render it quite unintelligible. If it be objected that a concession so large as this is, tends to invalidate the authority of Scripture; that it gives up in effect the certainty and authenticity of the doctrines contained in it, and exposes our religion naked and defenceless to the assaults of its enemies: this, I think, is a vain and groundless apprehension. . . . Important and fundamental doctrines do not wholly depend on single passages; and universal harmony runs through the Holy Scriptures; the parts mutually support each other, and supply one another's deficiencies and obscurities. Superficial damages and partial defects may greatly diminish the beauty of the edifice, without injuring its strength and bringing on utter ruin and destruction.[3]

After this splendid beginning, Old Testament criticism followed its New Testament sister to the continent of Europe and remained absent until our own day.

On the continent the work of Mill was carried on by J. A. Bengel,[4] J. C. Wetstein,[5] J. J. Griesbach,[6] J. M. A. Scholz,[7]

[1] *Vetus Test. Heb. cum var. lectionibus*, 2 Tom., Oxford.

[2] *The State of the Printed Hebrew Text of the Old Testament considered*, 2 vols. 8vo, Oxford.

[3] Lowth, *Isaiah*, 2d ed., London, 1779, pp. lix., lx.

[4] *Prodromus, N. T. Gr.*, 1725. *Novum Test.*, 1734.

[5] *New Test. Gr. cum lectionibus variantibus Codicum*, etc., Amst., 1751–1752.

[6] *Symbolæ Criticæ*, 2 Tom., 1785–1793.

[7] *Bib. krit. Reise Leipzig*, 1823; *N.T. Græce*, 2 Bd., Leipzig, 1830–1836.

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C. Lachmann,[1] culminating in Const. Tischendorf, who edited the chief uncial authorities, discovered and edited the *Codex Sinaiticus*,[2] and issued numerous editions of the New Testament, the earliest in 1841. He crowned his work with the eighth critical edition of the New Testament,[3] which he lived to complete, but had to leave the prolegomena to an American scholar, who succeeded him in his chair at Leipzig and completed his work in 1884–1894.

In the Old Testament, De Rossi carried on the work of Kennicott.[4] Little has been done since his day until recent times, when Baer united with Delitzsch in issuing in parts a revised Massoretic text, 1869–1895; Hermann Strack examined the recently discovered Oriental manuscripts, the chief of which is the St. Petersburg codex of the Prophets,[5] and Frensdorf undertook the production of the *Massora Magna*.[6] Within recent times Textual Criticism has taken strong hold again in England. S. P. Tregelles,[7] F. H. Scrivener,[8] B. F. Westcott, and F. J. A. Hort[9] have advanced the Textual Criticism of the New Testament beyond the mark reached by continental scholars. The text of Westcott and Hort has become the standard text of the Greek Testament for Great Britain and America, and the principles of the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, as stated by them, are regarded as the basis for further advance by most English-speaking scholars. In Old Testament criticism England is advancing to the front rank. The work of Ginsburg on the Massora[10] is

[1] *Novum Test. Græce et Latine*, 2 Bd., Berlin, 1842–1850.

[2] *Bibliorum Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus*, St. Petersburg, 1862; *Die Sinaibibel, Ihre Entdeckung, Herausgabe und Erwerbung*, Leipzig, 1871.

[3] *Novum Testamentum Græce. Editio octava: Critica Major*, Lipsiae, 1869–1872.

[4] *Variæ lectiones Vet. Test.*, 4 Tom., Parm., 1784–1788.

[5] *Prophetarum Posteriorum Codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus*, Petropoli, 1876.

[6] *Die Massora Magna;* Erster Theil, Massoretisches Wörterbuch, Hanover und Leipzig, 1876.

[7] *The Greek New Testament edited from Ancient Authorities*, etc., 4to, 1857–1872, pp. 1017.

[8] *Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, 3d ed., 1883.

[9] *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, Vol. II. Introduction and Appendix. N.Y., 1882.

[10] *The Massorah compiled from Manuscripts Alphabetically and Lexically*

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the greatest achievement since the unpublished work of Elias Levita. And his edition of the Massoretic text of the Old Testament will probably ere long supplant all others.

The Textual Criticism of the Old Testament lagged behind the New Testament.[1] And the reason of it is, that scholars long hesitated to go back of the Massoretic text.

Keil in Germany for a long time resisted the advance of Textual Criticism, and in his anxiety to maintain the present Massoretic text did not hesitate to charge the Septuagint version with the carelessness and caprice of transcribers and an uncritical and wanton passion for emendation. W. H. Green of Princeton and his school represent the same spirit of hostility to Textual Criticism in the United States of America. The English revisers of the Old Testament placed the results of Textual Criticism in the margin of their revision, but the American revisers, under the headship of W. H. Green, objected to all Textual Criticism whatever, and remonstrated against any, even in the margin. More recently Old Testament scholars have urged more strongly the application of Textual Criticism to the Old Testament. Grätz, the Jewish scholar, rightly says that we ought not to speak of a Massoretic text that has been made sure to us, but rather of different schools of Massorites, and follow their example and remove impossible readings from the text.[2]

There can be no doubt, as Robertson Smith states: "It has gradually become clear to the vast majority of conscientious students that the Septuagint is really of the greatest value as a witness to the early state of the text."[3] Bishop Lowth already[4] calls the Massoretic text

> "The Jews' interpretation of the Old Testament." "We do not deny the usefulness of this interpretation, nor would we be thought to detract from its merits by setting it in this light; it is

arranged, Vols. I. and II., Aleph-Tav, London, 1880–1883; Vol. III., supplementary 1885; Vol. IV., promised soon.

[1] Davidson, *Treatise of Biblical Criticism*, Boston, 1853, I. pp. 160 *seq.*

[2] *Krit. Com. zu den Psalmen nebst Text und Uebersetzung*, Breslau, I., 1882, pp. 118 *seq.*

[3] *Old Test. in Jewish Church*, p. 86.

[4] In his *Preliminary Dissert. to Isaiah*, 2d ed., London, 1779, p. lv.

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perhaps, upon the whole, preferable to any one of the ancient versions; it has probably the great advantage of having been formed upon a traditionary explanation of the text and of being generally agreeable to that sense of Scripture which passed current and was commonly received by the Jewish nation in ancient times: and it has certainly been of great service to the moderns in leading them into the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue. But they would have made a much better use of it, and a greater progress in the explication of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, had they consulted it, without absolutely submitting to its authority; had they considered it as an assistant, not as an infallible guide."

Probably few scholars would go so far as this, yet there is a strong tendency in that direction. The fact that the New Testament does not base its citations upon the original Hebrew text in literal quotation, but uses ordinarily the Septuagint and sometimes Aramaic Targums with the utmost freedom, has ever given trouble to the apologist. Richard Baxter meets it in this way:

"But one instance I more doubt of myself, which is, when Christ and his apostles do oft use the Septuagint in their citations out of the Old Testament, whether it be alwaies their meaning to justifie each *translation and particle of sense*, as the Word of God and rightly done; or only to use that as tolerable and containing the main truth intended which was then in use among the Jews, and therefore understood by them; and so best to the auditors. And also whether every citation of number or genealogies from the Septuagint, intended an approbation of it in the very points it differeth from the Hebrew copies." [1]

The study of the text of the Old Testament has been advanced in recent years by a great number of scholars in Germany, France, Switzerland, Holland, Austria, Italy, Great Britain, and America; scholars of all faiths, Jew and Christian, Roman Catholic and Protestant. They have vied with one another in this fundamental work of biblical study. It has now become practically impossible for any scholarly work to be done on the Old Testament without the use of all the resources of Textual Criticism for a sure foundation.

[1] *More Reasons*, 1672, p. 49; see also p. 45.

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IV. The Application of Textual Criticism to Holy Scripture

Biblical Textual Criticism derives from general Textual Criticism its principles and methods of work. These differ in their application to the Bible only as there are special circumstances connected with the biblical writings that differ from those of other writings. As Hort says:

> "The leading principles of textual criticism are identical for all writings whatever. Differences in application arise only from differences in the amount, variety, and quality of evidence: no method is ever inapplicable except through defectiveness of evidence."[1]

V. The Genealogical Principle

The application of the genealogical principle to the text of the Bible results in the following outline of work, so far as the Hebrew Bible is concerned.

1. The first effort must be to ascertain the text of Ben Asher of the tenth Christian century. All the Palestinian manuscripts known to us, and all the citations in Jewish writers since that date, guide to this result. The recent printed texts of Baer and Delitzsch and of Ginsburg, although rivals, agree in the main in giving this text in a reliable form.

2. We next have to determine the official text of the Sopherim of the second Christian century. Starting with the text of Ben Asher, which is the main stock, we have to bring into consideration the three streams of Massoretic tradition, the Palestinian, the Babylonian, and the Karaite, and trace them all back to their common parent. We may thus classify the Rabbinical writings from the second to the tenth century and arrange them in families and by age, in order to use their citations. The most important works to be considered are the Talmuds and the Midrashim.

The most important of the Rabbinical writings are the Talmuds,—the Babylonian and the Palestinian. These contain

[1] Westcott and Hort, *New Testament in the Original Greek*, Introduction, 1882, p. 19.

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the traditional interpretation of the Pentateuch in several layers.

(*a*) The most important of these is the *Mishna*,[1] codified by Rabbi Jehuda, but completed by his immediate disciples. It was handed down as a compact body of tradition from the close of the second century A.D. but was not committed to writing until the rest of the Talmud was completed, in the sixth century.[2]

(*b*) The next in importance are the *Baraithoth*.[3] These are external Mishnayoth other than those contained in the code of Rabbi Jehuda. These are of uncertain date; some of them older than the Mishna of Rabbi Jehuda, some of them contemporary, some more recent, probably none later than the third century. These are cited in the Talmud by the formulas "Our Rabbins teach," "It is taught."[4] These Baraithoth come from private rabbins such as R. Yanai, R. Chiya, Bar Kappara. The rabbins Hillel, Shammai, and Akiba made earlier collec-

[1] מִשְׁנָה = *δευτέρωσις*, repetition of the Law.

[2] This has been published apart in various editions; *e.g.* 1 vol. folio, Naples, 1492; *Surenhusius*, 6 vols. folio, Amsterdam, 1698–1703; *Jost*, 6 thle, Berlin, 1832–1834; *Sittenfeld*, 6 thle, Berlin, 1863, and others. It is composed of six סדרים, which are subdivided into 11 + 12 + 7 + 10 + 11 + 12 = 63 tracts. The most famous of these is the Pirqe Aboth, a collection of sentences or sayings of the Fathers from the second century B.C. to the second century A.D.

[3] בריתא, pl. בריתות. To distinguish between the *Mishna* of Rabbi Jehuda and all the other elements as *Gemara*, is incorrect and misleading unless we use these terms in a purely formal sense, and distinguish in the Gemara the *Mishnaic* elements from the commentary of the *Gemara* upon them. Thus Emanuel Deutsch, in his *Literary Remains* (p. 40): "Jehuda the 'Redactor' had excluded all but the best authenticated traditions, as well as all discussion and exegesis, unless where particularly necessary. The vast mass of these materials was now also collected as a sort of apocryphal oral code. We have, dating a few generations after the Redaction of the *official Mishna*, a so-called external *Mishna* (*Baraitha*); further, the discussions and additions belonging by rights to the *Mishna* called *Tosephta* (Supplement); and finally, the exegesis and methodology of the *Halacha* (*Sifri*, *Sifra*, *Mechilta*), much of which was afterwards introduced into the Talmud." So Levy in his *Neu Hebraisches und Chaldaisches Wörterbuch* (I. 260) defines: "בריתא as properly that which is outside of the Canon (we must supply מתניתא to בריתא); that is, every *Mishna* (or *Halacha*, doctrine) which was not taken up into the collection of the Mishna by R. Jehuda Hanasi, and many of which collected separately by his later contemporaries are contained in different compendiums." See Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, IV. 232 *f.*; Wogue, *Histoire de l'Exégèse Biblique*, 1881, p. 185.

[4] One of the most valuable of these is the בריתא with reference to the order of the books of the Old Testament. (See p. 252.)

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tions, but these passed over into the Mishna of Rabbi Jehuda and the Baraithoth. The language of the Mishna and Baraitha is late Hebrew.

(*c*) The third in importance in the Talmuds is the *Tosephtoth*,[1] or *additions*. There are fifty-two of these sections, whose redaction is also referred to the third century. The language of these is Hebrew, but more coloured with Aramaic.[2]

(*d*) *The Gemara*[3] is a commentary on the earlier elements of the Talmud.[4] There are two of these which make up the two Talmuds, the Babylonian and the Jerusalem.

The Jerusalem Gemara is the product of the Rabbinical school of Tiberias and was codified about 350 A.D. It treats of thirty-nine only of the sixty-three tracts of the Mishna.

The Babylonian Gemara is four times as large as the Jerusalem. It extends over thirty-six and one-half tracts of the Mishna, of which eight and one-half are different from those treated in the Jerusalem Gemara. It comes from the Rabbinical school at Sura on the Euphrates, the founder of which was Rab (Abba Areka), a scholar of Rabbi Jehuda. Its compilation extended from the fifth to the eighth century.[5]

The Gemaras are in Aramaic of the eastern and western dialects. Portions of the Babylonian is in Med. Hebrew.

[1] תוספתות.

[2] Thirty-one of these are contained in Ugolino's *Thesaurus*, translated into Latin.

[3] גְּמָרָא.

[4] Chiarini, *Le Talmud de Babylone*, 1831, p. 19, go so far as to say: "*Les Mekiltoth, les Tosaphoth et les Beraitoth ont aussi porté le litre de* משניות *ou de* משניות גדלות, *parce qu'elles jouissarent de la même autorité que la Mischna de Juda le Saint, et qu'elles étaient plus réputées encore que cette dernière des côté de l'ordre et de la clarté.*" But they are regarded as apocryphal Mishnayoth by some. But this does not decide their intrinsic value. See also Pressel, in Herzog, *Real Ency.*, 1 Aufl., XV. p. 661; Gelbhaus, *Rabbi Jehuda Hanassi*, Wien, 1876, p. 92; Schürer, *Lehrb. d. N. T. Zeitgeschichte*, p. 42; Zunz, *Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, Berlin, 1832, pp. 49 *seq.*

[5] The Jerusalem Talmud was first printed by Bomberg at Venice, folio (1522–1523); the Babylonian by Bomberg at Venice, 12 vols. folio, in 1520. These are scarce and valuable, but are both in the library of the Union Theological Seminary, New York. Nineteen tracts of the Jerusalem Gemara and three tracts of the Babylonian are in Ugolino. Chiarini began to translate the Talmud into French in 1831, but did not get beyond the *Berakoth*. M. Schwab has translated into French the Jerusalem Talmud, 11 vols., Paris, 1871–1890. A German translation of the Babylonian Talmud by L. Goldschmidt is now in progress.

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(*e*) The *Tosaphoth* are additional glosses to the Talmud from the school of Rashi of the twelfth century.

The Talmuds contain numerous citations from the Old Testament Scriptures. Of earlier date than the Massoretic text, they are of great service for purposes of criticism. But critical editions of the Talmud are still a *desideratum*.

The *Midrashim*[1] are expository commentaries on Holy Scripture. The earliest of these belong to the time of the Mishna, and are quoted in the Gemaras. They are in Hebrew. The later are in Aramaic of different centuries.

These are: (1) the *Mekhilta*,[2] upon a portion of Exodus; (2) the *Sifra*,[3] upon Leviticus; (3) the *Sifri*,[4] upon Numbers and Deuteronomy. Their language is Hebrew; (4) the *Rabboth*,[5] a large collection on the Pentateuch and Megilloth.

(*a*) One on Genesis from the sixth century called *Bereshith Rabba*, also *Wayehi Rabba* of the twelfth century.

(*b*) *Shemoth Rabba*, on Exodus, eleventh to twelfth century.

(*c*) *Wayyiqra Rabba*, on Leviticus, from middle of seventh century.

(*d*) *Bemidbar Rabba*, on Numbers, from the twelfth century.

(*e*) *Debarim Rabba*, on Deuteronomy, 900 A.D.

(*f*) *Shir Hashshirim Rabba*, on Song of Songs, late in the Middle Ages.

(*g*) Midrash Ruth, of the late Middle Age.

(*h*) Midrash *Echa*, on Lamentations, of seventh century.

(*i*) Midrash Koheleth, of the late Middle Age.

(*j*) Midrash Esther, 940 A.D.[6]

(5) The *Pesikta*.[7]

(*a*) *Pesikta* of Rab Kahana. These are expositions of the lectionaries or readings for the synagogue year. They are not earlier than the latter part of the seventh century A.D.[8]

(*b*) *Pesikta Rabbathi*, second half of the ninth century.

(*c*) *Pesikta Zutarta* of R. Tobia, twelfth century.

[1] מִדְרָשׁ : דרשׁ, *to study, inquire.*

[2] מכילתא. Published by J. H. Weiss, Vienna, 1865; best edition, Friedmann, Vienna, 1870. Latin translation in Ugolino, XIV.

[3] ספרא. Published by Weiss, Vienna, 1862. Latin translation in Ugolino, XIV.

[4] ספרי. Published by Friedmann, Vienna, 1864. Latin translation in Ugolino, XV.

[5] מִדְרָשׁ רַבּוֹת.

[6] These have been translated into German by Wünsche in his *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*.

[7] פסיקתא.

[8] Edition by Solomon Buber, Lyck, 1868.

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(6) *Pirke*[1] *R. Elieser*,[2] a haggadistic work in fifty-four chapters, of the eighth century, upon Pentateuchal history.[3]

(7) *Tanchuma:*[4] Midrash of the Pentateuch of the ninth century.

(8) *Yalqut* Shimoni:[5] Midrash of the whole Bible of the first half of thirteenth century.[6]

Three early historical works are of some importance:

(*a*) The *Megillath Taanith*,[7] or Roll of Fasts. It is mentioned in the Mishna,[8] and belongs to the beginning of the second century. It is Aramaic in the language of text, but the later commentary is in Hebrew of eighth century.

(*b*) *Seder Olam Rabba*,[9] explanation of biblical history from Adam to the rebellion of Bar Cochba. It is cited in the Talmud, and ascribed to R. Jose ben Chalafta of 160 A.D. It is full of later interpolations.[10]

(*c*) The *Seder Olam Zutta*,[11] is a genealogical work of the eighth century.

In this body of ancient literature, much of which precedes the Massoretic text, we have a mass of citations which are of value for the criticism of the old biblical text of the Sopherim.

Besides these there were a large number of distinguished rabbins of the Middle Ages, such as Saadia of the tenth century in Egypt, and his pupil, Isaac Israeli, in North Africa; in the eleventh century Chasdai Ibn Shaprut and Samuel ha-Nagid, Menahem ben Saruk and Dunash Ibn Labrat, in Spain; in the twelfth century Moses Ibn Ezra, Juda ha-Levi, Abraham ben Meir, Ibn Ezra, and, chief of all, Maimonides, 1135, the most distinguished Jew since Rabbi Jehuda. He wrote commentaries on the Mishna in Arabic.[12] His influence extended throughout the Jewish and Christian world.

[1] פרקי. [2] *Baraitha derabbi Elieser.* [3] Edition, Warsaw, 1874.
[4] תנחומא. [5] ילקוט.

[6] An edition published at Wilna, 1876. The Midrash on Zechariah has recently been translated and published by King, Cambridge, 1882.

[7] מגלת תענית. [8] *Taanith*, II. 8. [9] סדר עולם רבא.

[10] An early edition was published at Basel, 1580. The best edition is in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Semitic series, Vol. I. part VI., 1895. [11] סדר עולם זוטא.

[12] The Introductions have been published, namely, the *Porta Mosis*, trans. by Pocock, Oxford, 1655; *Moreh-Nebhukhim*, a treatise of theology and religious philosophy, by Buxtorf, Basel, 1629, trans. into English by Friedländer, London, 1885.

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In Germany was the celebrated Simeon Kara, the author of the Yalqut; in France, Rashi, 1040–1105, contemporary of Godfrey of Bouillon, wrote a commentary on the Bible; Samuel ben Meir, 1085; Joseph Kimchi, at the close of the twelfth century, and his most distinguished son, David Kimchi, about 1200, who wrote commentaries on the Bible, a lexicon, grammar, etc.

In the fifteenth century Jewish learning found expression in Abravanel, 1437, born at Lisbon, who wrote commentaries on the Pentateuch, Proverbs, and Daniel; Elias Levita, born in 1471, in Bavaria; Abraham ben Meir, at Lucca, employed by Bomberg. The rabbins of the Middle Ages are important authorities for determining the Massoretic text. The commentaries of Rashi and Aben Ezra are printed in the Rabbinical Bibles on either side of the Massoretic text and Targums.

In these citations we have help, in the latest to determine the correct Massoretic text, and in the earlier to determine the correct Taanite text. These citations need a more careful examination and comparison than has yet been given to them. But the agreement of scholars thus far is to the effect that the consonantal text used in the Mishna is essentially our consonantal text. It was fixed in its present form at the close of the second century A.D.

The versions now come into line. The Arabic version of Saadia of the tenth century is valuable for the first step back of the text of Ben Asher. The Vulgate version of Jerome gives evidence of the text of the Sopherim of the second century.

3. The next step backwards is to ascertain the Maccabean text. The main stock is the official text of the Sopherim of the second century. The Aramaic Targums of Onkelos on the Law and of Jonathan on the Prophets give evidence in part for the text of the first century of the Christian era and possibly earlier. The Syriac version gives evidence of a Hebrew text of the first Christian century. The citations in the New Testament from the Aramaic Targums on the Old Testament carry us back into the early part of the first century of our era. The citations in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, so far as they cite from the Hebrew text or Aramaic Targums,

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give evidence to texts of the first century of our era, and of the first and second centuries B.C., according to their dates. The most valuable of these is the book of Jubilees, which gives important independent evidence as to the Hebrew text of the first century B.C. The book of Jubilees has been studied with great care by Dillmann and Charles. The latter[1] gives twenty-five passages in the book of Genesis, where the Massoretic text should be corrected by the book of Jubilees, which in these instances is sustained by the Samaritan codex or the ancient versions.

There is a large Jewish literature from the first Christian century backwards, whose citations are important for the determination of the pre-Rabbinical and pre-Christian text.

(*a*) The writings of the Hellenists. Josephus was a voluminous writer.[2] He gives evidence of an early text of the Septuagint, corresponding in the main with the so-called Lucian Recension. This has been shown recently by Mez.[3]

Philo, born in 20 B.C., lived till the middle of the first century A.D., and wrote a large number of treatises.[4] Ryle has recently shown the critical value of his citations.[5]

(*b*) The apocryphal books.[6]

Esdras (of the first century B.C.); Tobit, Judith, and Wisdom of Solomon (of the second century B.C.); Ecclesiasticus (of the early second century); Baruch (of the first century A.D); Epistle of Jeremy (ancient), Song of the Three Children, Susanna, Bel and the Dragon; the four books of Maccabees (the first from the middle of the first century B.C., the second from the early part of the first century A.D., the

[1] *Anecdota Oxoniensia. The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*, 1895, p. xxiv.

[2] *Jewish Antiquities* (93–94 A.D.), containing Jewish history from the beginning; *Jewish War* (70–80 ? A.D.); *Autobiography* (100 A.D.); *Contra Apionem*. The best edition of Josephus is Niese, Berlin, 1887–1895, Whiston's translation of *Antiquities*, Traill's of *Jewish War*.

[3] See p. 203.

[4] Mangey, 2 vols. folio, London, 1742. Hand-edition by Richter, 8 vols. Leipzig, 1828–1830, translated into English, Bohn's Library. New Greek edition by Cohn, Berlin, 1896.

[5] Ryle, *Philo and Holy Scripture*, 1895.

[6] See Briggs, *Messiah of the Gospels*, pp. 4 *seq.*

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third from late in the first century A.D., the fourth also from the first century A.D.).

(*c*) The Pseudepigraphs are of a very large number: The Psalter of Solomon was originally written in Hebrew in the latter part of the first century B.C., but is preserved in Greek. The book of Enoch, originally written in Hebrew, is preserved entire only in Æthiopic. The Assumption of Moses is from the first Christian century. Fourth Ezra is from early in the second century A.D. The Apocalypse of Baruch, recently found in the Ambrosian Library at Milan by Ceriani, is from the early second century A.D. The Ascension of Isaiah is from the second half of the second century B.C. The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs is from the early part of the second century. The book of Jubilees, or Little Genesis, is from the first century B.C. The Sibylline Oracles are in fourteen books, from the second century B.C. to the close of the first century A.D.[1]

4. The next step in Textual Criticism is to ascertain the original autographs of the Canon of the Law and the Prophets, when they were first collected and fixed. The Septuagint version of the Law and the Prophets, and possibly also of some of the Writings, takes us back of the Maccabean text. The Samaritan codex of the Law gives us on the whole the earliest independent witness to the original text of the Canon of the Law.

5. We have as a final step to ascertain the original text, the autographs of the authors of the Sacred Writings. This we can ascertain on the basis of the texts thus far established, by bringing into consideration parallel passages, such as those of Samuel and Kings on the one side and Chronicles on the other; parallel versions of the same poem, as Ps. 14=53; Ps. 18=2 Sam. 22; citations of earlier writings in later ones; and the rules of internal evidence.

The following examples of the application of the genealogical principles to particular passages will suffice:

The English Authorized Version reads in Gen. 49[10] "until Shiloh come." The Revised Version retains this in the text,

[1] See Briggs, *Messiah of the Gospels*, pp. 9 *seq.*; and *Messiah of the Apostles*, pp. 2 *seq.*

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but puts on the margin other renderings. The Massoretic text, עד כי יבא שילה, may be translated in this way.

(*a*) But the first appearance of this translation known to us is by Sebastian Münster in 1534. Through his influence it passed over into the Great Bible in 1539, and has been retained in all subsequent English versions. Münster seems to have been misled to this interpretation by the use of שילה as a name of the Messiah in the Talmud.[1] But that does not justify the translation "until Shiloh come" any more than the use of Yinnon, Ps. 72^{17}, Chaninah, Jer. 16^{13}, Menachem, Lam. 1^{16}, and the leprous one, Is. 53^{4}, as names of the Messiah, would justify a translation of all these passages in accordance therewith. In fact there is no such translation of Gen. 49^{10} known to Jewish tradition. שִׁילֹה is found in the Old Testament as the name of a place, but nowhere as the name of a person.

(*b*) The Massoretic pointing שִׁילֹה really represents the traditional opinion that שיל was a noun with the archaic suffix, meaning *his son*. This is the interpretation of the Targum Yerushalmi and many Jewish scholars of the tenth century. It is true that there is no such word in Biblical Hebrew. But the Mishna uses the form שליל with the meaning *embryo*, and it would seem that the ancient Jews interpreted שיל as a cognate stem with שלל. Calvin followed this opinion, but few others have adopted it since the Reformation.

(*c*) The י is of the nature of a Massoretic interpretation, as is so frequently the case with the quiescent letters in the Hebrew text. The original consonantal text read שלה. This is evident from the Arabic of Saadia of the tenth century, who did not follow the Massoretic pointing, but translated it as if it were pointed שְׁלֹה; that is, the relative שׁ, the preposition ל, and the suffix ה. Saadia is sustained by Aquila, who testifies to the official interpretation of the rabbins of the second Christian century. Symmachus and Theodotion give the same witness. Jerome read שלה or שלח, but he interpreted it as שָׁלֻחַ = *one sent*, qui mittendus est.

(*d*) We may now go back of the official text of the second Christian century to the Maccabean text. The Targum of Onkelos and the Syriac version testify to שלה, and translate: the Targum, "whose is the kingdom," the Syriac, "whose it is," which is explained by Aphraates and Ephraem as "whose is the kingdom."

(*e*) We may now go back to the text of Ezra. The ancient

[1] *Sanh.*, 98 *b*. See Driver, *Journal of Philology*, 1885, in an article on שילה.

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Greek version and the Samaritan codex both confirm שלה, and the former renders ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ.

(*f*) We may also go a step still further backward under the guidance of an apparent citation in Ezek. 21[32], where the phrase עד בא אשר לו המשפט seems to be not only a reminiscence but an interpretation of Gen. 49[10], and confirms שלה with the interpretation אשר לו.

Thus the genealogical principle establishes, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the original reading of the passage was שלה, and that the interpretation was either "that which belongs to him," or "whose it is."

For another example we may use Ps. 22[10 (9)], which is translated in our English Bible, "Thou didst make me trust (when I was) upon my mother's breasts." This is a correct translation of the Massoretic text מבטיחי (Hiphil participle). But in the time of Jerome the unpointed text was מבטחי, for he takes it as the noun מבטחי, *my trust*. So do the Syriac and ancient Greek versions, leading us back to the Maccabean Psalter. But we may go further back still, for Ps. 22[10] is quoted in paraphrase in the later Ps. 71[5], where we have מבטחי, the noun.

The genealogy of the Greek Bible is traced back in a similar way. Lagarde represented that in the case of the Septuagint it was necessary to ascertain the three great official texts of the third century, Lucian, Hesychius, and Eusebius. All the manuscripts should be classified so far as possible to show their descent from these. On the basis of these three one may work back to the common parent. Westcott and Hort have shown that we have two groups of texts that are older than these recensions; namely (1) the *Western text*, represented by D, the old Latin, the old Syrian, and sundry citations; and (2) the *neutral text* of B, א, going back to a common parent in the second century. The translations all come into evidence in showing the texts from which they were translated, and the Christian Fathers of the different centuries in the use of the versions and manuscripts from which they cited.[1]

An interesting example of the use of the genealogical principle in the New Testament is in 1 Peter 3[15]. The Authorized Version

[1] I think it unnecessary to give a classification of the Fathers for the purpose of showing the descent of citations. These are accessible easily to all students. I have given the Jewish Literature because it is not so accessible.

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reads: "But sanctify the Lord God in your hearts." But this reading is found only in the uncials of the ninth century, K, L, P, and in no earlier writers than Theophylact and Œcumenius. The great uncials, B, ℵ and A, C, the Syriac, Sahidic, Coptic, and Armenian versions, — all give Χριστόν, Christ, in place of θεόν, God. The genealogical principle therefore determines, without doubt, the original reading, and so the Revised Version renders, "But sanctify in your hearts Christ as Lord." This evidence might be fortified by the usage of the New Testament. But no further evidence is needed.

The genealogical method does not always determine the original reading; then we have to fall back on the internal evidence. As an example of the failure of the genealogical method I may cite the case of Acts 20[28]. I shall quote from myself:

"There is a great difference of opinion as to the reading here. The external authority of MSS., versions, and citations is not decisive. Tischendorf, De Wette, Meyer, and the mass of German critics read 'Church of the Lord'; Scrivener, Westcott, and Hort, and the leading British scholars read 'Church of God.' If any unprejudiced man will compare the great mass of authorities cited on both sides, he will be convinced that there is ample room for difference of opinion. The context favors 'Church of the Lord.' This reading is also favored by the fact that it is a unique reading, and therefore difficult. Nowhere else in the New Testament do we find the phrase 'Church of the Lord.' The scribe in doubt would follow the usual phrase. That the more difficult reading has survived is a proof of its originality. The reading 'Church of God' gives by implication 'blood of God.' This is found in Ignatius and other early writers, possibly on the basis of this passage, but it involves a conception which is alien to the New Testament. It is extremely improbable that Luke would put into the mouth of Paul such an unexampled and extraordinary expression under the circumstances. It involved a doctrine of startling consequences. Such a doctrine would not come into the language of Holy Scripture in such an incidental way. The American Revision, therefore, is to be followed in its reading 'Church of the Lord' rather than the A. V. or the British Revision 'Church of God.'"[1]

[1] Briggs, *The Messiah of the Apostles*, 1895, p. 81. See Ezra Abbot, *Critical Essays*, pp. 294 *seq.*

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VI. Conflation and other Corruptions

It is characteristic of the late Syrian texts, and in a large measure also of Lucian's text of the Old Testament, that they indulge in a considerable amount of conflation. Underlying conflation is the feeling that, as far as possible, all of the original text should be preserved; and that, in cases of doubt, it is better to preserve all than to run the risk of losing anything. Conflation is indeed found in the earliest texts both of the Old Testament and the New Testament, and must have taken place to a considerable extent back of any versions known to us. Conflation arises partly from the comparison of earlier authorities, and partly from the insertion of ancient marginal explanations, or glosses. A very good example of conflation is given in Westcott and Hort.

"Mk. 9^{49}.

"(α) πᾶς γὰρ πυρὶ ἁλισθήσεται (א) B LΔ 1—118–209 61 81 435 al^{9} me. codd. the arm. codd.

"(β) πᾶσα γὰρ θυσία ἁλὶ ἁλισθήσεται D cu^{2} (α) *b c ff-i* (*k*) *tol holm gig* (*a c tol holm gig* omit ἁλι: *a* omits γάρ: *k* has words apparently implying the Greek original πᾶσα δὲ (or γὰρ) οὐσία ἀναλωθήσεται, *o* being read for *θ*, and ΑΝΑΛΩ for ΑΛΙΑΛΙC).

"(δ) πᾶς γὰρ πυρὶ ἁλισθήσεται, καὶ πᾶσα θυσία ἁλὶ ἁλισθήσεται, ACNXEFGHKMSUVΓΠ cu. omn. exc. 15 *fq* vg syr. vg hl me. codd æth arm. codd go Vict (cu^{10} vg. codd. opt omit ἁλι; X adds it after πυρί).

"A reminiscence of Lev. vii. 13 (καὶ πᾶν δῶρον θυσίας ὑμῶν ἁλὶ ἁλισθήσεται) has created β out of α, ΠΥΡΙΑΛΙCΘ being read as ΘΥCΙΑΑΛΙΑΛΙCΘ with a natural reduplication, lost again in some Latin copies. The change would be aided by the words that follow here, καλὸν τὸ ἅλας κ.τ.λ. In δ the two incongruous alternatives are simply added together, γάρ being replaced by καί. Besides ACNX, δ has at least the Vulgate Syriac, and the Italian and Vulgate Latin, as well as later versions."[1]

Here we see the original in the neutral text, a variation by a mistake in the Western text, and then a full conflation in the Syrian texts.

An interesting example of corruption of an original text is presented in Ps. 25. This Psalm is an alphabetical hexameter. All

[1] Westcott and Hort's *New Testament in Greek*, 1882, pp. 101, 102.

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the letters of the Hebrew alphabet from א to ת are represented except ב, ו, and ק. But it is quite easy to restore these. The line with ב is restored by making the preceding verse close with אלהי. The measure requires this change also. The line beginning with ו is restored by transposing ולמדני to the second clause before אותך. A prosaic copyist has combined two lines of poetry into a single prose sentence. The line with ק has been lost by a slip of the eye causing a repetition of ראה of the next line. Change ראה to קרה, and the line is restored.

Examples of dittography are Ps. 67^{8} and $118^{12\,b,\,15\,b}$.

In Ps. 67^{8}, יברכנו אלהים is a mere repetition of the first two words of the preceding line. The Psalm is composed of three trimeter pentastichs. This dittography destroys the measure of the last line by just these two words.

There are two examples in Ps. 118: verse 12 *b* repeated from the preceding line, and verse 15 *b* by a slip of the eye to the following line. In both cases they destroy the measures of the lines. They are but half lines, and, if counted, would destroy the symmetry of the strophes of the Psalm, which are composed uniformly of seven hexameters.

Examples of the wrong separation of words are:

(*a*) Ps. 68^{18}: בם סיני בקדש should be בא מסיני בקדש. It is a citation from Deut. 33^{2}: יהוה מסיני בא.

(*b*) Ps. 11^{1}: הרכם צפור should be הר כמו צפור as Sept., Aq., Jer., Syr., Targ.

The letter ע has been overlooked by an ancient scribe of the Massoretic text of Ps. 140^{14}, and so we have ישבו instead of the correct ישבעו of the Sept.

The particle כי has been omitted in the Massoretic text of Ps. 143^{9}, and so the assonance with vss. $8^{a,\,b}$, 10^{a} has been lost. The כי is preserved in ὅτι of Sept. The final ם of עמי in Ps. 144^{2} has been overlooked; hence the pointing עַמִּי: but עמים is sustained by Aq., Jer., Sept. Targ., as well as by the original from which the citation was made, Ps. 18^{48} = 2 Sam. 22^{48}.

Ps. 31^{2} presents an interesting example of a tetrastich, rhyming in ־ני, which has been obscured in the Massoretic text but can easily be restored. It is cited in the later Psalm, 71^{1-3}. In both Psalms there has been a transposition of בצדקתך, which begins the second verse of Ps. 71, but which with the following פלטני closes the second verse of Ps. 31. It should begin the second verse, and the first verse should close with פלטני. Ps. 71 has changed the imperative to a jussive, and substituted תצילני, and then by conflation added ותפלטני. The second line of Ps. 31

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proper closes with מהרה הצילני. In Ps. 71 והושיעני has taken its place by a slip of the eye to the close of the following line, and so מהרה הצילני has been left out. In the third line Ps. 31 is entirely correct. But Ps. 71 in the Massoretic text has misread מעזלבתמצות as מענלבתמדצות in the ancient unpointed continuous text. Apart from the quiescent letters the only difference is a mistake of ו for נ and a transposition of צ and ד. But Sept., Sym., Targ., and some Hebrew manuscripts read מעוז here, although Jerome and the Syriac follow the present text. So Sept. reads *εἰς τόπον ὀχυρόν* here, but Sym., Jerome, Syr., and Targum agree with the Massoretic text. It is altogether probable, therefore, that in the Maccabean Hebrew text Ps. 71 agreed with the original Ps. 31. The corruption of the text was later. In the fourth line Ps. 31 is correct, except that a final ותנהלני has been added by conflation, נהל being a variation of נחה. The second half of the line is not given in Ps. 71.

The original words of Jesus in the Logia may be discerned from the use of Textual Criticism of the several citations in the Gospels and elsewhere. Jesus said: "A prophet is not without honour, save in his own country, and among his own kin, and in his own house." (Mk. 6[4].) This is given in Mt. 13[57]: "A prophet is not without honour, save in his own country, and in his own house." Lk. 4[23-24] has: "Doubtless ye will say unto me this parable, Physician, heal thyself; whatsoever we have heard done at Capernaum, do also here in thine own country." John 4[44] gives it in the form, "Jesus himself testified that a prophet hath no honour in his own country." A study of these citations makes it plain that the original saying of Jesus did not include "and among his own kin, and in his own house." That is an enlargement of the original words "in his own country," given in Luke and John. This is confirmed by the recently discovered Logia of Jesus, from an early Greek papyrus. The fifth of these has *οὐκ ἔστιν δεκτὸς προφήτης ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ*, which is very close to Luke's *οὐδεὶς προφήτης δεκτός ἐστιν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ*.

This line has an additional line in parallelism with it in this fifth logion, namely: *οὐδὲ ἰατρὸς ποιεῖ Θεραπείας εἰς τοὺς γινώσκοντας αὐτόν*. This makes with the other a couplet. In all probability, this presents the original couplet of Jesus, which is preserved only in the single line of the Gospels, for it is contrary to the usages of Hebrew Wisdom to use single lines, or a form of poetry of less than a couplet. Single lines of Wisdom do not exist except as fragments of groups of lines. Furthermore, this second line is suggested by the context of Luke. The original couplet is:

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A prophet is not acceptable in his own country;
Neither doth a physician work cures upon them that know him.

By a careful, accurate, and thorough-going use of the scientific methods and principles of Textual Criticism, the traditional texts upon which the earlier scholars relied have been purified, and we may, with considerable confidence, determine, to a great extent, very ancient forms of the text quite near to the original autographs of the final editors of the biblical writings, and in not a few cases we may determine with reasonable accuracy the autographs of the authors themselves. We may be encouraged by the advance in the science of Textual Criticism to look for greater productivity and fruitfulness in the future.

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CHAPTER XI

HISTORY OF THE HIGHER CRITICISM OF HOLY SCRIPTURE

We have seen in previous chapters that there was a great critical revival at the Reformation; that the Biblical Criticism of the Protestant Reformers was based on the formal principle of Protestantism, the divine authority of Holy Scripture over against tradition; that the voice of God Himself, speaking to His people through His Word, was the great test; that the Protestant Reformers tested the traditional theory of the Canon and eliminated the apocryphal books therefrom; that they rejected the Septuagint and Vulgate versions as the ultimate appeal, and resorted to the original Greek and Hebrew texts; that they tested the Massoretic traditional pointing of the Hebrew Scriptures, and, rejecting it as merely traditional, resorted to the original unpointed text; that they tested the traditional manifold sense and allegorical method of interpretation, and, rejecting these, followed the plain grammatical sense, interpreting difficult and obscure passages by the mind of the Spirit in passages that are plain and undisputed.

We have also studied the second critical revival under the lead of Cappellus and Walton, and their conflict with the Protestant scholastics who had reacted from the critical principles of the Reformation into a reliance upon Rabbinical tradition. We have seen that the Puritan divines still held the position of the Protestant Reformers, and were not in accord with the scholastics. We have now to trace a third critical revival, which began toward the close of the eighteenth century in the investigations of the poetic and literary features of the Old Testament by Bishop Lowth in England and the poet Herder in Germany, and of the structure of Genesis by the physician Astruc in France. The first critical revival had

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been mainly devoted to the Canon of Scripture, its authority and interpretation. The second critical revival had studied the original texts and versions. The third critical revival gave attention to the Sacred Scriptures as literature.

I. The Higher Criticism in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.

Little attention had been given to the literary features of the Bible in the sixteenth century. We may infer how the Reformers would have met these questions from their freedom with regard to traditional views in the few cases in which they expressed themselves. Luther denied the Apocalypse to John and Ecclesiastes to Solomon. He maintained that the Epistle of James was not an apostolic writing. He regarded Jude as an extract from 2 Peter, and said, What matters it if Moses should not himself have written the Pentateuch?[1] He thought the Epistle to the Hebrews was written by a disciple of the apostle Paul, who was a learned man, and made the epistle as a sort of a composite piece in which there are some things hard to be reconciled with the Gospel. Calvin denied the Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews and doubted the Petrine authorship of 2 Peter. He taught that Ezra or some one else edited the Psalter and made the first Psalm an introduction to the collection, not hesitating to oppose the traditional view that David was the author or editor of the entire Psalter. He also regarded Ezra as the author of the prophecy of Malachi — Malachi being his surname. He furthermore constructed, after the model of a harmony of the Gospels, a harmony of the pentateuchal legislation about the Ten Commandments as a centre, holding that all the rest of the commandments were mere "appendages, which add not the smallest completeness to the Law."[2]

[1] See Diestel, *Gesch. des Alten Test. in der christlichen Kirche*, 1869, pp. 250 *seq.*; and Vorreden in Walch edit. of Luther's *Werken*, XIV. pp. 35, 146–153; *Tischreden*, I. p. 28.

[2] "Therefore, God protests that He never enjoined anything with respect to sacrifices; and He pronounces all external rites but vain and trifling if the very least value be assigned to them apart from the Ten Commandments. Whence we more certainly arrive at the conclusion to which I have adverted, viz. that

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Zwingli, Œcolampadius, and other Reformers took similar positions. These questions of authorship and date troubled the Reformers but little; they had to battle against the Vulgate for the original text and popular versions, and for a simple grammatical exegesis over against traditional authority and the manifold sense. Hence it is that on these literary questions the Apologies, Articles of Religion, and Confessions of Faith in the time of the Reformation take no position whatever, except to lay stress upon the sublimity of the style, the unity and the harmony of Scripture, and the internal evidence of its inspiration and authority. Calvin sets the example for the Reformed Churches in this particular in his *Institutes*, and is followed by Thomas Cartwright, Archbishop Usher, and other eminent Calvinists.

The Westminster Confession of Faith is in entire accord with the other Reformed confessions, and with the well-established principles of the Reformation. It expresses a devout admiration and profound reverence for the holy majestic character and style of the Divine Word, but does not define the human authors and the dates of the various writings. As A. F. Mitchell says:

> "Any one who will take the trouble to compare their list of the canonical books with that given in the Belgian Confession or the Irish articles, may satisfy himself that they held with Dr. Jameson that the authority of these books does not depend on the fact whether this prophet or that wrote a particular book or parts of a book, whether a certain portion was derived from the Elohist or the Jehovist, whether Moses wrote the close of Deuteronomy, Solomon was the author of Ecclesiastes, or Paul of the Epistle to the Hebrews, but the fact that a prophet, an inspired man, wrote them, and that they bear the stamp and impress of a divine origin."[1]

they are not, to speak correctly, of the substance of the Law, nor avail of themselves in the worship of God, nor are required by the Lawgiver himself as necessary, or even as useful, unless they sink into this inferior position. In fine, they are appendages which add not the smallest completeness to the Law, but whose object is to retain the pious in the spiritual worship of God, which consists of Faith and Repentance, of Praises whereby their gratitude is proclaimed, and even of the endurance of the cross." — *Preface to Harmony of the Four Last Books of the Pentateuch.*

[1] *Minutes of the Sessions of the Westminster Assembly of Divines*, November,

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And Matthew Poole, the great Presbyterian critic of the seventeenth century, quotes with approval the following from the Roman Catholic, Melchior Canus:

> "It is not much material to the Catholick Faith that any book was written by this or that author, so long as the Spirit of God is believed to be the author of it; which Gregory delivers and explains: For it matters not with what pen the King writes his letter, if it be true that he writ it."[1]

Andrew Rivetus, one of the chief Reformed divines of the continent,[2] after discussing the various views of the authorship of the Psalms, says:

> "This only is to be held as certain, whether David or Moses or any other composed the psalms, they themselves were as pens, but the Holy Spirit wrote through them: But it is not necessary to trouble ourselves about the pen when the true author is established."

In his *Introduction* to the Sacred Scriptures,[3] he enters into no discussion of the literary questions. This omission makes it clear that these questions did not concern the men of his times. Until toward the close of the seventeenth century, those who, in the brief preliminary words to their commentaries on the different books of Scripture, took the trouble to mention the authors and dates of writings, either followed the traditional views without criticism or deviated from them in entire unconsciousness of giving offence to the orthodox faith. This faith was firmly fixed on the *divine* author of Scripture, and they felt little concern for the *human* authors employed. One looks in vain in the commentaries of this period for a critical discussion of literary questions.[4]

1644 to March, 1649, edited by A. F. Mitchell and J. Struthers, Edin., 1874, p. xlix.

[1] *Blow at the Root*, 4th ed., 1671, p. 228.

[2] In his *Prolog.* to his *Com. on the Psalms.*

[3] *Isagoge seu Introductio generalis ad scripturam sacram*, 1627.

[4] As specimens the following from the *Assembly's Annotations* may suffice. (1) Francis Taylor *on Job:* "Though most excellent and glorious things be contained in it, yet they seem to partake the same portion with their subject; being (as his prosperity was) clouded often with much darkness and obscurity, and that not only in those things which are of lesse moment and edification

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The literary questions opened by Lowth, Herder, and Astruc were essentially *new* questions. The revived attention to classical and Oriental history and literature carried with it a fresh study of Hebrew history and literature. The battle of the books waged between Bentley and Boyle, which was decided in the interests of literary criticism by the masterpiece of Bentley,[1] was the prelude of a struggle over all the literary monuments of antiquity, in which the spurious was to be separated from the genuine. It was indispensable that the Greek and Latin and Hebrew literature should pass through the fires of this literary and historical criticism, which soon received the name of *Higher Criticism*. As Eichhorn says:

(viz. the Time and Place and Penman, etc.), but in points of higher doctrine and concernment. The Book is observed to be a sort of holy poem, but yet not a Fable; and, though we cannot expressly conclude when or by whom it was written, though our maps cannot show us what Uz was, or where situate, yet cannot this Scripture of Job be rejected until Atheisme grow as desperate as his wife was, and resolve with her to curse God and dye." The traditional view that Moses wrote Job is simply abandoned and the authorship left unknown. (2) Casaubon, *Preface to the Psalms:* "The author of this book (the immediate and secondary, we mean, besides the original and general of all true Scripture, the Holy Ghost . . .), though named in some other places of Scripture David, as Lk. 20^{42}, and elsewhere, is not here in the title of the book expressed. The truth is, they are not all David's Psalms, some having been made before and some long after him, as shall be shown in due place." The traditional view as to the Davidic authorship of the Psalter is abandoned without hesitation or apology. (3) Francis Taylor, *Preface to the Proverbs:* "That Solomon is the author of this book of Proverbs in general is generally acknowledged; but the author, as David of the Psalms, not because all made by him, but because either the maker of a good part, or collector and approver of the rest. It is not to be doubted but that many of these Proverbs and sentences were known and used long before Solomon. . . . Of them that were collected by others as Solomon's, but long since his death, from Chapters 25–30, and then of those that bear Agur's name, 30, and Lemuel's, 31. . . . If not all Solomon's, then, but partly his and partly collected by him and partly by others at several times, no wonder if diverse things, with little or no alteration, be often repeated."

Joseph Mede (*Works*, II. pp. 963, 1022, London, 1664), Henry Hammond (*Paraphrase and Annotations upon the New Testament*, London, 1871, p. 135), Kidder (*Demonstration of the Messias*, London, 1726, II. p. 76), and others denied the integrity of Zechariah, and, on the ground of Mt. 27^{9}, ascribed the last six chapters to Jeremiah. The Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch was questioned by Carlstadt (*De Script. Canon*, 1521, § 85), who left the author undetermined. The Roman Catholic scholar, Masius (*Com. in Josh.*, 1574, *Præf.*, p. 2, and Chapters 10^{13}, 19^{47}; *Critica Sacr.*, II. p. 1892, London, 1660), and the British philosopher, Hobbes (*Leviathan*, 1651, part III. c. 33) distinguished between Mosaic originals and our present Pentateuch.

[1] *Epistles of Phalaris and Fables of Æsop*, 1699; see Chap. IV. p. 107.

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"Already long ago scholars have sought to determine the age of anonymous Greek and Roman writings now from their contents, and then since these are often insufficient for an investigation of this kind, from their language. They have also by the same means separated from ancient works pieces of later origin, which, by accidental circumstances, have become mingled with the ancient pieces. And not until the writings of the Old Testament have been subjected to the same test can any one assert with confidence that the sections of a book all belong in reality to the author whose name is prefixed." [1]

The traditional views of the Old Testament literature, as fixed in the Talmud and stated in the Christian Fathers, came down as a body of lore to be investigated and tested by the principles of this Higher Criticism. There were four ways of meeting the issue: (1) By attacking the traditional theories with the weapons of the Higher Criticism and testing them at all points, dealing with the Scriptures as with all other writings of antiquity. (2) By defending the traditional theories as the established faith of the Church on the ground of the authority of tradition, as Buxtorf and Owen had defended the inspiration of the Hebrew vowel points against Cappellus and Walton. (3) By ignoring these questions as matters of scholarship and not of faith, and resting on the divine authority of the writings themselves. In point of fact, these three methods were pursued, and three parties ranged themselves in line to meet the issues, — the deistic or rationalistic, the traditional or scholastic, the pietistic or mystical, — and the battle of the ages between these tendencies was renewed on this line. There was a fourth and better way which few pursued: (1) inquire what the Scriptures teach about themselves, and separate this divine authority from all other authority; (2) apply the principles of the Higher Criticism to decide questions not decided by divine authority; (3) let tradition have its voice so far as possible in questions not settled by the previous methods.

[1] *Einleit.* III. p. 67.

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II. The Rabbinical Theories

The most ancient Rabbinical theory of the Old Testament literature known to us is contained in the tract *Baba Bathra* of the Talmud. In this passage we have to distinguish the *Baraitha* from the *Gemara*.[1]

Baraitha. — The rabbins have taught that the order of the Prophets is, Joshua and Judges, Samuel and Kings, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, Isaiah and the Twelve (minor prophets).

Gemara. — (*Question*): How is it? Hosea is first because it is written, "In the beginning the Lord spake to Hosea." But how did he speak in the beginning with Hosea? Have there not been so many prophets from Moses unto Hosea? Rabbi Jochanan said that he was the first of the four prophets who prophesied in the same period, and these are: Hosea, Isaiah, Amos, and Micah. Should then Hosea be placed before at the head? (*Reply*): No, since his prophecies had been written alongside of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, and Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi were the last of the prophets, it was counted with them. (*Question*): Ought it to have been written apart and ought it to have been placed before? (*Reply*): No; since it was little and might be easily lost. (*Question*): How is it? Isaiah was before Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Ought Isaiah to be placed before at the head? (*Reply*): Since the book of Kings ends in ruin and Jeremiah is, all of it, ruin, and Ezekiel has its beginning ruin and its end comfort, and Isaiah is all of it comfort; we join ruin to ruin and comfort to comfort.

Baraitha. — The order of the Writings is, Ruth and the book of Psalms, and Job, and Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs and Lamentations, Daniel and the roll of Esther, Ezra and Chronicles.

Gemara. — (*Question*): But according to the Tanaite who said Job was in the days of Moses, ought Job to be placed before at the head? (*Reply*): We begin not with afflictions. (*Question*): Ruth has also afflictions? (*Reply*): But afflictions which have an end. As Rabbi Jochanan says, Why was her name called Ruth? Because David went forth from her who refreshed the Holy One, blessed be He! with songs and praises.

Baraitha. — And who wrote them? Moses wrote his book, the section of Balaam and Job; Joshua wrote his book and the

[1] *Baba Bathra*, folio 14 *b*. See pp. 232, 233. I follow the *editio princeps*, 12 vols. folio, Venitia, Bomberg, 1520, but have also consulted the edition published at Berlin and Frankfort-on-the-Oder by Jablonsky, 1736, which follows the Basle edition in expurgating the anti-Christian passages. Both of these are in the library of the Union Theological Seminary, N.Y.

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eight verses of the law; Samuel wrote his book and Judges and Ruth; David wrote the book of Psalms with the aid of the ten ancients, with the aid of Adam the first, Melchizedek, Abraham, Moses, Heman, Jeduthun, Asaph, the three sons of Korah; Jeremiah wrote his book, the books of Kings and Lamentations; Hezekiah and his company wrote Isaiah, Proverbs, Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes, whose sign is ימשק;[1] the men of the great synagogue wrote Ezekiel and the Twelve (minor prophets), Daniel and the roll of Esther, whose sign is קנרג; Ezra wrote his book and the genealogy of Chronicles unto himself.

GEMARA. — This will support Rab, for Rabbi Jehuda told that Rab said: Ezra went not up from Babylon until he had registered his own genealogy, then he went up. (*Question*): And who finished it (his book)? (*Reply*): Nehemiah, son of Hachaliah. The author (of the *Baraitha*) said Joshua wrote his book and the eight verses of the law; this is taught according to him who says of the eight verses of the law, Joshua wrote them. For it is taught: And Moses the servant of the Lord died there. How is it possible that Moses died and wrote: and Moses died there? It is only unto this passage Moses wrote, afterwards Joshua wrote the rest. These are the words of Rabbi Jehuda, others say of Rabbi Nehemiah, but Rabbi Simeon said to him: Is it possible that the book of the Law could lack one letter, since it is written: Take this book of the Law? It is only unto this the Holy One, blessed be He! said, and Moses said and wrote. From this place and onwards the Holy One, blessed be He, said and Moses wrote with weeping. . . .

(*Question*): Joshua wrote his book? But it is written there: And Joshua died. (*Reply*): Eleazar finished it. (*Question*): But yet it is written there: And Eleazar the son of Aaron died. (*Reply*): Phineas finished it. (*Question*): Samuel wrote his book? But it is written there: And Samuel died, and they buried him in Rama. (*Reply*): Gad the seer and Nathan the Prophet finished it.

We have to distinguish the view of the Tanaim in the *Baraitha* and the view of the Amoraim in the *Gemara*.[2] The Tanaim do not go beyond the scope of giving (1) the order of the Sacred Writings, (2) their editors.

(1) In the *order of the writings* we observe several singular

[1] These are the first letters of the Hebrew names of these books.

[2] The Tanaim are the authors of the *Mishnayoth*, the Amoraim are the expounders of the *Mishnayoth* and authors of the *Gemara* (see Mielziner, *Introduction to the Talmud*, 1894, pp. 22 *seq.*).

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features, which lead us to ask whether the order is topical, chronological, liturgical, or accidental. The Amoraim explain the order generally as topical, although other explanations are given, but their reasons are inconsistent and unsatisfactory. Is there a chronological reason at the bottom? This is clear in the order of three classes, — Law, Prophets, and other Writings. But will it apply to the order of the books in the classes? There seems to be a general observance of the chronological order, if we consider the subject-matter as the determining factor, and not the time of composition. In the order of the Prophets, Jeremiah precedes Ezekiel properly. But why does Isaiah follow? Is it out of a consciousness that Isaiah was a collection of several writings besides those of the great Isaiah,[1] or from the feeling that Isaiah's prophecies had more to do with the restoration than the exile, and so naturally followed Ezekiel? The Minor Prophets are arranged in three groups, and these groups are chronological in order. Hosea was placed first out of a mistaken interpretation of his introductory words. Malachi appropriately comes last. But this order of the Prophets in the *Baraitha* is abandoned by the Massorites, who arrange Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel. In the other writings there is a sort of chronological order if we consider the subject-matter, but the Massoretic text differs from the *Baraitha* entirely, and indeed the Spanish and German manuscripts from one another. We cannot escape the conviction that there was a liturgical reason at the basis of the arrangement, which has not yet been determined. At all events, its authority has little weight for purposes of Higher Criticism.

(2) *As to their editorship.* The verb "wrote,"[2] cannot imply composition in the sense of authorship in several cases of its use, but must be used in the sense of editorship or redaction. Thus it is said that the men of the Great Synagogue wrote Ezekiel, the Minor Prophets, Daniel, and the roll of Esther. This cannot mean that they were the original authors, but that they were editors of these books. It is not stated whether they edited them by copy from originals or from oral

[1] Strack in Herzog, *Real Ency.*, VII. p. 43. [2] כתב.

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tradition. Rashi takes the latter alternative, and thinks that holy books could not be written outside of Palestine.[1] An insuperable objection to this editing of Daniel and Esther at the same time as Ezekiel and the Twelve, is their exclusion from the order of the Prophets, where they would have naturally gone if introduced into the Canon at that time; Esther with the prophetic histories, and Daniel with Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Jeremiah.[2]

Again, when it is said Hezekiah and his company wrote Isaiah, Proverbs, Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes, this can only mean editorship, and not authorship. The *Tosaphoth* on the *Baraitha* says: "Hezekiah and his college wrote Isaiah; because Hezekiah caused them to busy themselves with the law, the matter was called after his name. But he (Hezekiah) did not write it himself, because he died before Isaiah, since Manasseh, his successor, killed Isaiah." The redaction of Proverbs, Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes by Hezekiah's company, is probably a conjecture based upon Proverbs 25.[1] But the whole story is incredible. It carries with it a Canon of Hezekiah, and would be inconsistent with the subsequent positions of these books in the Canon.[3]

David is represented as editing the Psalter with the aid of ten ancients; that is, he used the Psalms of the ten worthies and united them with his own in the collection. Moses is represented as writing his book, the section of Balaam and Job. The section of Balaam is distinguished probably as edited and not composed by Moses. In view of the usage of the rest of this *Baraitha*, we cannot be sure whether it means that Moses edited the Law and Job, or whether here "wrote" means authorship. The same uncertainty hangs over the references to Joshua, Samuel, Jeremiah, and Ezra.

The statements of the *Baraitha*, therefore, seem rather to concern official editorship than authorship, and it distinguishes no less than eight stages of redaction of the Old Testament Scriptures: (1) By Moses, (2) Joshua, (3) Samuel, (4) David,

[1] Strack in Herzog, *Real Ency.*, VII. p. 418; Wright, *Koheleth*, pp. 454 *seq.*; Wogue, *Histoire de la Bible*, pp. 19 *seq.*

[2] See pp. 123 *seq.*

[3] See pp. 124 *seq.*

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(5) Hezekiah and his college, (6) Jeremiah, (7) the men of the Great Synagogue, (8) Ezra.

The *Gemara* in its commentary upon this passage enlarges this work of redaction so as to give a number of additional prophets a hand in it. Joshua completes the work of Moses, Eleazar the work of Joshua, and Phineas his work; Gad and Nathan finish the work of Samuel, then come David, Hezekiah, Jeremiah, the men of the Great Synagogue; and Nehemiah finishes the work of Ezra.

III. Hellenistic and Christian Theories

Having considered the Rabbinical tradition, we are now prepared to examine that of the Jewish historian, Josephus. His general statement is:

> "We have not myriads of books among us disagreeing and contradicting one another, but only twenty-two, comprising the history of all past time, justly worthy of belief. And five of them are those of Moses, which comprise the Law and the tradition of the generation of mankind until his death. This time extends to a little less than three thousand years. From the death of Moses until Artaxerxes, the king of the Persians after Xerxes, the prophets after Moses composed that which transpired in their times in thirteen books. The other four books present hymns to God and rules of life for men."[1]
>
> "And now David, being freed from wars and dangers, and enjoying a profound peace, composed songs and hymns to God of several sorts of metre: some of those which he made were trimeters, and some were pentameters."[2]

Josephus' views as to Hebrew literature vary somewhat from the Talmud. He strives to exalt the Hebrew Scriptures in every way as to style, antiquity, and variety above the classic literature of Greece. He represents Moses as the author of the Pentateuch, even of the last eight verses describing his own death.[3] Scholars do not hesitate to reject his views of the number and arrangement of the books in the Canon, or his statements as to the metres of Hebrew poetry; we certainly cannot accept his authority without criticism, in questions of

[1] *Contra Apion.* I. § 8 [2] *Antiq.*, VII. 12. [3] *Antiq.*, IV. 8, 48.

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authorship. Philo agrees with Josephus in making Moses by prophetic inspiration the author of the narrative of his own death,[1] but has little to say about matters that concern the Higher Criticism.

A still more ancient authority than the Talmud, and an authority historically to Christians higher than Josephus, is the Apocalypse of Ezra, from the first Christian century, printed among the apocryphal books in the English Bible, and preserved in five versions, and used not infrequently by the Fathers as if it were inspired Scripture. This tradition represents that the Law and all the holy books were burned at the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar and lost; that Ezra under divine inspiration restored them all, and also composed seventy others to be delivered to the wise as the esoteric wisdom for the interpretation of the twenty-four.[2]

This view of the restoration of the Old Testament writings by Ezra was advocated by some of the Fathers. Clement of Alexandria[3] says:

> "Since the Scriptures perished in the captivity of Nebuchadnezzar, Esdras the Levite, the priest, in the time of Artaxerxes, king of the Persians having become inspired, in the exercise of prophecy restored again the whole of the ancient Scriptures."

So, also, Tertullian,[4] Chrysostom,[5] an ancient writing attributed to Augustine,[6] the heretical Clementine homilies.[7] Another common opinion of the Fathers is represented by Irenæus:[8]

[1] *Life of Moses*, III. 39.

[2] Ezra saith: "For thy law is burnt, therefore no man knoweth the things that are done of thee, or the works that shall begin. But if I have found grace before thee, send the Holy Ghost into me, and I shall write all that hath been done in the world since the beginning, which were written in thy law, that men may find thy path," etc. "Come hither (saith God), and I shall light a candle of understanding in thine heart which shall not be put out, till the things be performed which thou shalt begin to write. And when thou hast done, some things shalt thou publish, and some things shalt thou show secretly to the wise. . . . The first that thou hast written publish openly, that the worthy and the unworthy may read it; but keep the seventy last, that thou mayest deliver them only to such as be wise among the people; for in them is the spring of understanding, the fountain of wisdom, and the stream of knowledge" (14^{21-47}).

[3] *Stromata*, I. 22. [4] *De cultu fœminarum*, c. 3.

[5] *Hom.* VIII. *in Epist. Hebræos*, Migne's edition, XVII. p. 74.

[6] *De mirabilibus sacræ scripturæ*, II. 33, printed with Augustine's works, but not genuine. [7] *Hom.* III. c. 47. [8] *Adv. Hæreses*, III. 21, 2.

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"During the captivity of the people under Nebuchadnezzar, the Scriptures had been corrupted, and when, after seventy years, the Jews had returned to their own land, then in the time of Artaxerxes King of the Persians, [God] inspired Esdras the priest, of the tribe of Levi, to recast all the words of former prophets, and to reëstablish with the people the Mosaic legislation."

So, also, Theodoret[1] and Basil.[2] Jerome[3] says with reference to this tradition: "Whether you wish to say that Moses is the author of the Pentateuch, or that Ezra restored it, is indifferent to me." Bellarmin[4] is of the opinion that the books of the Jews were not entirely lost, but that Ezra corrected those that had become corrupted, and improved the copies he restored.

Jerome, in the fourth century, relied largely upon Jewish Rabbinical authority, and gave his great influence toward bringing the fluctuating traditions in the Church into more accordance with the Rabbinical traditions, but he could not entirely succeed. He held that the orphan Psalms belonged as a rule to the preceding ones, and in general followed the rabbins in associating the sacred writings with the familiar names, — Moses, David, Solomon, Jeremiah, Ezra, and so on. There is, however, no consensus of the Fathers on these topics.

Junilius, in the midst of the sixth century, author of the first extant Introduction,[5] a reproduction of a lost work of his instructor, Paul of Nisibis, of the Antiochian school of Exegesis, presents a view which may be regarded as representing very largely the Oriental and Western churches. He divides the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments into seventeen histories, seventeen prophecies, two proverbial and seventeen doctrinal writings. Under authorship, he makes the discrimination between those having their authors indicated in their titles and introductions, and those whose authorship rests purely on tradition, including among the latter the Pentateuch and Joshua.[6]

[1] *Præf. in Psalmos.*

[2] *Epist. ad Chilonem*, Migne's edition, IV. p. 358. See Simon, *Hist. Crit. de Vieux Test.*, Amsterd., 1685, and Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraph.*, Hamburg, 1722, pp. 1156 *seq.* [3] *Adv. Helvidium.* [4] *De verbo Dei.*, lib. 2.

[5] *Institutio Regularis Divinæ Legis.*

[6] "Scriptores divinorum librorum qua ratione cognoscimus? Tribus modis: aut ex titulis et prœmiis ut propheticos libros et apostoli epistolas, aut ex titulis tantum ut evangelistas, aut ex traditione veterum ut Moyses traditur scripsisse

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This work of Junilius held its own as an authority in the Western Church until the Reformation. It would be difficult to define a consensus of the first Christian century or of the Fathers in regard to the authorship of the historical books of the Old Testament or other questions of the Higher Criticism. The variant traditions, unfixed and fluctuating, came down to the men of the eighteenth century to be tested by the Scriptures, and by the principles of the Higher Criticism, and they found no *consensus patrum* and no *orthodox doctrines* in their way.

IV. The New Testament View of Old Testament Literature

It is claimed, however, that Jesus and His apostles have determined these questions for us, and that their divine authority relieves us of any obligation to investigate further, as their testimony is final. This does not seem to have been the view of Junilius or the Fathers. So far as we can ascertain, this argument was first urged by Maresius,[1] in opposition to Peyrerius and pressed by Heidegger, the Swiss scholastic, who sided with Buxtorf and Owen against Cappellus and Walton. But the argument having been advanced by these divines, and fortified by the Lutheran scholastic, Carpzov, and maintained by Hengstenberg, Keil, and Horne, and by many recent writers who lean on these authorities, it is necessary for us to test it. Clericus went too far when he said that Jesus Christ and His apostles did not come into the world to preach criticism to the Jews.[2] The response of Hermann Witsius, that

quinque primos libros historiæ, cum non dicat hoc titulus nec ipse referat 'dixit dominus ad me,' sed quasi de alio 'dixit dominus ad Moysen.' Similiter et Jesu Nave liber ab eo quo nuncupatur traditur scriptus, et primum regum librum Samuel scripsisse perhibetur. Sciendum præterea quod quorundam librorum penitus ignorantur auctores ut Judicum et Ruth et Regum iii. ultimi et cetera similia, quod ideo credendum est divinitus dispensatum, ut alii quoque divini libri non auctorum merito, sed sancti spiritus gratia tantum culmen auctoritatis obtinuisse noscantur" (§ viii. 2; see Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia und Junilius Africanus als Exegeten*, pp. 319–330).

[1] Maresius, *Refutatio Fabulæ Preadamitæ*, 1656; Heidegger, *Exercit. Biblicæ*, 1700; *Dissert.* IX. pp. 250 *seq.*

[2] In *Sentimens de quelques Theologiens de Holland sur l'Histoire Critique*, p. 126, Amst., 1685, Clericus says: "Jesus Christ et ses Apôtres n'etant pas venus au monde, pour enségner la Critique au Juifs, il ne faut pas s'étonner, s'ils parlent selon l'opinion commune."

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Jesus came to teach the truth, and could not be imposed upon by common ignorance, or be induced to favour vulgar errors, is just.[1]

And yet we cannot altogether deny the principle of accommodation in the life and teachings of Jesus. The principle of accommodation is a part of the wonderful condescension of the divine grace to human weakness, ignorance, and sinfulness. Jesus teaches that Moses, because of the hardness of their hearts, suffered ancient Israel to divorce their wives for reasons which the higher dispensation will not admit as valid.[2] The divine revelation is a training-school for the disciple, ever reserving from him what he is unable to bear, and holding forth the promise of greater light to those using the light they have.

> "It is not required in a religious or inspired teacher, nor indeed would it be prudent or right, to shock the prejudices of his uninformed hearers, by inculcating truths which they are unprepared to receive. If he would reap a harvest, he must prepare the ground before he attempts to sow the seed. Neither is it required of such an one to persist in inculcating religious instruction after such evidence of its rejection as is sufficient to prove incurable obstinacy. Now it must be granted that in most of these cases there is accommodation. The teacher omits, either altogether or in part, certain religious truths, and, perhaps, truths of great importance, in accommodation to the incompetency and weakness of those whom he has to instruct. . . . It appears, then, that accommodation may be allowed in matters which have no connection with religion, and in these, too, so far as regards the degree and the form of instruction. But positive accommodation to religious error is not to be found in Scripture, neither is it justifiable in moral principle."[3]

[1] "Enim vero non fuere Christus et Apostoli Critices doctores, quales se haberi postulant, qui hodie sibi regnum litterarum in quavis vindicant scientia; fuerunt tamen doctores veritatis, neque passi sunt sibi per communem ignorantiam aut procerum astum imponi. Non certe in mundum venere ut vulgares errores foverunt, suaque auctoritate munirent, nec per Judæos solum sed et populos unice, a se pendentes longe lateque spargerent." — *Misc. Sacra*, I. p. 117.

[2] Mt. 19[8].

[3] Dr. S. H. Turner, in his edition of Planck's *Introduction to Sacred Philology*, Edin., 1834, pp. 275–277. New York, 1834, pp. 280 *seq.*

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Jesus withheld from the twelve apostles many things of vast importance, which they could not know then, but should know hereafter.[1] Jesus did not enter into any further conflict with the errors of His time than was necessary for His purposes of grace in the Gospel. He exercised a wise prudence and a majestic reserve in matters of indifference and minor importance, and was never premature in declaring Himself and the principles of His Gospel. There were no sufficient reasons why He should correct the prevailing views as to the Old Testament books, and by His authority determine these literary questions. He could not teach error, but He could and did constantly forbear with reference to errors. Polygamy and slavery have been defended from the New Testament because Jesus and His apostles did not declare against them. If all the views of the men of the time of Christ are to be pronounced valid which He did not pronounce against, we shall be involved in a labyrinth of difficulties.

The authority of Jesus Christ, to all who know Him to be their divine Saviour, outweighs all other authority whatever. A Christian man must follow His teachings in all things as the guide into all truth. The authority of Jesus Christ is involved in that of the apostles. What, then, do Jesus and His apostles teach as to the questions of Higher Criticism? If they used the language of the day in speaking of the Old Testament books, it does not follow that they adopted any of the various views of authorship and editorship that went with these terms in the Talmud, or in Josephus, or in the Apocalypse of Ezra; for we are not to interpret their words on this or on any other subject by Josephus, or the Mishna, or the Apocalypse of Ezra, or any such external authorities, but by the plain grammatical and contextual sense of their words themselves. From the various New Testament passages we present the following summary of what is taught on these subjects:

I. Of the Writings the only ones used in the New Testament in connection with names of persons are the Psalter and Daniel. With reference to Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Proverbs, Job, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Lamentations,

[1] John 13[7].

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and Ruth, the New Testament gives no evidence whatever in questions of the Higher Criticism.[1]

1. *The Psalter.*

Saint Peter cites Ps. 69^{25}, 109^{8} as "which the Holy Spirit spake before by the mouth of David," and "For it is written in the book of Psalms."[2] The assembled Christians cite Ps. 2^{1-2} as "by the Holy Spirit by the mouth of our father David."[3] Saint Peter cites Pss. 16^{8-11}, 110^{1} as "David saith."[4] Saint Paul cites Ps. 69^{22-23} as "David saith"; [5] and Ps. 32^{1-2} as "David also pronounceth blessing."[6] Jesus cites Ps. 110^{1} as "David himself said in the Holy Spirit."[7]

The maximum of evidence here is as to the Davidic authorship of Pss. 2, 16, 32, 69, 109, and 110, in all, six Psalms out of the 150 contained in the Psalter. As to the rest, there is no use of them in connection with a name. There is, however, a passage upon which the Davidic authorship of the entire Psalter has been based,[8] where a citation

[1] For a fuller discussion of this subject, we would refer to the exhaustive paper of Prof. Francis Brown, "The New Testament Witness to the Authorship of Old Testament Books," in the *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, 1882, pp. 95 *seq.*

[2] Acts, 1^{16-20}. [3] Acts 4^{25}. [4] Acts $2^{25-29, 34}$. [5] Rom. 11^{9-10}. [6] Rom. 4^{6-8}.

[7] Mk. 12^{36-37}. Mt. 22^{43-45} cites here from Mark, and condenses into "How then doth David in the Spirit call him," and Lk. 20^{42-44} also cites from Mark, and varies "For David himself saith in the Book of Psalms."

[8] Thus, William Gouge, one of the most honoured Puritan divines, in his *Commentary on Hebrews*, in discussing this passage, says:

"From the mention of David in reference to the Psalm, we may probably conclude that David was the penman of the whole Book of Psalms, especially from this phrase, 'David himself saith in the Book of Psalms' (Lk. 20^{42}). Some exceptions are made against this conclusion, but such as may readily be answered.

"*Objection* 1. — Sundry psalms have not the title of *David* prefixed before them; they have no title at all, as the first, second, and others. *Ans.* — If they have no title, why should they not be ascribed to David, rather than to any other, considering that the Book of Psalms is indefinitely attributed to him (as we heard out of the forementioned place, Lk. 20^{42}), which is the title prefixed before all the Psalms, as comprising them all under it? Besides, such testimonies as are taken out of Psalms that have no title are applied to David, as Acts 4^{25}, and this testimony that is here taken out of Ps. 95^{7}.

"*Objection* 2. — Some titles are ascribed to other authors; as Ps. 72, 127, to Solomon. *Ans.* — The Hebrew servile *lamed* is variously taken and translated; as sometimes, *of*, Ps. 3^{1}, 'A Psalm of David.' Then it signifieth the author:

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from Ps. $95^{7,8}$ is given "in David, ἐν Δαυεὶδ." [1] This means that David was the name of the Psalter and that this title was used interchangeably with "the book of Psalms," or "Psalms."

Accordingly, "David" in all the examples given above, may be nothing more than a name for the entire Psalter, and may have no personal reference to David whatever; for it matters little whether a citation is made "in David," "by David," or "as David saith"; these all mean essentially the same thing; and if David is a name for the Psalter in one case, it may be in all cases. An exception may be made in the citation of Ps. 110 by Jesus. The argument of Jesus seems to depend upon the fact that David himself said the words, "The Lord said unto my Lord." But this would be sufficiently considered, if we should suppose that the author of the Psalm, in composing it, let David appear as the speaker here.

Thus it is used in most titles, especially when they are applied to David. Other time this is translated *for*, as Ps. 72^{1}, 127^{1}. In these it implieth that the Psalm was penned *for* Solomon's use or for his instruction. It may also be thus translated, *concerning Solomon*. That the 72d Psalm was penned by David is evident by the close thereof, in these words: 'The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended.'

"*Objection* 3. — Some titles ascribe the Psalm to this or that Levite, as Ps. 88 to Heman and 89 to Ethan; yea, twelve Psalms to Asaph and eleven to the sons of Korah. *Ans.* — All these were very skillful, not only in singing, but also in setting tunes to Psalms. They were musick masters. Therefore, David, having penned the Psalms, committed them to the foresaid Levites to be fitly tuned. . . . It will not follow that any of them were enditers of any of the Psalms, because their name is set in the title of some of them.

"*Objection* 4. — The 90th Psalm carried this title: 'A Prayer of Moses the Man of God.' *Ans.* — It is said to be the prayer of Moses in regard of the substance and general matter of it; but, as a Psalm, it was penned by David. He brought it into that form. David, as a prophet, knew that Moses had uttered such a prayer in the substance of it; therefore, he prefixeth that title before it.

"*Objection* 5. — The 137th Psalm doth set down the disposition and carriage of the Israelites in the Babylonish Captivity, which was six hundred fourty years after David's time, and the 126th Psalm sets out their return from that Captivity. *Ans.* — To grant these to be so, yet might David pen those Psalms; for, by a prophetical spirit, he might foresee what would fall out and answerably pen Psalms fit thereunto. Moses did the like (Dt. 29^{22}, etc., and $31^{21,22}$, etc.). A man of God expressly set down distinct acts of Josiah 330 years before they fell out (1 K. 13^{2}). Isaiah did the like of Cyrus (Is. 44^{28}; 45^{1}), which was about two hundred years beforehand."

[1] Heb. 4^{7}.

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Dr. Plummer may be cited for an explanation of this citation by Jesus:

"The last word has not yet been spoken as to the authorship of Ps. 110; but it is a mistake to maintain that Jesus has decided the question. There is nothing antecedently incredible in the hypothesis that in such matters, as in other details of human information, He condescended not to know more than His contemporaries, and that He therefore believed what He had been taught in the school and in the synagogue. Nor ought we summarily to dismiss the suggestion that, although He knew that the Psalm was not written by David, He yet abstained from challenging beliefs respecting matters of fact, because the premature and violent correction of such beliefs would have been more harmful to His work than their undisturbed continuance would be. In this, as in many things, the correction of erroneous opinion might well be left to time. But this suggestion is less satisfactory than the other hypothesis. It should be noticed that, while Jesus affirms both the inspiration (Mt., Mk.) and the Messianic character (Mt., Mk., Lk.) of Ps. 110, yet the argumentative question with which He concludes, need not be understood as asserting that David is the author of it, although it *seems* to imply this. It may mean no more than that the scribes have not fairly faced what their own principles involve. Here is a problem with which they ought to be quite familiar, and of which they ought to be able to give a solution. It is their position, and not His, that is open to criticism."[1]

This explanation is a valid one, although it is not the one which I prefer.

The modern Higher Criticism does not, in fact, assign a single one of these Psalms to David. In the Hebrew text, Pss. 16, 32, 69, 109, 110, have David in their titles, but Ps. 2 is an orphan Psalm without title. David in the titles of these Psalms did not originally mean authorship; it meant that these Psalms were taken by the editor of the Psalter from a collection of Psalms, which bore the name of David, in that they had been gathered under his name as a sort of honorary title. The earliest minor Psalter was called David, just as eventually the ultimate Psalter was called David.

The question of integrity is raised by the citation of our Ps. 2 as Ps. 1, according to the best manuscripts.[2] Were

[1] Plummer, *Commentary on Luke*, 1896, pp. 472, 473.

[2] Acts 13^{33}. So Tischendorf, *Critica Major*, *Editio Octava*. Westcott and

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these two Psalms combined in one at the time, or was the first Psalm regarded as introductory and not counted? Both views are supported by manuscripts and citations.

2. Daniel $11^{31} = 12^{11}$ is used under the formula, "which was spoken through Daniel the prophet."[1] With reference to this, I will simply quote the judicious words of Francis Brown:

> "It will be remembered that the passage cited in Mt. 24^{15} is from the second division of the book, a division which, with the exception of certain brief introductory notes, contains prophecies exclusively, and that this division is distinctly marked off from the preceding by the nature of its contents, and by the brief introduction, Dan. 7^{1}. Now, suppose evidence were to be presented from other quarters to show that while the book as a whole was not written by Daniel, the last six chapters contained prophecies of Daniel, which the later author had incorporated in his book. On that supposition, the words of Jesus taken in their most rigid, literal meaning would be perfectly satisfied. We may go yet further. If other evidence should be adduced tending to show that 'Daniel, the prophet,' was a pseudonym, still there would be nothing in Jesus' use of the expression to commit Him to any other view. For the words were certainly written, and written in the form of a prophecy, and were a prophecy, and the book containing them was an inspired, canonical, and authoritative book; the citation was, therefore, suitable and forcible for Jesus' purposes, whoever the author may have been, and the use of a current pseudonym to designate the author no more committed Jesus to a declaration that that was the author's real name, than our use of the expression 'Junius says' would commit us to a declaration that the *Letters of Junius* were composed by a person of that name; or than, on the supposition already discussed, that 'Enoch' was regarded as a pseudonym, Jude 14 would indicate the belief of the author that Enoch himself actually uttered the words which he quotes."[2]

II. *The Prophets.* 1. The only one of the former prophets or the prophetic historical books mentioned in connection with

Hort say that "Transcriptional Probability, which *prima facie* supports πρώτῳ, is in reality favourable or unfavourable to both readings alike" (*l.c.*, Appendix, p. 95).

[1] Mt. 24^{15}. But this is evidently an addition by our Matthew, and it was not spoken by Jesus, for it is not in Mk. 13^{14} or Lk. 21^{20}.

[2] In *l.c.*, pp. 106, 107.

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a name is Samuel:[1] "All the prophets from Samuel and them that followed after, as many as have spoken, they also told of these days." The reference here is to the book of Samuel, for the reason that there is no Messianic prophecy ascribed to Samuel in the Old Testament. The context forces us to think of a Messianic prophecy. We find it in the prophecy of Nathan in the book of Samuel. These historical books then bore the name of Samuel, and their contents are referred to as Samuel's.

Samuel cannot be regarded as the author of this book that bears his name. Indeed, Samuel's death is described in the twenty-fifth chapter of 1 Samuel, that is, about the middle of the books. The book of Samuel shows the hands of three different writers, not one of them so early as Samuel. Samuel is used as an appropriate honorary title of the book, just as David was of the Psalter; and he is represented as saying whatever is in the book, even the words of Nathan, just as David speaks all that the psalmists speak in the Psalms.

As to Joshua, Judges, and Kings we have no use of them in such a way as to raise questions of Higher Criticism.

2. Of the latter prophets the New Testament refers only to Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, and Joel in connection with names. Ezekiel and nine of the minor prophets are not used in such a way as to raise questions of Higher Criticism. Jonah[2] is referred to as a prophet in connection with his preaching to the Ninevites and his abode in the belly of the great fish, but no such reference is made to the book that bears his name as to imply his authorship of it. The question whether Jonah is history or fiction is not decided by Jesus' use of it; for as a parable it answered His purpose no less than if it were history.

3. Hosea 1^{10}, 2^{23} are quoted[3] as "in Hosea." This is probably nothing more than the name of the writing used. Joel 2^{28-32} is quoted:[4] "This is that which hath been spoken through the prophet Joel." No questions need to be raised as to these passages.

4. Jeremiah is cited,[5] under the formula, "that which was spoken through Jeremiah the prophet, saying." The former citation is from Jeremiah 31^{15}, the latter from Zechariah 11^{12-13}.

[1] Acts 3^{24}. [2] Mt. 12^{39-41}. [3] Rom. 9^{25}. [4] Acts 2^{16}. [5] Mt. 2^{17}, 27^{9}.

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This raises the question of the integrity of Zechariah. On the basis of this passage Chapters 9–11 of Zechariah were ascribed to Jeremiah by Mede, Hammond, and Kidder.[1] But it is now generally conceded that the evangelist has made a mistake. This raises the question how far errors of this character affect the credibility of a writing.

5. Isaiah is frequently cited in the New Testament in the formula, "through Isaiah the prophet, saying." Thus the evangelist Matthew cites[2] Is. $9^{1\,seq.}$, 40^{3}, 42^{1-4}, 53^{4}; and the author of the book of Acts[3] Is. $6^{9\,seq.}$. The formula "Isaiah said" is used in the citation of Is. $6^{9\,seq.}$, 40^{3}, in the Gospel of John;[4] the citation of Is. 11^{10}, 53^{1}, $65^{1\,seq.}$, in the Epistle to the Romans.[5] The formula, "the book of the words of the prophet Isaiah," is used by Luke[6] in citing Is. 40^{3-5}, 61^{1-2}. Is. 53^{1} is cited as the "word of Isaiah the prophet";[7] Is. 53^{7-8} as "reading the prophet Isaiah";[8] Is. $10^{22\,seq.}$ as "Isaiah cries out";[9] Is. 1^{9} as "Isaiah foretold";[10] Is. 6^{9-10} as "prophecy of Isaiah";[11] Is. 29^{13} as "Isaiah prophesied."[12] Besides these there is a passage of more difficulty,[13] where, with the formula, "written in Isaiah the prophet," are cited Mal. 3^{1} and Is. 40^{3}. This seems to be a clear case in which the evangelist has overlooked the fact that one of his citations is from Malachi. This raises the question how far such a slip is consistent with credibility. The various formulas of citation seem on the surface to imply the authorship of our book of Isaiah by the prophet Isaiah, and also its essential integrity, inasmuch as the citations are from all parts of the book. But we have found that Samuel is represented as prophesying, when the prophecy is by Nathan in the book that bore the name of Samuel, and that David speaks in all the Psalms. How can we be sure that this is not the case with Isaiah, likewise, in the phrases, "through Isaiah the prophet, saying," "Isaiah said," "words of Isaiah the prophet," "Isaiah cries out," "Isaiah foretold," "Isaiah prophesied"? The phrases, "book of the prophet Isaiah,"

[1] See p. 310. [2] Mt. 4^{14}, 3^{3}, 12^{17}, 8^{17}. [3] Acts 28^{25}. [4] John 12^{39-41}, 1^{23}.
[5] Rom. 15^{12}, $10^{16,\,20-21}$. [6] Lk. 3^{4}, 4^{17}. [7] John 12^{38}.
[8] Acts 8^{28-30}. [9] Rom. 9^{27}. [10] Rom. 9^{29}.
[11] Mt. 13^{14}. [12] Mk. 7^{6} = Mt. 15^{7}. [13] Mk. $1^{2,3}$.

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"reading the prophet Isaiah," "prophecy of Isaiah," certainly imply nothing more than naming the book.

They may be interpreted in several ways: either that Isaiah wrote all the book of Isaiah, or that he wrote the earlier portions of it, and that the prophecies appended by the later editors of the book did not change its name; or that it came down by tradition associated with the name of Isaiah, having been edited under his name when the second Canon was established. These terms no more imply authorship than the names Ruth, Esther, Samuel, David. In fact, ten of the citations in the New Testament given above are from Is. 40–66, which, as all modern critics agree, was not written by Isaiah, or in the time of Isaiah, but in the time of the exile, by a great prophet unnamed and unknown. The remaining citations would be commonly regarded as genuine prophecies of Isaiah.

III. *The Law.* 1. Jesus speaks of "the Law of Moses"[1] and "the book of Moses."[2] The evangelist uses "Moses" for the Law.[3] So the apostles refer to "the Law of Moses,"[4] and use "Moses" for the Law.[5] These are all cases of naming books cited. They have as their parallel David as the name of the Psalter; Samuel, also, of the book of Samuel.[6] It is certainly reasonable to interpret Moses in these passages in the same way, as the name of the work containing his legislation, and the history in which he is the central figure.

2. (*a*) Jesus cites from the fifth commandment, Ex. 20^{12}, and from a statute of the code of the Covenant, Ex. 21^{17}, according to Mark as "Moses said," corrected by Matthew into "God said."[7] The former of these was uttered by God to the people, and was written upon one of the tables as the fifth of the Ten Words. The other was a statute, not in the original Book of the Covenant, but taken up into it from a pentade of statutes, coming originally from the most ancient lawgivers of Israel.[8]

(*b*) Jesus said to the leper, "Go thy way, shew thyself to the priest, and offer for thy cleansing the things which Moses

[1] John 7^{23}. [2] Mk. 12^{26}. [3] Lk. 24^{27}. [4] Acts 28^{23}.
[5] Acts 15^{21}, 2 Cor. 3^{15}. [6] Heb. 4^{7}, Acts 3^{24}. See p. 323. [7] Mk. 7^{10} = Mt. 15^{4}.
[8] Briggs, *Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch.* New edition, 1897, p. 219.

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commanded, for a testimony unto them."[1] This refers to the law for cleansing the leper in Lev. 14. It belongs to the Priest code, the last codification of Hebrew law in the time of the exile.

(*c*) In discussing the question of divorce with the Pharisees, Jesus said, "What did Moses command you? And they said, Moses suffered to write a bill of divorcement, and to put her away. But Jesus said unto them, For your hardness of heart he wrote you this commandment."[2] This law of divorce is in Deut. 24^{1-4}. It is one of the judgments from the courts of the elders belonging to the earlier strata of the Deuteronomic code.[3]

(*d*) Jesus said, "Did not Moses give you the law, and yet none of you doeth the law? . . . Moses hath given you circumcision (not that it is of Moses, but of the fathers); and on the Sabbath ye circumcise a man. If a man receiveth circumcision on the Sabbath, that the law of Moses may not be broken; are ye wroth with me, because I made a man every whit whole on the Sabbath?"[4] Here Jesus ascribes the whole Law to Moses, and specifically the law of circumcision. This latter is corrected by the editor of the original John, who here, as so often, inserts a qualifying or explanatory statement. The editor calls attention to the fact that circumcision was not exactly of Moses, but of the Fathers. He remembers that it was given to Abraham by God, and not first to Moses. Indeed, there is surprisingly little in the Law codes with reference to circumcision. In the Priest code, in connection with the law for purification of women after childbirth, the circumcision of the boy comes in incidentally.[5] There is then a reference to the circumcision of the son of Moses,[6] and a law for the circumcision of strangers.[7] There can be little doubt that the original John represents Jesus as stating that Moses gave the law of circumcision, which was really given by God to Abraham. He does it because of the usage of his day. Moses and Law were identical terms, and whatever was written in the five books of the Law could be ascribed to Moses, just the same as whatever was written in the Psalter was ascribed to David,

[1] Mk. 1^{44} = Mt. 8^{4} = Lk. 5^{14}. [2] Mk. 10^{3-5}; Mt. 19^{7-8}. [3] Briggs, *l.c.*, p. 253.
[4] John 7^{19-23}. [5] Lev. 12^{2}. [6] Ex. 4^{26}. [7] Ex. 12^{44-48}.

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and whatever was spoken in the book of Samuel was ascribed to Samuel. In fact, Jesus in these several passages ascribes to Moses, in this larger sense, the fifth commandment, spoken by God to Israel, the law of circumcision given by God to Abraham, the statute of the Covenant code derived from the primitive courts of Israel, the judgment of the Deuteronomic code derived from the courts of the elders, and the law of the Priest code derived from the priestly courts. They can, with propriety, be attributed to Moses, using Moses as the name for the books of the Law and all the legislation contained therein. But, in fact, none of these specific laws were given to Moses or were derived from Moses. They were either earlier or later than Moses, except the fifth command, which was given by God directly to all the people.

The Epistle to the Hebrews represents Moses as giving the law of priesthood, and as a lawgiver whose law could not be disobeyed with impunity.[1] These passages represent Moses to be the lawgiver that he appears to be in the narratives of the Pentateuch ; but do not, by any means, imply the authorship of the narratives that contain these laws, any more than the reference[2] to the command of Christ in Lk. 10^{7}, and to the institution of the Lord's Supper by Jesus,[3] imply that Jesus was the author of the gospels containing His words.

3. Moses is frequently referred to as a prophet who wrote of Jesus as the Messianic prophet.[4] All these references are doubtless to the prediction of Deut. $18^{18\text{-}19}$. There is no sufficient reason for doubting that Moses uttered such a prophecy, although its present form shows the hand of the Deuteronomic redactor.[5] But the references here might still all be explained of Moses as standing for the whole Law, and so as uttering all the prophecies contained in the Law, just as Samuel uttered the prophecy of Nathan. There is certainly nothing in these statements to imply that Moses wrote the book of Deuteronomy, or the Deuteronomic code, or the entire Law.

4. Certain historical events narrated in the Pentateuch in

[1] Heb. 7^{14}, 10^{28}. [2] 1 Cor. 9^{14}. [3] 1 Cor. $11^{23\ seq.}$
[4] John 1^{45}, $5^{46.47}$; Acts $3^{22\text{-}24}$, 7^{37}, 26^{22}.
[5] Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, 7th ed., 1898, pp. 112 *seq.*

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which Moses takes the lead are mentioned,[1] but these simply refer to the historical character of the transactions; they do not imply exclusive Mosaic authorship of the writings containing these historical incidents.

5. In the passage, "Moses indeed said, A prophet shall the Lord God raise up unto you, etc. . . . Yea, and all the prophets from Samuel, and them that followed after, as many as have spoken, they also told of these days,"[2] it is necessary to interpret "Samuel" of the book of Samuel, and think of the prophecy of Nathan; and if this be so, is it not most natural to interpret "Moses" here as also referring to the book of Deuteronomy rather than the person of Moses? If that be true in this case, it may also be true of other cases classed under (2) and (3). Samuel cannot, it is admitted, be regarded as the author of the book that bears his name; why, then, should any one suppose that we are forced to conclude from these passages that Moses is the author of the books that bear his name?

It has been objected that this method of determining what the words of Jesus and His apostles *may* mean in detail does not show what they *must* mean when taken together. It has, however, been forgotten by the objectors that the proper exegetical method is inductive, and that the path of exegesis is to rise from the particulars to the general. The dogmatic method is in the habit of saying a passage *must* mean thus and so from dogmatic presuppositions. The exegete prefers the *may* until he is forced to the *must*. He has learned to place little confidence in the "must mean" of tradition and dogmatism; for he has so often been obliged to see it transform into *must not*, *impossible*, from exegetical considerations. Who, then, is to say *must* in the interpretation of the New Testament, exterior to itself? Is the Talmud to say *must* to the words of our Lord Jesus? Is the traitor Josephus, or the pseudepigraph of Ezra, to say *must* in an interpretation of the apostles? Nay. We let them speak for themselves, and if we are to choose between a variety of possible interpretations of their words we prefer to let Higher Criticism decide. For Higher Criticism is exact

[1] Heb. 8^5, 9^{19}, 12^{21}, etc. [2] Acts 3^{22-24}.

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and thorough in its methods, and prefers the internal evidence of the Old Testament books themselves to any external evidence. This may bring Jesus into conflict with Josephus and the rabbins and with traditional theories; but it is more likely to bring Him into harmony with Moses and the Prophets. Professor B. Weiss has well said in another connection:

> "However certainly, therefore, the religious ideas of later Judaism, as well as the doctrines of Jewish Theology, had an influence upon the forming of the religious consciousness as it is exhibited in the writings of the New Testament, our knowledge of the extent in which these ideas and doctrines lay within the field of vision of the writers of the New Testament is far from being precise enough to permit us to start from them in ascertaining that religious consciousness. It is only in the rarest cases that biblical theology will be able to make use of them with certainty for the purpose of elucidation."[1]

No one could emphasize the importance of historical exegesis more than we are disposed to do; but we cannot allow traditionalists — who are the last to use this method except when, for the time being, it serves their purposes — by the improper use of it to force upon criticism interpretations that are possible but not necessary, and which are excluded by other and higher considerations presented by the Word of God as contained in the Scriptures of the Old Testament.

It has been a common literary usage for centuries to represent a book as speaking by the name by which it is known, whether that be a pseudonym, or indicate the subject-matter or the author. To insist that it must always in the New Testament indicate authorship is to go in the face of the literary usage of the world, and against the usage of the New Testament itself, certainly in the cases of Samuel and David and, therefore, probably in other cases also, such as Moses and Isaiah.

We have shown that the questions of Higher Criticism have not been determined by the ecclesiastical authority of creeds or the consensus of tradition. And it is a merciful Providence

[1] *Biblical Theology of the New Testament*, T. & T. Clark's edition. Edin., 1882, I. p. 14.

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that this has not been the case. For it would have committed the Church and Christians to many errors which have been exposed by a century of progress in the Higher Criticism. Those who still insist upon opposing Higher Criticism with traditional views, and with the supposed authority of Jesus Christ and His apostles, do not realize the perils of the situation. They seem to be so infatuated with inherited opinions that they are ready to risk the divinity of Christ, the authority of the Bible, and the existence of the Church, upon their interpretation of the words of Jesus and His apostles. They apparently do not see that they throw up a wall to prevent any critic who is an unbeliever from ever becoming a believer in Christ and the Bible. They would force evangelical critics to choose between truth and scholarly research on the one side, and Christ and tradition on the other. But there are many far better scholars who are Christian critics, and they will not be deterred from criticism themselves, or allow others to be deterred, by these reactionary alarmists. The issue is plain, the result is not doubtful: the obstructionists will give way in this matter, as they have already in so many other matters.[1] Holy Scripture will vindicate itself against those who, like the friends of Job, have not spoken right concerning God[2] in presuming to defend Him.

V. The Rise of the Higher Criticism.

The current critical theories are the resultants of forces at work in the Church since the Reformation. These forces have advanced steadily and constantly. In each successive epoch scholars have investigated afresh the sacred records and brought forth treasures new as well as old. Various theories have been proposed from time to time to account for the new facts that have been brought to light. Biblical science has shared the fortune of the entire circle of the sciences. The theories have been modified or discarded under the influence of additional investigations and the discovery of new facts for which they could not account. The facts have remained in every case as a permanent acquisition of Biblical Criticism, and these facts have

[1] See pp. 9 *seq.*, 223 *seq.* [2] Job 42 [7].

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gradually accumulated in mass and importance, until they now command the services of a large body of enthusiastic investigators. They have gained the ear of the literary world, and they enlist the interest of all intelligent persons. The questions of Higher Criticism have risen to a position among the great issues of our time, and no one can any longer ignore them.

All great movements of human thought have their preliminary and initial stages, and are preceded by spasmodic efforts. Even the enemies of the true Faith not infrequently become the providential agents for calling the Church to a fresh investigation of the sacred oracles. Thus Spinoza, the pantheistic philosopher, applied Historical Criticism to the Old Testament books,[1] and concluded that Moses could not have written the Pentateuch, and that the historical books from Genesis through the books of Kings constitute one great historical work, a conglomeration of many different originals by one editor, probably Ezra, who does not succeed in a reconciliation of differences, and a complete and harmonious arrangement. The books of Chronicles he places in the Maccabean period. The Psalms were collected and divided into five books in the time of the second temple. The book of Proverbs was collected at the earliest in the time of Josiah. The prophetical books are collections of different fragments without regard to their original order. Daniel, Ezra, Esther, and Nehemiah are from the same author, who would continue the great historical work of Israel from the captivity onwards, written in the Maccabean period. Job was probably, as Aben Ezra conjectured, translated into Hebrew from a foreign tongue.[2] This criticism was shrewd, but chiefly conjectural. It paved the way for future systematic investigations.

Soon after Spinoza, Richard Simon,[3] a Roman Catholic, began to apply Historical Criticism in a systematic manner to the study of the books of the Old Testament. He represented the historical books as made up of the ancient writings of the prophets, who were public scribes, and wrote down the history in official

[1] *Tract. Theo. Polit.*, 1670, c. 8.

[2] See Siegfried, *Spinoza als Kritiker und Ausleger des Alten Testament*, Berlin, 1867.

[3] *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament*, 1678.

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documents on the spot, from the time of Moses onward, so that the Pentateuch in its present shape is not by Moses. Simon distinguished in the Pentateuch between that which was written by Moses, *e.g.*, the commands and ordinances, and that written by the prophetical scribes, the greater part of the history. As the books of Kings and Chronicles were made up by abridgments and summaries of the ancient acts preserved in the archives of the nation, so was the Pentateuch. The later prophets edited the works of the earlier prophets, and added explanatory statements. Simon presents as evidences that Moses did not write the Pentateuch: (1) The double account of the deluge. (2) The lack of order in the arrangement of the narratives and laws. (3) The diversity of the style. The Roman Catholic scholar goes deeper into the subject than the pantheist Spinoza has gone. He presents another class of evidences. These three lines were not sufficiently worked by Simon. He fell into the temptation of expending his strength on the elaboration and justification of his theory. The facts he discovered have proved of permanent value, and have been worked as a rich mine by later scholars, but his theory was at once attacked and destroyed. The Arminian, Clericus, in an anonymous work,[1] assailed Simon for his abuse of Protestant writers, but really went to greater lengths than Simon. He distinguishes in the Pentateuch three classes of facts, — those before Moses, those during his time, and those subsequent to his death, — and represents the Pentateuch in its present form as composed by the priest sent from Babylon to instruct the inhabitants of Samaria in the religion of the land.[2] Afterward he gave up this wild theory and took the more tenable ground[3] of interpolations by a later editor. Anton Van Dale[4] distinguishes between the Mosaic code and the Pentateuch, which latter Ezra composed from other writings, historical and pro-

[1] *Sentimens de quelques theologiens de Holland sur l'Histoire Critique*, Amst., 1685.

[2] 2 K. 17. In *l.c.*, pp. 107, 129.

[3] *Com. on Genesis, introd. de Scriptore Pent.*, § 11. Simon replied to Clericus in *Réponse au Livre intitule Sentimens*, etc. Par Le Prieur de Belleville, Rotterdam, 1686.

[4] *De origine et progressu idol.*, 1696, p. 71, and *Epist. ad Morin.*, p. 686.

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phetical, inserting the Mosaic code as a whole in his work. This is also essentially the view of Semler.[1]

These various writers brought to light a most valuable collection of facts that demanded the attention of biblical scholars of all creeds and phases of thought. They all made the mistake of proposing untenable theories of various kinds to account for the facts, instead of working upon the facts and rising from them by induction and generalization to permanent results. Some of them, like Spinoza, were animated by a spirit more or less hostile to the evangelical faith. Others, like Clericus, were heterodox in other matters. The most important investigations were those of the Roman Catholics.

Over against these critical attacks on the traditional theories, we note the scholastic defence of them by Huet, a Jesuit,[2] Heidegger,[3] a Calvinistic scholastic, and Carpzov,[4] a Lutheran scholastic. These divines, instead of seeking to account for the facts brought to light by the critics, proceeded to defend traditional views, and strove in every way to explain away the facts and so to commit the Christian Church in all its branches against the scientific study of Holy Scripture.

There were, however, other divines who looked the facts in the face and took a better way. Thus Du Pin,[5] Witsius,[6] Spanheim,[7] Prideaux,[8] Vitringa,[9] and Calmet,[10] sought to explain the passages objected to, either as improperly interpreted or as interpolations, recognizing the use of several documents and a later editorship by Ezra and others. They laid the foundations for evangelical criticism, which was about to begin and run a long and successful course.[11]

It is instructive just here to pause by Du Pin, who lays

[1] *Apparatus ad liberalem Vet. Test. Interp.*, 1773, p. 67.

[2] In his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, 1679, IV. cap. xiv.

[3] *Exercitiones Biblicæ*, 1700, *Dissert.* IX. 7.

[4] *Introduction ad Libros Canonicos Bib. Vet. Test.* 2 ed., Lipsiæ, 1731.

[5] *Dessert. prelim. Bib. des auteurs eccl.*, Paris, 1688. *A New History of Ecclesiastical Writers*, 3d edition, London, 1696, pp. 1 *seq.*

[6] *Misc. Sacra*, 1692, p. 103. [7] *Historia ecclesiast. V. T.*, I. p. 260.

[8] *Old and New Testaments connected*, 1716–1718, I. 5 (3).

[9] *Observa. Sacra.*, 1722, IV. 2. [10] *Com. litterale*, 1722, I. p. xiii.

[11] See Briggs, *Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, new edition, 1897, pp. 36 *seq.*

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down such admirable rules of literary criticism[1] with reference to ecclesiastical books. When Simon raises the question why he does not apply these rules to the Pentateuch, he replies by saying:

> "A man may say, that all these rules which I have laid down, are convincing and probable in different degrees, but that the sovereign and principal rule is the judgment of equity and prudence, which instructs us to balance the reasons of this and t'other side, in distinctly considering the conjectures that are made of both sides. Now this is the general rule of Rational Criticism, and we abuse all the rest if we don't chiefly make use of this."[2]

In this way the difference between Simon and himself was easily reduced to that between good sense and nonsense. This method of settling difficult questions certainly stops debate between the parties for the moment, but is far from convincing.

Before passing over to the Higher Criticism of the Holy Scriptures we shall present the views of this master of the literary criticism of ecclesiastical writers in his time, respecting the biblical books:

> "Moses was the author of the first five books of the Pentateuch (except sundry interpolations). . . . We can't so certainly tell who are the authors of the other books of the Bible: some of 'em we only know by conjecture, and others there are of which we have no manner of knowledge. . . . The time wherein Job lived, is yet more difficult to discover; and the author of the book, who has compiled his history, is no less unknown. . . . Though the Psalms are commonly called *the Psalms of David*, or rather the *Book of the Psalms of David*, yet 'tis certain, as St. Jerom has observed in many places, that they are not all of 'em his, and that there are some of them written long after his death. 'Tis therefore a collection of songs that was made by Ezrah. . . . The Proverbs or Parables belong to Solomon, whose name is written in the beginning of that book. . . . We ought therefore to conclude, . . . that the first twenty-four chapters are Solomon's originally, that the five following ones are extracts or collections of his proverbs, and that the two last chapters were added afterwards. . . . The book of Ecclesiastes is ascribed to Solomon by all antiquity: And yet the Talmudists have made Hezekiah the author of the book, and Grotius, upon some slight conjectures, pretends it was com-

[1] See pp. 96 *seq.*

[2] *l.c.*, p. 18.

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posed by Zerubbabel. It begins with these words, *The Words of the Preacher, the Son of David, King of Jerusalem;* which may be applied to Hezekiah as well as to Solomon: . . . we ought rather to understand it of Solomon. . . . The Song of Songs . . . is allowed to be Solomon's by the consent of the synagogue and the church. The Talmudists attribute it to Ezrah, but without grounds. The books of the Prophets carry the names of their authors undisputed."[1]

About the same time several Roman Catholic divines, as well as Vitringa, took ground independently in favour of the theory of the use of written documents by Moses in the composition of Genesis. So Abbé Fleury,[2] and Abbé Laurent François;[3] but it was chiefly Astruc, a physician, who in 1753[4] made it evident that Genesis was composed of several documents. He presented to the learned world, with some hesitation and timidity, his discovery that the use of the divine names, *Elohim* and *Jehovah*, divided the book of Genesis into two great memoirs and nine lesser ones.

This was a real discovery, which, after a hundred years of debate, has at last won the consent of the vast majority of biblical scholars. His analysis is in some respects too mechanical, and, in not a few instances, is defective and needed rectification, but as a whole it has been maintained. He relies also too much upon the different use of the divine names, and too little upon variations in style, language, and narrative.[5] The attention of German scholars was called to this discovery by Jerusalem.[6] Eichhorn was independently led to the same conclusion.[7] But still more important than the work of Astruc was that of Bishop Lowth,[8] who unfolded the principles of par-

[1] *l.c.*, pp. 1–5.

[2] *Mœurs des Israelites*, Bruxelles, 1701, p. 6. This was translated into English and enlarged by Adam Clarke. 3d edition, 1809.

[3] *Preuves de la Religion de Jesus Christ, contra les Spinosistes et les Deistes*, 1751, I. 2, c. 3, art. 7.

[4] In his *Conjectures sur les Memoires originaux dont il paroit que Moyse s'est servi pour le livre de la Genèse.*

[5] See Briggs, *Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, new edition, 1897, pp. 46 *seq.*

[6] In his *Briefe über d. Mosaischen Schriften*, 1762, 3te Aufl., 1783, pp. 104 *seq.*

[7] *Urgeschichte* in the *Repertorium*, T. iv., 1779, especially T. v., 1779.

[8] In *De Sacra Poesi Hebræorum*, 1753, and, 1779, in *Prelim. Diss.*, and *Translation of the Prophecies of Isaiah.*

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allelism in Hebrew poetry, and made it possible to study the Old Testament as literature, discriminating poetry from prose, and showing that the greater part of prophecy is poetical. His work on Hebrew poetry was issued in Germany by Michaelis, and his translation of Isaiah by Koppe, who took the position that this prophetical book was made up of a number of documents loosely put together from different authors and different periods.[1] Lowth himself did not realize the importance of this discovery for the literary criticism of the Scriptures, but thought that it would prove of great service to Textual Criticism in the suggesting of emendations of the text in accordance with the parallelism of members.

The poet Herder[2] first caught the Oriental spirit and life and brought to the attention of the learned the varied literary beauties of the Bible,[3] and "reconquered, so to say, the Old Testament for German literature."[4]

But these writings were all preparatory to the work of J. G. Eichhorn, in 1780.[5] Eichhorn combined in one the results of Simon and Astruc, Lowth and Herder, embracing the various elements in an organic method which he called the *Higher Criticism*. In the preface to his second edition, 1787, he says:

[1] Koppe, *Robert Lowth's Jesaias neu übersetzt nebst einer Einleitung . . .* mit Zusätze und Anmerkungen, 4 Bd., Leipzig, 1779–1780.

[2] In 1780 he published his *Briefe über das Studium der Theologie*, and in 1782 his *Geist der Heb. Poesie.*

[3] Herder in his first *Brief* says: "Richard Simon is the Father of the Criticism of the Old and New Testaments in recent times." "A Critical Introduction to the Old Testament, as it ought to be, we have not yet." 1780. In 2d Auf., 1785. It is said on the margin, "We have it now in Eichhorn's valuable *Einleit. ins Alt. Test.*, 1780–1783."

[4] Dorner in *Johnson's Encyclopædia*, II. p. 528.

[5] *Einleit. ins Alt. Test.* As Bertheau remarks in Herzog's *Real Ency.*, I. Aufl., IV. 115: "In Eichhorn's writings the apologetic interest is everywhere manifest, to explain, as he expresses it, the Bible according to the ideas and methods of thought of the ancient world, and to defend it against the scorn of the enemies of the Bible. He recognized the exact problem of his times clearer than most of his contemporaries; he worked with unwearied diligence over the whole field of Biblical literature with his own independent powers; he paved the way to difficult investigations; he undertook many enterprises with good success, and conducted not a few of them to safe results. With Herder in common he has the credit of having awakened in wide circles love to the Bible, and especially the Old Testament writings, and excited enthusiasm carefully to investigate them."

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"I am obliged to give the most pains to a hitherto entirely unworked field, the investigation of the internal condition of the particular writings of the Old Testament by help of the Higher Criticism (a new name to no Humanist). Let any one think what they will of these efforts, my own consciousness tells me that they are the result of very careful investigation, although no one can be less wrapt up in them than I their author. The powers of one man hardly suffice to complete such investigations so entirely at once. They demand a healthful and ever-cheerful spirit, and how long can any one maintain it in such toilsome investigations? They demand the keenest insight into the internal condition of every book; and who will not be dulled after a while?"

He begins his investigation of the books of Moses with the wise statement:

"Whether early or late? That can be learned only from the writings themselves. And if they are not by their own contents or other internal characteristic traces put down into a later century than they ascribe to themselves or Tradition assigns them, then a critical investigator must not presume to doubt their own testimony — else he is a contemptible raisonneur, a doubter in the camp, and no longer an historical investigator. According to this plan I shall test the most ancient Hebrew writings, not troubling myself what the result of this investigation may be. And if therewith learning, shrewdness, and other qualifications which I desire for this work should fail me, yet, certainly no one will find lacking love of the truth and strict investigation."

These are the principles and methods of a true and manly scholar, the father of the Higher Criticism. It is a sad reflection that they have been so greatly and generally ignored on the scholastic and rationalistic sides. Eichhorn separated the Elohistic and Jehovistic documents in Genesis with great pains, and with such success that his analysis has been the basis of all critical investigation since his day. Its great advantages are admirably stated:

"For this discovery of the internal condition of the first books of Moses, party spirit will perhaps for a pair of decennials snort at the Higher Criticism instead of rewarding it with the full thanks that are due it, for (1) the credibility of the book gains by such a use of more ancient documents. (2) The harmony of the two narratives at the same time with their slight deviations proves

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their independence and mutual reliability. (3) Interpreters will be relieved of difficulty by this Higher Criticism which separates document from document. (4) Finally the gain of Criticism is also great. If the Higher Criticism has now for the first distinguished author from author, and in general characterized each according to his own ways, diction, favorite expressions, and other peculiarities, then her lower sister who busies herself only with words, and spies out false readings, has rules and principles by which she must test particular readings."[1]

Eichhorn carried his methods of Higher Criticism into the entire Old Testament with the hand of a master, and laid the foundation of views that have been maintained ever since with increasing determination. He did not always grasp the truth. He sometimes chased shadows, and framed visionary theories both in relation to the Old and New Testaments, like others who have preceded him and followed him. He could not transcend the limits of his age, and adapt himself to future discoveries. The labours of a large number of scholars, and the work of a century and more, were still needed, as Eichhorn modestly anticipated.

These discussions produced little impression upon Great Britain. The conflict with deism had forced the majority of her divines into a false position. If they had maintained the *fides divina* and the critical position of the Protestant Reformers and Westminster divines, they would not have hesitated to look the facts in the face, and strive to account for them; they would not have committed the grave mistakes by which biblical learning was almost paralyzed in Great Britain for half a century.[2] Eager for the defence of traditional views, they,

[1] In *l.c.*, II. p. 329; see also *Urgeschichte* in *Repertorium*, 1770, V. p. 187. We cannot help calling attention to the fine literary sense of Eichhorn as manifest in the following extract: "Read it (Genesis) as two historical works of antiquity, and breathe thereby the atmosphere of its age and country. Forget then the century in which thou livest and the knowledge it affords thee; and if thou canst not do this, dream not that thou wilt be able to enjoy the book in the spirit of its origin."

[2] Mozley in his *Reminiscences*, 1882, Am. edit., Vol. II. p. 41, says: "There was hardly such a thing as Biblical Criticism in this country at the beginning of this century. Poole's Synopsis contained all that an ordinary clergyman could wish to know. Arnold is described as in all his glory at Rugby, with Poole's Synopsis on one side, and Facciolati on the other."

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for the most part, fell back again on Jewish Rabbinical authority and external evidence, contending with painful anxiety for authors and dates; and so antagonized Higher Criticism itself as deistic criticism and rationalistic criticism, not discriminating between those who were attacking the Scriptures in order to destroy them, and those who were searching the Scriptures in order to defend them. It is true that the humanist and the purely literary interest prevailed in Eichhorn and his school; they failed to apply the *fides divina* of the Protestant Reformers; but this was lacking to the scholastics also, and so unhappily traditional dogmatism and rationalistic criticism combined to crush evangelical criticism.

VI. The Higher Criticism of the Nineteenth Century

There is a notable exception to the absence of the critical spirit in Great Britain, and that exception proves the rule. In 1792 Dr. Alexander Geddes, a Roman Catholic divine, proposed what has been called the fragmentary hypothesis to account for the structure of the Pentateuch and Joshua.[1] But this radical theory found no hospitality in Great Britain. It passed over into Germany through Vater,[2] and there entered into conflict with the documentary hypothesis of the school of Eichhorn. Koppe had proposed the fragmentary hypothesis to account for the literary features of the book of Isaiah, and now it was extended to other books of the Bible. Eichhorn had applied the documentary hypothesis to the Gospels, Isaiah, and other parts of Scripture. The first stadium of the Higher Criticism is characterized by the conflict of the documentary and fragmentary hypotheses along the whole line. The result of this discussion was that the great variety of the elements that constitute our Bible became more and more manifest, and the problem was forced upon the critics to account for their combination.

[1] *The Holy Bible; or, the Books accounted Sacred by Jews and Christians*, etc. London, I. pp. xviii. *seq.*

[2] *Commentar über den Pentateuch mit Einleitungen zu den einzelnen Abschnitten der eingeschalteten von Dr. Alex. Geddes' merkwürdigeren kritischen und exegetischen Anmerkungen*, etc. Halle, 1805.

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De Wette[1] introduced the second stadium of the Higher Criticism by calling the attention of the critics to the genesis of the documents.[2] Gesenius supported him,[3] and sharply opposed the fragmentary hypothesis of Koppe, and strove to account for the genesis of the documents of Isaiah and their combination. Other critics in great numbers worked in the same direction, such as Bleek, Ewald, Knobel, Hupfeld, and produced a great mass of historical and critical work upon all parts of the Old Testament. The same problems were discussed in the New Testament, especially with reference to the Gospels, the order of their production, and their inter-relation.[4] A great number of different theories were advanced to account for the genesis of the different books of the Bible. The result of the conflict has been the conviction on the part of most critics that the unity of the writings in the midst of the variety of documents has been accomplished by careful and skilful editing at different periods of biblical history.

It became more and more evident that the problems were assuming larger dimensions, and that they could not be solved until the several edited writings were compared with one another and considered in their relation to the development of the Biblical Religion. The Higher Criticism thus entered upon a third stadium of its history. This stadium was opened for the New Testament by the Tübingen school, and for the Old Testament by the school of Reuss. These entered into conflict with the older views, and soon showed their insufficiency to account for the larger problems. They reconstructed the biblical writings upon purely naturalistic principles, so emphasizing differences as to make them irreconcilable, and explaining the development in biblical history and religion and literature by the theory of antagonistic forces struggling for the mastery. These critics were successfully opposed by

[1] *Kritik der israelitischen Geschichte*, Halle, 1807; *Beiträge zur Einleit.*, 1806–1807; *Lehrb. d. hist. krit. Einleit. in d. Bibel Alten und Neuen Testaments*, Berlin, 1817–1826.

[2] See author's article, "A Critical Study of the History of the Higher Criticism, with Special Reference to the Pentateuch," *Presbyterian Review*, IV. pp. 94 *seq.*

[3] *Com. ü. d. Jesaia*, Leipzig, 1821. [4] See Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, I. pp. 30 *seq.*

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the schools of Neander, Hoffmann, and Ewald, and have been overcome in the New Testament by the principle of diversity of views combining in a higher unity. The same principle will overcome them in the Old Testament likewise.[1]

The Higher Criticism during the first and second stadia of its development in Germany made little impression upon Great Britain and America. In 1818, T. Hartwell Horne issued his *Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*,[2] which has been highly esteemed for its many excellent qualities by several generations of students. His statement in the preface to the second edition of his work shows how far Great Britain was behind the continent at that time:

> "It (the work) originated in the author's own wants many years since . . . when he stood in need of a guide to the reading of the Holy Scriptures. . . . At this time the author had no friend to assist his studies, — or remove his doubts, — nor any means of procuring critical works. At length a list of the more eminent foreign Biblical critics fell into his hands, and directed him to some of the sources of information which he was seeking; he then resolved to procure such of them as his limited means would permit, with the design in the first instance of satisfying his own mind on those topics which had perplexed him, and ultimately of laying before the Public the results of his inquiries, should no treatise appear that might supersede such a publication."

This dependence of Great Britain and America on the biblical scholarship of the continent continued until the second half of our century. Most students of the Bible contented themselves with more or less modified forms of traditional theories. Some few scholars made occasional and cautious use of German criticism. Moses Stuart, Edward Robinson, S. H. Turner, Addison Alexander, Samuel Davidson, and others depended chiefly upon German works which they translated or reproduced. At last the Anglo-Saxon world was roused from its uncritical condition by the attacks of Bishop Colenso, on the historical character of the Pentateuch and the book of

[1] See author's article, "Critical Study of the Higher Criticism," etc., *Presbyterian Review*, IV. p. 106 *seq.*; also pp. 586 *seq.* of this book.

[2] It passed through many editions, 4th, 1823; 10th, 1856.

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Joshua ; and by a number of scholars representing free thought in the *Essays and Reviews*.[1] These writers fell back on the older deistic objections to the Pentateuch as history and as containing a supernatural religion, and mingled therewith a reproduction of German thought, chiefly through Bunsen. They magnified the discrepancies in the narratives and legislation, and attacked the supernatural element, but added little to the sober Higher Criticism of the Scriptures. So far as they took position on this subject they fell into line with the more radical element of the school of De Wette. They called the attention of British and American scholars away from the literary study of the Bible and the true work of the Higher Criticism, to a defence of the supernatural, and the inspiration of the Bible. They were attacked by several divines in Great Britain and America from this point of view ; but their contributions to the Higher Criticism of the Bible were either slurred over or ignored.[2] The work of Colenso had little support in Great Britain or America at the time, but it made a great impression upon the Dutch scholar, Kuenen, through whose influence it again came into notice.[3]

It is only within recent years that any general interest in the matters of Higher Criticism has been shown in Great Britain and America. This interest has been due chiefly to the labours of a few pioneers, who have suffered in the interest of biblical science. In Great Britain, Samuel Davidson, Professor of Biblical Literature in the Lancashire Independent College at Manchester from 1842 to 1857, in the latter year was compelled to resign his position in consequence of his views with respect to the

[1] *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined*, Parts I.–VII., 1862–1879 ; *Recent Inquiries in Theology by Eminent English Churchmen, being Essays and Reviews*, 4th American edition from 2d London, 1862.

[2] Among these may be mentioned the authors of *Aids to Faith*, being a reply to *Essays and Reviews*, American edition, 1862 ; W. H. Green, *The Pentateuch vindicated from the Aspersions of Bishop Colenso*, New York, 1863.

[3] *Godsdienst van Israel*, 1869–1870, the English edition, *Religion of Israel*, 1874 ; *De vijf Boeken van Mozes*, 1872 ; *De Profeten en de profetie on der Israel*, 1875, translated into English, *The Prophets and Prophecy in Israel*, 1877; and numerous articles in *Theologisch. Tijdschrift* since that time, and, last of all, Hibbert Lectures, *National Religions and Universal Religions*, 1882. Kuenen's views are presented in a popular form in the *Bible for Learners*, 3 vols., 1880.

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questions of the Higher Criticism, expressed in the second volume of the tenth edition of Horne's *Introduction to the Scripture*, 1856.[1] This stayed the progress of criticism in Great Britain for some years. But in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, there appeared articles on "Angels," the "Bible," "Canticles," "Chronicles," and other topics by Prof. W. Robertson Smith, which advocated essentially the development hypothesis of the school of Reuss, and especially in the direction of Wellhausen. W. R. Smith was Professor of Hebrew in the Free Church College of Aberdeen, Scotland, where he began to teach in 1870. These articles excited the attention of the College Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, and brought on a trial for heresy in that church. The case of Professor Smith reached its end in 1881, when he was removed from his chair in order to the peace and harmony of the Church, but acquitted of heresy in the matters in question. Although Professor Smith was dealt with in a very illegal and unjust manner, this contest gained liberty of opinion in Great Britain. His teacher, A. B. Davidson, of Edinburgh, who held essentially the same views, was undisturbed, and the General Assembly of the same Free Church, in May, 1892, chose Dr. George Adam Smith, with full knowledge of the fact that he held similar views, to be the successor of Principal Douglas, of Glasgow, who had been one of the chief opponents of W. Robertson Smith.

The first to suffer for the Higher Criticism in the United States was C. H. Toy, who was Professor of Old Testament Interpretation in the Baptist Theological School, at Greenville, S.C., from 1869 to 1879. In the latter year he was forced to resign because of his views as to Biblical Criticism. In 1880, however, he was called to be Professor of Hebrew at Harvard University, where he has remained until the present. The discussion of the Higher Criticism in the United States began for the Presbyterian body, in the plea for freedom of criticism in my inaugural address as Professor of Hebrew in the Union

[1] 2d edition, 1859; *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 1862–1863; *Introduction to the New Testament*, 1868; 2d edition, 1882; *The Canon of the Bible*, 1876; 3d edition, 1880.

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Theological Seminary, N.Y., in 1876.[1] This was received with a mild opposition. The subject first excited public attention through my article on the "Right, Duty, and Limits of Biblical Criticism," published in the *Presbyterian Review* in 1881. This was followed by a series of articles on both sides of the question. I was sustained by Henry P. Smith. W. Henry Green defended the traditional theories, and was sustained chiefly by A. A. Hodge and F. L. Patton; S. Ives Curtiss and Willis J. Beecher took a middle position. The discussion was closed in 1883, by articles by F. L. Patton and myself.[2] After the discussion was completed, the traditional side was chiefly advocated by Bissel and Osgood, the side of the Higher Criticism by Francis Brown, George F. Moore, J. P. Peters, and F. A. Gast. W. R. Harper undertook a discussion in the *Hebraïca* with W. Henry Green. In this discussion Harper, instead of setting forth his own critical views frankly and determinedly, preferred to set up a man of straw, which he styled the views of the critics, for W. H. Green to attack. The development of this discussion was unfortunate, for it seemed to identify Higher Criticism with the more radical views, and it caused W. H. Green and his friends to combat them with an intense earnestness, and a zeal for orthodoxy, which disclosed a change from their attitude in the discussion in the *Presbyterian Review*. The intense hostility in the Presbyterian body to Higher Criticism was due in considerable measure to this discussion in the *Hebraïca*. On Nov. 11, 1890, I was transferred, by the unanimous choice of the Board of Directors of the Union Theological Seminary, to a new chair of Biblical Theology, endowed by the President of the Directors, Charles Butler. In the inaugural address delivered Jan. 20, 1891, on the "Authority of the Holy Scripture," the subject of Higher Criticism was presented as follows:

> "It may be regarded as the certain result of the science of the Higher Criticism that Moses did not write the Pentateuch or Job; Ezra did not write the Chronicles, Ezra, or Nehemiah; Jeremiah

[1] See pp. 26 *seq.*

[2] *The Dogmatic Aspect of Pentateuchal Criticism*, by F. L. Patton. *Critical Study of the History of the Higher Criticism*, by C. A. Briggs.

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did not write the Kings or Lamentations; David did not write the Psalter, but only a few of the Psalms; Solomon did not write the Song of Songs or Ecclesiastes, and only a portion of the Proverbs; Isaiah did not write half of the book that bears his name. The great mass of the Old Testament was written by authors whose names or connection with their writings are lost in oblivion. If this is destroying the Bible, the Bible is destroyed already. But who tells us that these traditional names were the authors of the Bible? The Bible itself? The creeds of the Church? Any reliable historical testimony? None of these! Pure, conjectural tradition! Nothing more! We are not prepared to build our faith for time and eternity upon such uncertainties as these. We desire to know whether the Bible came from God, and it is not of any great importance that we should know the names of those worthies chosen by God to mediate His revelation. It is possible that there is a providential purpose in the withholding of these names, in order that men might have no excuse for building on human authority, and so should be forced to resort to divine authority. It will ere long become clear to the Christian people that the Higher Criticism has rendered an inestimable service to this generation and to generations to come. What has been destroyed has been the fallacies and conceits of theologians; the obstructions that have barred the way of literary men from the Bible. Higher Criticism has forced its way into the Bible itself and brought us face to face with the holy contents, so that we may see and know whether they are divine or not. Higher Criticism has not contravened any decision of any Christian council, or any creed of any Church, or any statement of Scripture itself."[1]

After the General Assembly had tried in vain to deprive me of my chair, through a stretch of authority which the Directors of Union Seminary could not either legally or morally recognize, charges were brought against me before the Presbytery of New York. Two of these charges were on the question of Higher Criticism, namely: "with teaching that Moses is not the author of the Pentateuch," and "with teaching that Isaiah is not the author of half of the book that bears his name."

The Presbytery of New York acquitted me of these charges, not on the ground that I did not hold these opinions, for I distinctly asserted these opinions, and gave ample proof of them

[1] *The Inaugural Address, Authority of the Holy Scripture*, 1891, pp. 33, 34.

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in my *Defence*,[1] but on the ground that these opinions did not conflict with Holy Scripture or the Westminster Confession of Faith. But the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America found me guilty of heresy in these two particulars, as well as in others,[2] in which I held either catholic or scientific truth against traditional and modern error; and they suspended me from the ministry until "such time as he shall give satisfactory evidence of repentance to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America."

In the same panic Prof. Henry Preserved Smith was tried on similar grounds. One of the specifications in the charges against him, which was sustained, was, "He teaches that the last twenty-seven chapters of the book of Isaiah are not correctly ascribed to him." He was also suspended from the ministry in the same year by the Presbytery of Cincinnati, which action was sustained next year by General Assembly.

Thus the Presbyterian denomination in the United States of America, under the guidance of Prof. William Henry Green, the American Hengstenberg, and others like minded, has, for the first time in history, made a determination of questions of Higher Criticism, and has decided that it is heresy to say that "Moses did not write the Pentateuch," and that "Isaiah did not write half of the book that bears his name"; the sure results of the Higher Criticism accepted by all genuine critics the world over, whether they be Roman Catholic or Protestant, Jew or Christian. The General Assembly went no further. There are other scholars who agree with Henry P. Smith and myself, and who remain unchallenged. The General Assembly could not prevent Professor Smith or myself from pursuing our researches, nor have they stayed the hands of other scholars. They have simply committed the Presbyterian body to a false position.

The more recent work of the Higher Criticism has been in the detailed work of analysis of the different writings. In the

[1] *The Defence of Professor Briggs*, 1893, pp. 115 *seq.*; *The Case against Professor Briggs*, Part III. pp. 205 *seq.*

[2] See pp. 615 *seq.*

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Old Testament, the effort is to find the sources of the Judaic, Ephraimitic, Deuteronomic, and Priestly authors in earlier documents of the same type, $J^{1,2}$, $E^{1,2}$, $D^{1,2}$, P^{1-3}, and, in this way, push back to primitive times; and to trace out the documents of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, and to ascertain how far they resemble or are the same as the documents of the Hexateuch. It seems to be evident that there were groups of earlier Ephraimitic and Judaic writers, and that these were followed by groups of Deuteronomic and Priestly writers, and that the composition of the historical books of the Old Testament was a much more elaborate affair than the earlier critics supposed. The same is true of the Gospels. The use of the primitive Gospel of Mark and the Logia of Matthew by our Matthew is now well assured. The use of other sources is also under investigation. The work of Luke, in his use of various sources in the Gospel and the book of Acts, is a burning question of New Testament criticism, especially in view of the recent theory of Blass, that the Western text represents an original, independent edition of the work of Luke.[1]

I have myself, in recent years, endeavoured to show five different archæological sources of Hebrew Law, in the Words, Statutes, Judgments, Commands, and Laws.[2] I have also endeavoured to use the references in the Gospels to the words of Jesus, and recover the original gnomic poetry in which he uttered his wisdom.[3]

The Old Testament prophets have been analyzed in detail, especially the former prophets, by Wellhausen, Driver, Moore, and H. P. Smith, and the later prophets by Cheyne, Cornill, and Duhm, to an extent that seems like a return to the fragmentary hypothesis. But they have made it evident that all the books of the Old Testament have passed through the hands of editors who did not hesitate to make the most radical changes in the original, in the adaptation of them to later uses. The Writings have also been searched, especially by Toy and Cheyne,

[1] See pp. 203 *seq.*

[2] *Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, new edition, pp. 242 *seq.* See also pp. 560 *seq.* of this volume.

[3] "Wisdom of Jesus," articles in the *Expository Times*, 1897. See also pp. 69, 90, 244, 305, of this volume.

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with the result of pushing the whole body of them, in their present form, down into the period of the Restoration, and the disclosure of editorial changes by successive hands to an extent which seems unsettling to those unfamiliar with the details of the investigation. The Apocalypse of the New Testament has been analyzed with as much attention to detail as the Pseudepigrapha.[1] The epistles of the New Testament are also being searched by criticism, and it is becoming evident that we must recognize the hands of editors even in some of them. The great questions of criticism have been settled by the consensus of all real critics. It now remains, out of the confusion caused by the more detailed investigations of a mass of workers, in all religious bodies, and in all nations, to organize the results into the final system. This much may be said in general, that the tendency of all this criticism in detail is to work backwards to closer contact with the original authors and the original readings. When all the work of editors has been removed from the discussions, the original stands out in its historical environment, with graphic realism and an illuminating authority.

The literary study of Holy Scripture is appropriately called Higher Criticism to distinguish it from the Lower Criticism, which devotes itself to the study of original texts and versions. There are few who have the patience, the persistence, the life-long industry in the examination of the minute details that make up the field of the Lower or Textual Criticism. But the Higher Criticism is more attractive. It has to do with literary forms and styles and models. It appeals to the imagination and the æsthetic taste as well as to the logical faculty. It kindles the enthusiasm of the young. It will more and more enlist the attention of men of culture and the general public. It is the most inviting and fruitful field of biblical study in our day. Many who are engaged in it are rationalistic and unbelieving, and they are using it with disastrous effect upon the Sacred Scriptures and the orthodox Faith. There is also a prejudice in some quarters against these studies and an apprehension as to the results. This prejudice is unreasonable. This apprehension is to be deprecated. It is impossible to pre-

[1] Briggs, *Messiah of the Apostles*, pp. 284 *seq.*

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vent discussion. The Divine Word will vindicate itself in all its parts. These are not the times for negligent Elis or timorous and presumptuous Uzzahs. Brave Samuels and ardent Davids, who fear not to employ new methods and engage in new enterprises and adapt themselves to altered situations, will overcome the Philistines. The Higher Criticism has rent the crust with which Rabbinical tradition and Christian scholasticism have encased the Old Testament, overlaying the poetic and prophetic elements with the legal and the ritual. Younger biblical scholars have caught glimpses of the beauty and glory of Biblical Literature. The Old Testament is studied as never before in the Christian Church. It is beginning to exert its charming influence upon ministers and people. Christian Theology and Christian life will ere long be enriched by it. God's blessing is in it to those who have the Christian wisdom to recognize and the grace to receive and employ it.

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CHAPTER XII

THE PRACTICE OF THE HIGHER CRITICISM

THE Sacred Scriptures are composed of a great variety of literary products, the results of the thinking, feeling, and acting of God's people in many generations. Though guided by the Divine Spirit so as to give one divine revelation in continuous historical development, they yet, as literary productions, assume various literary styles in accordance with the culture, taste, and capacity of their authors in the different periods of their composition. Especially is this true of the Old Testament, which contains the sacred literature of the Hebrews through a long period of literary development. For their proper interpretation, therefore, we need not only the religious spirit that can enter into sympathetic relations with the authors, and through vital union with the Divine Spirit interpret them from their inmost soul; we need not only training in grammar and logic to understand the true contents of their language and the drift of their discourse; we need not only a knowledge of the archæology, geography, and history of the people, that we may enter into the atmosphere and scenery of their life and its expression; we need not only a knowledge of the laws, doctrines, and institutions in which the authors were reared, and which constituted the necessary grooves of their religious culture, but in addition to all these we need also a literary training, an æsthetic culture, in order that by a true literary sense, and a sensitive and refined æsthetic taste, we may discriminate poetry from prose, history from fiction, the bare truth from its artistic dress and decoration, the fruit of reasoning from the products of the imagination and fancy.

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Every race and nation has its peculiarities of literary culture and style, so that while the study of the best literary models of the Greeks and Romans, and of modern European languages, may be necessary to develop the best literary taste, yet in entering upon the study of Biblical Literature we come into a field that was not influenced at all by any of these, — to the literature of a race radically different from all the families of the Indo-Germanic race, — one which declines to be judged by the standards of strangers and foreigners, but which requires an independent study in connection with the literature of its own sisters, especially the Arabic, Syriac, and Assyrian. A special training in these literatures is, therefore, necessary in order to the proper estimation of the Hebrew literature; and criticism from the point of view of our ordinary classic literary culture alone is unfair and misleading. And it is safe to say that no one can thoroughly understand the Greek New Testament who has not made himself familiar with the Old Testament literature, upon which it is based. The student must enter into sympathetic relations with the spirit and life of the Orient that pervade it.

The literary study of the Bible is essentially the Higher Criticism of the Bible. A reader may enjoy the literary features of Shakespeare, Milton, and Homer, without himself taking part in critical work, but consciously or unconsciously he is dependent upon the literary criticism of experts, who have given him the results of their labours upon these authors. So is it with the Holy Scripture: the ordinary reader may enjoy it as literature without being a critic, but the labours of critics are necessary in order that the Scriptures may be presented to him in their proper literary character and forms. Biblical Literature has the same problems to solve, and the same methods and principles for their solution, as have been employed in other departments of the world's literature.[1]

We shall first show how the great lines of evidence used by the Higher Criticism should be applied to Holy Scripture, and then present the result of that evidence with reference to the great problems of Higher Criticism.[2]

[1] See pp. 92 *seq.*

[2] See pp. 95 *seq.*

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I. The Historical Evidence

The Higher Criticism first applies to Holy Scripture the historical test. The writings must be in accordance with their supposed historical position as to time, place, and circumstances.

(*a*) The Book of Comfort, Is. 40–66, cannot belong to the time of Hezekiah, but to the time of the exile, as Driver shows.

"It alludes repeatedly to Jerusalem as ruined and deserted (*e.g.* $44^{26\,b}$, 58^{12}, 61^{4}, 63^{18}, $64^{10\,f.}$); to the sufferings which the Jews have experienced, or are experiencing, at the hands of the Chaldæans ($42^{22,25}$, 43^{28} [R. V. marg.], 47^{6}, 52^{5}); to the prospect of return, which, as the prophet speaks, is imminent (40^{2}, 46^{13}, 48^{20}, etc.). Those whom the prophet addresses, and, moreover, addresses *in person*, arguing with them, appealing to them, striving to win their assent by his warm and impassioned rhetoric ($40^{21,26,28}$, 43^{10}, 48^{8}, $50^{10\,f.}$, $51^{6,12\,f.}$, $58^{3\,ff.}$, etc.), are not the men of Jerusalem, contemporaries of Ahaz and Hezekiah, or even of Manasseh; they are the exiles in Babylonia. Judged by the *analogy of prophecy*, this constitutes the strongest possible presumption that the author actually *lived* in the period which he thus describes, and is not merely (as has been supposed) Isaiah immersed in spirit in the future, and holding converse, as it were, with the generations yet unborn. Such an immersion in the future would be not only without parallel in the Old Testament, it would be contrary to the nature of prophecy. The prophet speaks always, in the first instance, to his own contemporaries; the message which he brings is intimately related with the circumstances of his time; his promises and predictions, however far they reach into the future, nevertheless rest upon the basis of the history of his own age, and correspond to the needs which are then felt. The prophet never abandons his own historical position, but speaks from it. So Jeremiah and Ezekiel, for instance, predict first the exile, then the restoration; both are contemplated by them as still future; both are viewed from the period in which they themselves live. In the present prophecy there is no *prediction* of exile. The exile is not announced as something still future; it is *presupposed*, and only the *release* from it is *predicted*. By analogy, therefore, the author will have lived in the situation which he thus presupposes, and to which he continually alludes." [1]

(*b*) An example of a plausible historical clue to date, is given

[1] Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, 6th ed., 1897, pp. 237 *seq.*

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in the Apocalypse of the Bowls,[1] which, in its original form, seems to have been written soon after the death of Nero. The passage is:

> "The seven heads are seven mountains,
> On which the woman sitteth:

"(And they are seven kings; the five are fallen, the one is, the other is not yet come; and when he cometh, he must continue a little while.) (And the beast that was, and is not, is himself also an eighth, and is of the seven; and he goeth into Apoleia.)"

The seven heads of the beast are described by a later editor, probably the one who combined the three apocalypses of the Sevens, as a series of seven emperors. Five have fallen — Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero. One reigns. Some think of one of the rivals, — Galba, Otho, Vitellius; others of Vespasian, the three really being regarded as usurpers. The seventh is not yet come, but when he comes he will reign for a little while. The seventh completes the number of seven heads. It is probable, therefore, that Harnack is correct in thinking that a later editor interprets by inserting the reference to the eighth as the beast of the scene, and so finds the beast in Domitian.[2] We would thus have three different interpretations of the seven heads, — the original referring to the seven hills of Rome, written soon after the death of Nero; the editor of the second edition in the time of Vespasian referring the seventh to a risen Nero; the editor of the third edition thinking of the eighth emperor as Domitian.[3]

II. The Evidence of Style

Differences of style imply differences of experience and age of the same author, or, when sufficiently great, difference of author and of period of composition. Differences in style are linguistic and literary.

1. *Linguistic differences* may be etymological, syntactical, or dialectic.

(*a*) *Etymological differences* are of great importance in distinguishing biblical authors. Word lists are given in all the chief writings which deal with the Higher Criticism of the Holy Scriptures. Thus Driver gives a list of 41 characteristic

[1] Rev. 17.

[2] Nachwort to Vischer, *Die Offenbarung Johannes eine jüdische Apokalypse*, 1886, *s.* 135.

[3] Briggs, *The Messiah of the Apostles*, 1895, pp. 427 *seq.*

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phrases of D, 50 phrases of P, and 20 of H. Holzinger discusses 125 characteristic phrases of J and 108 of E.[1]

The following two specimens of linguistic usage may suffice for the Old Testament:

(1) The first person of the pronoun אנכי is used in Deuteronomy 56 times. The only real exception is 12^{20}, גם־אני, where the reason for the abbreviation is evidently its use with גם. The other apparent exceptions in Deuteronomy are due to different original documents which have been incorporated with Deuteronomy, *e.g.* $32^{49, 52}$, part of the priestly document; the Song, $32^{1-43\,(5\,t.)}$; and 29^{5} (D^{2}), where there is a mixed text. This usage of Deuteronomy is found elsewhere only in the song of Deborah, Jd. 5; the prophet Amos, 10 times (except 4^{6}, גם־אני); the Deuteronomic redactor of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, save in little pieces; Pss. 22, 46, 50, 91, 104, 141; and the prophecy Is. 21^{1-10}, where the examples are too few to give us firm ground for usage. The shorter form אני is used in H and P about 120 times. The only exception is Gen. 23^{4}, which is probably due to the use of an ancient phrase (cf. Ps. 39^{13}). This corresponds with the usage of exilic writings, as Ezekiel, which uses it 138 times (the only exception 36^{28} in a phrase); Lamentations, 4 times; and of post-exilic prophets, Haggai, 4 times; Zechariah 1–8, 10 times; Malachi, 7 times (except 3^{23}); Joel, 4 times; also the Chronicler, 47 times (except 1 C. 17^{1}, derived from 2 Sam. 7^{2}; and Neh. 1^{6}); Proverbs 1–8, 5 times; Canticles, 12 times; Daniel, 23 times (except 10^{1}); Esther, 6 times; Ecclesiastes, 29 times. No pre-exilic writing uses אני exclusively except Zephaniah twice and the Song of Habakkuk once (regarded by many critics as a post-exilic psalm);[2] but these few examples cannot determine usage. The usage of E and J differs both from D and P. In J of the Hexateuch אנכי is used 51 times to 32 of אני; in E, אנכי 32 times to 25 of אני. With this correspond the original documents of Judges, which use אנכי 15 times to 11 of אני, and the Ephraimitic documents of Samuel, which use אנכי 19 times to 10 of אני. All these show a preponderance of usage in favour of אנכי. Hosea uses each 11 times, and the earlier Isaiah each 3 times. Other writers show an increasing tendency to use אני. The Judaic documents of Samuel

[1] Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, 6th ed., 1897; Holzinger, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch*, 1893. See also Briggs, *Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, new edition, pp. 69 *seq.* D stands for the Deuteronomic writers of the Hexateuch, P the Priestly writers, E the Ephraimitic writers, and J the Judaic writers. See pp. 278 *seq.*

[2] See p. 314.

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and Kings use אני 52 times to 30 of אנכי; the Ephraimitic document of Kings, אני 22 times to 2 of אנכי; Jeremiah, אני 52 times to 37 of אנכי; Is. 40–66, 70 times אני to 21 אנכי; Job, 28 times אני to 14 אנכי. It is evident that three layers of the Hexateuch are distinctly characterized by their use of this pronoun, and they agree with other groups of literature in their usage.[1]

(2) The shorter form לב is always used in the documents J and P; the longer form לבב is always used in the law codes of D and H. There is a difference of usage in E and the frame of D. E uses לב, Gen. 31^{20}, 42^{28}, 45^{26}, 50^{21}; Ex. 4^{21}, 7^{23} (Driver's J, Kautzsch's JE), 10^{27}; Nu. 24^{13}; but לבב, Gen. $20^{5.6}$, 31^{26}; Ex. 14^{5} (Driver's J, Kautzsch's JE), Jos. 24^{23}. This use of לבב might be redactional, but it is not evident. The frame of D uses לבב constantly, except Dt. 4^{11} (Sam. codex לבב), 28^{65}, $29^{3.18}$ (phrase from Jeremiah); Jos. 11^{20} (phrase of E and P), 14^{8} (elsewhere in this phrase לבב). It is evident that this difference in the documents of the Hexateuch is not accidental, but is characteristic of literary preference and of periods of composition, for it corresponds with the usage of the literature elsewhere. (*a*) The form לב is used in the earliest poetical literature, Ex. 15; Judges 5; 1 Sam. 2; the earliest prophets, Amos, Hosea, Is. 15, Zech. 9–11, and the Judaic and Ephraimitic sources of the prophetic histories. This corresponds with the usage of J. (*b*) The form לבב is used in the earlier Is. 11 times (לב only 6^{10}, 29^{13}, possibly scribal errors); in Zeph. 1^{12}, 2^{15} (לב 3^{14}, scribal error); and the Deuteronomic redaction of the prophetic histories. This corresponds with the usage of D. (*c*) Nahum uses לבב 2^{8}, לב 2^{11}, but Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the second Isaiah, and Job prefer לב, but occasionally use לבב. This corresponds with the usage of E. (*d*) Is. 13–14[23]; Jer. 50–51; Haggai; Zech. 1–8 (except 7^{12}); Jonah; Joel; Ps. 78, 90, 104, use לבב. This corresponds with the usage of H. (*e*) Lamentations (except 3^{41}); Is. 24–27, 34–35; Malachi; Obad.; Zech. 12–14; Memorials of Ezra and Nehemiah, use לב. This corresponds with P. So do Proverbs (except 4^{21}, 6^{25}); the Psalter, with few exceptions; Ruth, Esther, Ecclesiastes (except 9^{3}), and Canticles. (*f*) The Chronicler and Daniel use לבב, but there are a few examples of לב, chiefly in set phrases. When one considers how easy it was for an editor or scribe to exchange לב and לבב, it is remarkable that the difference in usage has been so well preserved.[2] (See my article לב, לבב, in the new Hebrew Lexicon.)

[1] Briggs, *Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, new edition, 1897, pp. 70, 71.
[2] Briggs, *l.c.*, pp. 256, 257.

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In the New Testament each writer has also his stock of words. These are given by Vincent.[1] For example, take the words "father" and "church."

(3) Apart from the Prologue, the Gospel of John uses Father, of God as the Father of the Messianic Son from heaven; and only in a single passage, of God as the Father of men. In this latter passage, 20^{17}, Jesus says to the woman, "I ascend unto My Father and your Father." Westcott[2] claims $4^{21,23}$, $5^{45,46,65}$, $10^{29,32}$, 12^{26}, $14^{6,8}$, 15^{16}, $16^{23,26,27}$ for the Fatherhood of men. But there is nothing in the context of any of these passages to constrain us to think of the Fatherhood of men. In several of them the reference to the Son, in the context, suggests the prevailing usage. In others, while it is possible to think of the Fatherhood of men, that mere possibility cannot resist the overwhelming usage of this gospel. ὁ πατὴρ is used 79 times of God; ὁ πατήρ μου, 25 times; πάτερ, 9 times; ὁ πατήρ σου, 8^{19}; ὁ ζῶν πατὴρ, 6^{57}; πατὴρ ἴδιος, 5^{18}. In the Synoptic Gospels God's Fatherhood of men seems to come from the Logia. In Mark it is found only in 11^{25} = Mt. $6^{14,15}$, where the phrase is evidently a logion, and the use of ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς suggests an assimilation of this passage to Matthew. It is found in Luke, apart from passages parallel with Matthew, only 12^{32}, which is also probably from the Logia. But God's Fatherhood of the Messiah is in all the Gospels: Mk. 8^{38} = Mt. 16^{27} = Lk. 9^{26}; Mk. 13^{32} = Mt. 24^{36}; Mt. 26^{39} = Lk. 22^{42}; Mt. 11^{25-27} = Lk. $10^{21,22}$; besides in Lk. 3^{8}, 22^{29}, 29^{49}, and in Matthew with ὁ οὐράνιος 15^{13}, 18^{35}; with ὁ ἐν (τοῖς) οὐρανοῖς 7 times and without 7 times. It is evident that the use of "heavenly" and "who (is) in heaven" comes from Matthew, and not from Jesus Himself; just as Matthew uses kingdom of heaven for the original kingdom of God.[3]

(4) Church is used in the Gospels only Mt. 16^{18}, where it is probably not original,[4] and twice Mt. 18^{17}, where it probably referred to the brethren or brotherhood, or possibly to the local assembly after the usage of the Septuagint. It is not used in the epistles of Peter, of Jude, or in the first or second epistles of John. It is used in the Epistle of Jas. 5^{14}, of the local assembly with its elders, which is virtually the same as synagogue. It is used in the Revelation in the prologue and in the epistles to the seven churches in Asia, 1^{4}–3^{22}, 19 times, elsewhere only in the epilogue 22^{16}, always of local assemblies. It is used in the third Epistle of John thrice of the local church. It is used in the

[1] *Word Studies*, 1887–1890.
[2] *Epistles of John*, p. 31.
[3] Briggs, *Messiah of the Gospels*, p. 274.
[4] Briggs, *Messiah of the Gospels*, p. 190.

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epistles of Paul: Romans, 5 times; Corinthians, 31 times; Galatians, 3 times; Ephesians, 9 times; Philippians, 2 times; Colossians, 4 times; Thessalonians, 4 times;[1] Timothy, 3 times; Philemon, once; in the Epistle to the Hebrews, 2 times; in the historical sections of the book of Acts, 22 times, three of which refer to a Greek assembly. The Church of the Lord is used Acts 20^{28} only, but the Church of God is used by Paul six times in the earlier epistles. In the epistles of the imprisonment Church is used alone, without qualification. But in the Pastoral Epistles the Church of the living God is used, 1 Tim. 3^{15}, and the Church of God, 1 Tim. 3^{5}.

(*b*) *Syntactical differences.* The Hebrew language is strict in its use of the *Waw* consecutive, in the earlier period of the language. In the book of Ezekiel, the *Waw* consecutive of the imperfect is often neglected, and the simple *Waw* with the perfect is used instead. In the exilic prophecy Isaiah, 40–66, the *Waw* consecutive of the perfect is neglected, and the simple *Waw* with the imperfect is used instead. In the book of Ecclesiastes the *Waw* consecutive has well-nigh passed out of use. This shows three stages of syntactical development of the Hebrew language, and enables us to arrange the different writings in accordance therewith.

(*c*) There are *dialectic differences* in the Old Testament. There were doubtless three dialects in the Biblical Hebrew, — the Ephraimitic, the Judaic, and the Perean. An example of the Perean may be found in the main stock of the book of Job, which tends towards Arabisms. The Ephraimitic dialect was from the earliest times tending in an Aramaic direction. It is represented in the Ephraimitic sections of the Hexateuch and the prophetic histories.

2. *Differences of style* are evident in all of the four Gospels, and are carefully defined by writers on the Higher Criticism of the New Testament, and by the commentaries. Similar differences are noted in the Old Testament between the Chronicler and the prophetic histories. It is agreed among critics that the Ephraimitic writer is brief, terse, and archaic in style; the Judaic writer is poetic and descriptive, — as Wellhausen says, "the best narrator in the Bible." His imagination and fancy

[1] Briggs, *Messiah of the Apostles*, pp. 81, 82.

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are ever active. The priestly writer is annalistic and diffuse, fond of names and dates. He aims at precision and completeness. The logical faculty prevails. There is little colouring. The Deuteronomic writer is rhetorical and hortatory, practical and earnest. His aim is instruction and guidance.[1]

(*a*) A good specimen of the argument from style is given by A. B. Davidson in his study of the book of Job.

"The objections that have been made to the long passage, chapters 40^{15}–41^{34}, describing Behemoth and Leviathan, are briefly such as these: that the description of these animals would have been in place in the first divine speech beside the other animal pictures, but is out of harmony with the idea of the second speech; that the description swells the second speech to a length unsuitable to its object, which is fully expressed in chapter 40^{6-14}; and that the minuteness and heaviness of the representation betray a very different hand from that which drew the powerful sketches in chapters 38, 39.

"The last-mentioned point is not without force. The rapid light and expressive lines of the former pictures make them without parallel for beauty and power in literature; the two latter belong to an entirely different class. They are typical specimens of Oriental poems, as any one who has read an Arab poet's description of his camel or horse will feel. These poets do not paint a picture of the object for the eye, they schedule an inventory of its parts and properties."[2]

(*b*) A fine use of the argument from style is given by Bishop Westcott in reference to the Epistle to the Hebrews: "The style is even more characteristic of a practised scholar than the vocabulary. It would be difficult to find anywhere passages more exact and pregnant in expression than 1^{1-4}, 2^{14-18}, 7^{26-28}, 12^{18-24}. The language, the order, the rhythm, the parenthetical involutions, all contribute to the total effect. The writing shews everywhere traces of effort and care. In many respects it is not unlike that of the Book of Wisdom, but it is nowhere marred by the restless striving after effect which not unfrequently injures the beauty of that masterpiece of Alexandrine Greek. The calculated force of the periods is sharply distinguished from the impetuous eloquence of Saint Paul. The author is never carried away by his thoughts. He has seen and measured all that he desires to convey to his

[1] Briggs, *Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, new edition, pp. 74, 75.

[2] The *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*. Davidson, *The Book of Job*, p. liv.

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readers before he begins to write. In writing he has, like an artist, simply to give life to the model which he has already completely fashioned. This is true even of the noblest rhetorical passages, such as chapter 11. Each element, which seems at first sight to offer itself spontaneously, will be found to have been carefully adjusted to its place, and to offer in subtle details results of deep thought, so expressed as to leave the simplicity and freshness of the whole perfectly unimpaired. For this reason there is perhaps no Book of Scripture in which the student may hope more confidently to enter into the mind of the author if he yields himself with absolute trust to his words. No Book represents with equal clearness the mature conclusions of human reflection. . . . Some differences in style between the Epistle and the writings of Saint Paul have been already noticed. A more detailed inquiry shews that these cannot be adequately explained by differences of subject or of circumstances. They characterize two men, and not only two moods or two discussions. The student will feel the subtle force of the contrast if he compares the Epistle to the Hebrews with the Epistle to the Ephesians, to which it has the closest affinity. But it is as difficult to represent the contrast by an enumeration of details as it is to analyse an effect. It must be felt for a right appreciation of its force."[1]

III. The Evidence of Opinion

The third great test of the Higher Criticism is the evidence from doctrine, opinion, and point of view. Differences of opinion and conception imply difference of author, when these are sufficiently great, and also difference of period of composition.

(*a*) There is a different conception of theophanies in the documents of the Hexateuch.

E narrates frequent appearances of the theophanic angel of *Elohim*. J reports appearances of the theophanic angel of *Yahweh*. These theophanic appearances are mentioned in the Ephraimitic and Judaic documents of the prophetic histories. But neither D nor P knows of such a theophanic angel. When God reveals Himself, in the Ephraimitic documents, He speaks to Moses face to face, and Moses sees the form of God in the pillar of God standing at the door of his tent. In the great theophany granted to Moses in the Judaic document Ex. $23^{20\text{-}23}$, Moses is permitted

[1] *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 1889, pp. xlvi, xlvii, lxxvii.

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only to see the departing form of God, and it is represented that it would be death to see God's face. In Deuteronomy it is said that the voice of God was heard, but His form was not seen. In the priestly document it is the light and fire of the glory of God which always constitutes the theophany. How was it possible for the same author to give four such different accounts of the methods of God's appearance to Moses and the people ?[1]

(*b*) There is a difference in the doctrine of the Holy Spirit between Isaiah and the great prophet of the exile.

The doctrine of the Divine Spirit in Isaiah is still the ancient doctrine, which conceives of it as an energy of God coming especially on heroic leaders of the people. It was to be poured upon the Messianic King to endow him with the sevenfold endowment for his reign of peace, Is. 11^2; and without guidance by the Divine Spirit apostate children add sin to sin, 30^1; but in the Great Unknown the doctrine reaches a height which has no parallel except in the late 139th Psalm. The Divine Spirit endows the Messianic Servant in 42^1, 61^1, and will revive the nation, 44^3; it accompanies the ministry of the prophets, 48^{16}. But in Chapter 63^{10} the Spirit is named the Holy Spirit, an epithet used elsewhere in the Old Testament only in Ps. 51^{13}. It is personified beyond any other passage in the Old Testament. It is represented that He was grieved by the rebellion of the Israelites in the wilderness, that He led them in their journeys to the Holy Land, and that He was in the midst of them. Thus the Holy Spirit is assigned the work of the theophanic angel of the historical narrative of JE, and especially as bearing with Him the Divine face or presence as in the document J. The Holy Spirit is associated with the theophanic angel here, just as in the Book of Wisdom, Proverbs, first chapter, the Divine Spirit and the Divine Wisdom are associated. This conception of the Divine Spirit shows a marked advance, not only beyond Isaiah, but also beyond Ezekiel.[2]

(*c*) In the book of Revelation there are different and distinct conceptions of the Messiah in the several apocalypses. The earliest of the apocalypses seems to me to be the Apocalypse of the Beasts, which presents the conception of the Messiah of Ps. 110, and which seems to have been composed in the reign of Caligula. The second of the apocalypses was the Apocalypse of the Dragon, which cannot be much later in time. It presents the Messiah of Ps. 2. These apocalypses were possibly combined before they

[1] Briggs, *Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, new edition, 1897, pp. 146, 147.

[2] *The Defence of Professor Briggs, before the Presb. of New York*, 1893, p. 139.

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were incorporated with the apocalypses of the Sevens. But I cannot see any decided evidence of it. The earliest of the apocalypses of the Sevens seems to be that of the Trumpets, whose Messiah is the Son of Man on the clouds of the apocalypses of Daniel and Enoch. I do not see any clear evidence of date. The next of these was the Apocalypse of the Seals. The Messiah of this Vision is the Lion of Judah, and the Lamb who purchased men by his blood. The Apocalypse of the Bowls presupposes both the Apocalypse of the Trumpets and the Apocalypse of the Seals, and must be somewhat later. Its Messiah is the Lamb, but especially as the husband of the Holy City, his bride. In its original form it seems to date from the reign of Galba.[1]

IV. The Evidence from Citations

Citations show the dependence of the author upon the author or authors cited. A few examples will suffice:

(*a*) In the Psalter Pss. 35^{26-28}, 40^{14-18}, 70 are essentially the same. The problem is to arrange these Psalms in their order of dependence by citation. Psalm 35 has in its title simply "belonging to David";[2] that is, it was in the original Minor Davidic Psalter. Psalm 40 besides "belonging to David" is classed as a Mizmor,[3] and was in the Director's Major Psalter. Psalm 70 has "belonging to David," was in the Director's Psalter, and besides has a liturgical assignment.[4] From these circumstances the probabilities are in favour of the order 35, 40, 70. Psalm 35 is composed of seven strophes of five pentameter lines each. Verses $^{26-28}$ constitute the last of these strophes. Psalm 40^{14-18} has an additional line at the beginning and two concluding lines, making thus the last seven lines of a strophe of ten pentameter lines. Psalm 70 is equivalent to Ps. 40^{14-18}. There can be no doubt that Ps. 70 is a liturgical extract from Ps. 40. It is possible to think that Ps. 35^{26-28} might be a liturgical addition. But its originality is favoured by the fact that the language, style, and spirit of this strophe are similar to those of the opening strophe of the Psalm. There is, however, an awkward break, and the transition is not easy between Ps. 40^{13} and 40^{14}. These considerations favour the order 35, 40, 70.

(*b*) Ruth 2^{12} cites in the midst of the prose narrative a bit of poetry:

[1] Briggs, *The Messiah of the Apostles*, 1895, p. 304.
[2] לדוד. [3] מזמור. [4] להזכיר.

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May Yahweh recompense thy doing;
And may thy reward be ample from Yahweh,
The God of Israel to whom thou art come,
To take refuge under His wings.

The last line of this extract is from Ps. 91[4]:

And under His wings shalt thou take refuge.

The exact words[1] are found nowhere else in the Old Testament, although the idea of seeking refuge under the wings of Yahweh is a favourite idea of post-exilic psalmists. This extract from a post-exilic Psalm shows that the book of Ruth is post-exilic also.

(*c*) Jonah 2^{3-9} contains a Psalm. This Psalm has two complete strophes concluding each with a refrain. These are followed by a half strophe without a refrain. This shows that the prayer is only part of a longer Psalm that was complete and symmetrical. The prayer is also a mosaic from several older Psalms.[2] It is evident, therefore, that the Psalm of Jonah presupposes all these earlier Psalms, and that the Psalm is also presupposed by the book of Jonah, which uses only part of it. The only question which remains is whether the Psalm was originally used by the author or was a subsequent insertion. If it was used by the author, the book must have been written some time after the restoration.

(*d*) We have in the Gospels a large number of parallel passages. It is now agreed that both Matthew and Luke cite from the original Mark. The words of Jesus respecting His kindred may be taken as an example. The original narrative is Mk. 3^{31-35}.

"And there came his mother and his brethren, and, standing without, they sent unto him, calling him. And a multitude was sitting about him; and they say unto him, Behold, thy mother and thy brethren (and thy sisters, well sustained A D E F H, etc., Tisch., W. H., margin) without seek for thee."

Matthew 12^{46-47} gives substantially the same, but varies the order of the sentences, and the construction, and condenses. "While he was yet speaking to the multitudes, behold his mother and his brethren stood without, seeking to speak to him. [And one said unto him, Behold, thy mother and thy brethren stand without, seeking to speak to thee.]" This clause, bracketed by Tisch., thrown into the margin by W. H., doubtless is a later insertion in the text. Matthew interprets the object of the seeking as to "speak to him."

[1] חסה תחת כנפיו.
[2] Pss. 18^{5-7}, 31^{23}, 42^{8}, 69^{2}; Dt. 32^{21}.

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Luke 8^{19-20} also condenses:

"And there came to him his mother and brethren, and they could not come at him for the crowd. And it was told him, Thy mother and thy brethren stand without, desiring to see thee." Luke interprets the object of the desire as "to see thee," and he interprets the multitude sitting about him as "the crowd." Both Matthew and Luke omit the reference to the sisters, which probably, through their influence, disappeared from the common text of Mark also.

Mark 3^{33-35} continues thus:

"And he answereth them, and saith, Who is my mother and my brethren? And looking round on them which sat round about him, he saith:

> "Behold my mother and my brethren!
> For whosoever shall do the will of God,
> The same is my brother and sister and mother."

This is given by Mt. 12^{48-50}:

"But he answered and said unto him that told him, Who is my mother, and who are my brethren? And he stretched forth his hand towards his disciples and said:

> "Behold my mother and my brethren!
> For whosoever shall do the will of my father which is in heaven,
> He is my brother and sister and mother."

This is then given by Lk. 8^{21} in a condensed form:

"But he answered and said unto them, My mother and my brethren are these which hear the word of God and do it."

Matthew interprets those "round about him" as his "disciples," and substitutes for the "looking round on them" of Mark, "he stretched forth his hand towards" them. The logion is the same, except that Matthew substitutes here, as usual, "my Father which is in Heaven" for "God." Luke verifies the original as "God." Luke condenses the logion into a prose sentence, but enlarges "do the will of God" into "hear the word of God and do it," which is characteristic of Luke, but certainly was not original. In all respects the originality of Mark is assured.

V. The Evidence of Testimony

The argument from testimony is so evident, that illustrations seem to be unnecessary. In direct testimony it may suffice to refer to Jer. 26^{18}. "Micaiah the Morashtite prophesied in the

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days of Hezekiah, King of Judah, and he spake to all the people of Judah, saying, Thus saith Yahweh Sabaoth :

> "Zion shall be plowed as a field,
> And Jerusalem shall become heaps,
> And the mountain of the house as the high places of a forest."

This is a direct testimony to the authorship and date and historical circumstances of Mi. 3^{12}. It is seldom that we have such direct testimony. Usually when there is any testimony, it is indirect, as in 2 Pet. 3^{16}, where there is an equivocal reference to the epistles of Saint Paul.

VI. The Argument from Silence

The argument from silence is of great importance in the Higher Criticism of Holy Scripture. The first thing to determine in reference to this argument, is whether the matter in question came fairly within the scope of the author's argument. [1]

1. Sometimes *the matter did not come within the author's scope at all.* He had no occasion to refer to it, and therefore no evidence can be gained from his silence. The author of the Praise of Wisdom, Prov. 1–9, does not refer to the institutions of the priest code. He had no occasion to do so. His purpose was purely ethical, although he lived in a period when the entire system of the priest code was in full operation.

2. *The matter did not come within the author's scope, because there were good reasons why it should not.* There is an absolute silence in all the Ephraimitic and Judaic writers and prophets prior to Jeremiah as to any wrong in the worshipping of Yahweh on many high places. They constantly mention this worship, never censure it, but allude to it as the proper worship, not only of the people but of the prophets and heroes of the nation. This kind of worship must have had something about it which prevented them from censuring it. It must have been right and proper, and they knew of no legislation against it.

[1] See pp. 102 *seq.*

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3. *The matter in question came fairly within the scope of the writer, and there must be good reasons why it was not mentioned.*

(*a*) The simplest of these reasons is, that the omission was intentional. Thus in the introduction to the book of Job,[1] the author represents Job as offering up whole burnt offerings for the supposed sins of his sons. Why were the sin offerings of the priest code not offered? If we could suppose, with many of the older scholars, that Job was written by Moses before the Law was given, the omission would be explained as due to the fact that he knew nothing of the law of the sin offering. The same might be true if we thought the book of Job written before the priest code came into operation after the exile. But if we hold that the book of Job is post-exilic, then the omission of the reference to the sin offering was intentional, namely, because he wished to put his hero in the patriarchal state of society, entirely apart from the institutions of Israel. There is indeed an apparent incongruity between the highly developed ethical sense of one who feared lest his sons sinned in *their minds*, and the offering for their sins the *primitive* whole burnt offerings.

(*b*) The omission of reference to the sin offering in Ps. 51, which is a penitential Psalm, and which mentions the sacrifices of whole burnt offerings and peace offerings, can hardly be regarded as intentional. The Psalm gives a real experience of the time of the author, and it is improbable that he would omit the sin offering, if it were then used in connection with the confession of sin in order to its removal. It seems altogether likely, therefore, that Ps. 51 was written before the sin offering of the priest code was enforced in the ritual of worship.

4. Where a matter is absent from an entire range of literature prior to a certain period, it is evident that the *matter did not constitute a part of public knowledge*, and, if known at all, must have been known to but few. A careful study of all the ethical passages of the Old Testament convinces me that there is an entire absence of censure of the sin of falsehood until after the exile. The sin of false-witnessing is condemned in the Tables; and also the sin of falsehood, so far as it is connected with robbery and murder, is frequently and severely scourged in the Prophets. But they seem to know nothing of the sin of speaking lies as such. What is the evidence from

[1] Job 1[5].

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their silence? They were altogether unconscious of its sinfulness. The holiest men did not hesitate to lie whenever they had a good object in view, and they showed no consciousness of sin in it. And the writers who tell of their lies are as innocent as they. The evidence from this silence is that the Hebrews did not, in their ethical development, reach the understanding of the sin of lying until after the return from exile, and then largely under the influence of Persian ethics, which from the earliest times made truth-speaking essential to good morals.

These are examples of the method by which the evidences of the Higher Criticism may be applied to Holy Scripture. They are constantly applied by scholars all over the world, in all the ranges of Biblical Literature. If carefully applied, tested, and verified, they lead to sure results.

We have next to present the results of this evidence with reference to the great problems of the Higher Criticism.

VII. The Integrity of the Scriptures

The first questions with reference to a writing are: (1) Is it the product of one mind as an organic whole; or (2) composed of several pieces of the same author; or (3) is it a collection of writings by different authors? (4) Has it retained its original integrity, or has it been interpolated? May the interpolations be discriminated from the original?

1. There are but few biblical writings which can be regarded as the product of one mind, as an organic whole. And few of these have remained without interpolations which may be easily detected. None of the historical books of the Old and New Testaments can be assigned here. The only prophetic writings which are certainly the products of one author at one time are Joel, Jonah, Zephaniah, Haggai, and Malachi. Some might add Nahum; but it seems evident that the first part of the prophecy is an alphabetical poem, which had been greatly changed before it was prefixed to Nahum. The only one of the writings that can be brought under this class is the Song

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of Songs, and yet many recent scholars claim that it is composed of a number of separate love songs. In the New Testament all the epistles, excepting Romans[1] and 1 Timothy,[2] may be regarded as having few if any interpolations that can be certainly detected, although not a few critics find interpolations in some of them. There are a number of other writings in which interpolations of greater or less importance may easily be detected, such as Ruth, Esther, Job, Ecclesiastes, Habakkuk, the Epistle to the Romans, and the Gospel of Mark.[3]

2. There are several collections of writings by the same author. Ezekiel, Amos, Hosea, Micah, and Lamentations[4] have escaped all but minor interpolations. Jeremiah has passed through a series of editings, and has many important interpolations. Jeremiah and Ezekiel each give a collection of judgments against the enemies of the kingdom of God and prophecies of restoration and Messianic felicity. Ezekiel's name covers only his own predictions. To Jeremiah have been appended two anonymous chapters, and a considerable amount of historical material has been inserted by the several editors. There are also not a few interpolations in the Hebrew text that are unknown to the Greek version.

3. The twelve Minor Prophets are regarded as one book in most of the ancient Jewish and Christian catalogues. The *Baba Bathra* represents them as edited by the men of the Great Synagogue after the exile.[5] This is a conjecture without historical evidence. These prophets, in modern times, have ordinarily been treated separately, and their original combination has been to a great extent forgotten. Each one of them may be tested as to its integrity. The only one about which there has been any general questioning is Zechariah. The earlier doubts were based upon Mt. 27[9], which ascribes Zech. 12–13 to Jeremiah.[6] If that passage be free from error, the section of Zechariah in which the citation is contained must be separated from that prophet and attached to the prophecies of Jere-

[1] McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, pp. 275 *seq.* See also pp. 315 *seq.* of this volume.
[2] McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, pp. 405 *seq.*
[3] See pp. 314, 317.
[4] Some scholars regard Lamentations as a collection of dirges by different authors. [5] See pp. 252 *seq.* [6] See p. 250.

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miah. It is now generally conceded that this cannot be done, and that the evangelist has made a slip of memory in citation. The integrity of Zechariah has been disputed in recent times from literary grounds. Many scholars of the present day attribute the second half to one or more different prophets. Others, as Wright[1] and Delitzsch,[2] still maintain the integrity of the book. The twelve represent different periods in prophetic history.

Amos is the simple yet grand herald of all the prophets. Hosea, the great prophet of the northern kingdom, is the sweetest and tenderest, the most humane of all. Micah was the contemporary and co-worker with Isaiah. These three represent the earlier prophets. Next comes Nahum, who prophesied against Nineveh. The associates of Jeremiah in the age of Josiah, were the lesser prophets, Zephaniah and Habakkuk, the great theme of the one being the advent of Yahweh in judgment, of the other, His glorious march of victory. Obadiah probably belongs to the exile. The prophets of the returned exiles were Haggai and Zechariah, the latter the chief prophet of the restoration. But there have been appended to Zechariah, by the editors of the Prophetic Canon, two other predictions, — one of the time of Hezekiah,[3] the other of a much later time than Zechariah. The date of Malachi, as indeed his name, is quite uncertain, but he was not earlier than Nehemiah and may have been later, in the Persian period. There remain to be considered two of the prophets, which are in some respects most difficult of all. Joel used to be regarded as the earliest of the prophets; he is now commonly considered one of the latest. We have no knowledge of the prophet apart from his writings, and the contents of these seem, on the whole, to favour a date subsequent to Zechariah. Jonah differs from all the Minor Prophets, in being narrative rather than teaching. Jonah is among the prophets because of the prophetic lesson which the

[1] *Zechariah and his Prophecies, considered in Relation to Modern Criticism*, Bampton Lectures, 1878, London, 1879, p. xxxv.

[2] *Messianic Prophecies*, translated by S. I. Curtiss, Edin., 1881.

[3] Some scholars think this also is post-exilic, and others that pre-exilic material has been worked over by a very late prophet.

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story unfolds. The story is as ideal as any of the symbols in the other prophetic writings. [1]

The book of Proverbs is represented by the *Baba Bathra* [2] as edited by the college of Hezekiah. This is based upon a conjecture founded on Proverbs 25. It has also been held that it was edited by Solomon himself, and indeed that Solomon was the author of the whole. It is now generally agreed that the book is made up of several collections, and that it has passed through the hands of a number of editors at different times. [3]

There are two great collections of sentences of wisdom, representing different periods of time and different conceptions of wisdom, the earlier giving 376 couplets, with 2 appendices containing 13 pieces of varying length from 2 to 10 lines each; the latter giving 115 couplets and 12 pieces of varying length, not exceeding 10 lines.[4] There is an introductory Praise of Wisdom, in the first 9 chapters, which is a great poem of wisdom. There are two concluding chapters in which the pieces are of a later and more miscellaneous character. There are ascribed to Agur, 2 pieces of 10 lines and one of 15. Under Aluqah is a collection of 8 pieces, 4 of which are riddles.[5] Under Lemuel [6] is given a temperance poem of 18 lines. The book concludes with an alphabetical poem in praise of a talented wife, which is well named by Döderlein, the golden A B C of women. [7]

The Psalter is composed of 150 Psalms in five books. The *Baba Bathra* [8] makes David the editor, and states that he used with his own Psalms those of ten ancient worthies. It has been held by some that David wrote all the Psalms.[9] Calvin, Du Pin, and others, make Ezra the editor.[10] It is now generally agreed that the Psalm-book is made up of a number of collections, and, like the book of Proverbs, has passed through a

[1] See pp. 345 *seq.*
[2] See p. 252.
[3] Delitzsch, *Bib. Com. on the Proverbs*, T. & T. Clark, Edin., 1874; Zöckler in Lange, *Biblework, Com. on the Proverbs*, N.Y., 1870.
[4] See p. 388.
[5] See p. 417.
[6] See p. 418.
[7] See p. 383.
[8] See p. 252.
[9] See p. 262.
[10] See pp. 247, 277.

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number of editings. Some have thought it to be the Psalm-book of the first temple. Others, and indeed most moderns, think that it was edited in its present form for the second temple.[1] Grätz thinks that the Psalter was finally edited for the worship of the synagogue.[2]

Isaiah is represented by the *Baba Bathra* as edited by the college of Hezekiah.[3] Its integrity was disputed by Koppe,[4] who maintained that it was a collection of pieces of various prophets loosely associated. It is generally held that the first half of Isaiah is composed of groups of prophecies gathered about those of Isaiah as a nucleus, and that the second half, 40–66, is by an unknown prophet of the exile.[5]

More recent investigation makes it evident that Isaiah was enlarged to be about the same size as Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve, by appending a number of anonymous prophecies. The chief of these is the great Book of Comfort, Is. 40–66, which reflects for the most part the situation of the exile. It itself appeared in three successive editions, with different themes and different measures of poetry, and did not assume its final form until after the restoration, and even then did not escape subsequent interpolation.[6] This Book of Comfort is separated from the earlier collections of prophecies by an historical section, 36–39, which has been taken from the book of Kings and attached to the earlier collection. The earlier collection is also composite. The great apocalypse, 24–27, belongs to the time of the conquests of Alexander the Great. There are not a few other exilic and post-exilic anonymous prophecies, such as 12, 13^2–14^{23}, 32–35. There are earlier prophecies used, such as in 2^{2-4}, 15–16^{12}, and there are numerous interpolations by the successive editors even in the genuine original prophecies of Isaiah.[7]

[1] Perowne, *Book of Psalms*, 2d ed., London, 1870, p. 78; 3d ed., Andover, 1876, p. 63; Murray, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of the Psalms*, N.Y., 1880. [2] *Com. zu. d. Psalmen*, I. pp. 62 *seq.* See p. 321.

[3] See p. 252. [4] See p. 279.

[5] Ewald, *Die Propheten*, Göttingen, 1868, 2te Ausg., III. pp. 20 *seq.*; Delitzsch, *Messianic Prophecies*, 1881, p. 84; Cheyne, *Prophecies of Isaiah*, 1881, II. pp. 201 *seq.*; Cross, *Introductory Hints to English Readers of the Old Testament*, London, 1882, p. 238. [6] Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, pp. 337 *seq.*

[7] Cheyne, *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah*, 1895.

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It is evident, also, that the genealogical section, Ruth 4^{17-22}, was appended to the story of Ruth. There is nothing in the story as such that looks for such an ending. The story naturally comes to an end with the birth and naming of Obed, $4^{17a,b}$.

The Psalm Hab. 3 is commonly regarded by modern critics as a later insertion. It has a title, like many of the Psalms, "Prayer of Habakkuk, the Prophet, upon Stringed Instruments,"[1] and a subscription ascribing it to the director.[2] It also has the *selah*[3] characteristic of the Psalter. It is evident, therefore, that this Psalm was originally in the Director's Major Psalter before it was attached to the prophet Habakkuk, and while in that Psalter received the musical assignment, and also the ascription to Habakkuk. It was because of that traditional ascription that it came at last to be appended to the prophecy of Habakkuk. The Psalm in its present form implies earlier Psalms. The last verses, 17–19, seem to have been added to the original Psalm for purely liturgical reasons. The original Psalm in verses 10 *seq.* resembles so greatly Ps. 77^{17-21} that we must infer a use of one by the other. There can be no doubt that Ps. 77 uses the Psalm of Habakkuk, for it is itself a mosaic of three original separate Psalms or parts of Psalms.[4]

4. There are interpolations in the Septuagint version in connection with Jeremiah, Daniel, and Esther. They are also found in the New Testament by the general consent of scholars, —in Mk. 16^{9-20},[5] in the Gospel of John 7^{53}–8^{11},[6] in the famous passage of the heavenly witnesses, the First Epistle of John 5^{7}, and elsewhere. We have seen that many scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries found such interpolations in the Pentateuch.[7] They are found by scholars in other books of the Bible.

[1] שגיונות of Hebrew text is doubtless an error for נגינות of the Sept. So the subscription בנגינת is a mistake for בנגינות of the Sept.

[2] למנצח. [3] Ver. 3, 9, 13.

[4] 77^{2-4} is a seven-lined trimeter; 77^{5-16} has two twelve-lined trimeters; and 77^{17-21} is a fourteen-lined trimeter. This last piece is in itself incomplete. It was partly taken from the Psalm of Habakkuk, and condensed and otherwise modified.

[5] See the marginal note of the revisers in the Revised Version of 1881.

[6] Bracketed in the Revised Version of 1881. [7] See p. 276.

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In the New Testament, in addition to the passages already cited, one more may suffice. Dr. McGiffert explains the additions to the Epistle to the Romans thus:

"The brief note of introduction referred to throws more light than any of the other sources upon the life of the Ephesian church. It is found in Rom. 16^{1-23}. That that passage did not constitute originally a part of the Epistle to the Romans seems plain enough. It is inconceivable that Paul, who had never been in Rome when he wrote his epistle, should not only know personally so many members of the Roman church, but should also be intimately acquainted with their situation and surroundings. There is far less of the personal element in the remainder of the epistle than in most of Paul's letters, and yet in this single sixteenth chapter more persons are greeted by name than in all his other epistles combined, and the way in which he refers to them shows a remarkable familiarity with local conditions in the church to which he is writing. The Epistle to the Romans comes to a fitting close at the end of chapter fifteen, and the disordered state of the text in the latter part of the epistle, and the repetitions and displacements of the doxologies in some of the most ancient manuscripts, suggests that one or more additions have been made to the original letter. On the other hand, while the chapter in question seems entirely out of place in a letter addressed to the church of Rome, it contains just such greetings, and just such a wealth of personal allusions, as might be expected in an epistle sent to Ephesus, where Paul labored so long and zealously. There are to be found in it, moreover, certain specific references that point to Ephesus as the place of its destination. Among those to whom Paul sends salutations are Epænetus, the "first fruits of Asia," and Aquila and Priscilla, whom he calls his fellow-workers, and who, as we know, labored with him in Ephesus during at least the greater part of his stay in the city. He refers to the church in their house both in this chapter and in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, which was written at Ephesus. Among those who join Paul in sending greetings are Timothy and Erastus, both of whom were with him in Ephesus. It is clear also from 1 Cor. 1^{11} and $16^{15\ seq.}$ that the intercourse between the Christians of Ephesus and of Corinth was close and constant, and it is therefore not surprising that there should be others in the latter city at the time Paul wrote who were personally known to the Ephesian disciples. Finally, it should be observed that Paul's references to the fact that Aquila and Priscilla had laid down their necks in his behalf, and that Andronicus and Junias had been his fellow-prisoners, —

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references which seem to recall events well known to the Christians to whom he was writing, — point to dangers and sufferings similar to those we know he was called upon to face in Ephesus. In the light of such facts as these it is altogether probable that we have in the sixteenth chapter of Romans a letter addressed to the Ephesian church. It is possible that it is only part of a larger epistle now lost, but it is more likely that we have it practically complete and in its original form. Just as it stands it constitutes an appropriate note of introduction and commendation, and there is no sign that it is merely a fragment. That it should have been attached to the Epistle to the Romans is not particularly surprising. It was evidently written from Corinth, as the Epistle to the Romans was, and at about the same time with that epistle. It may have been transcribed also by the same hand, and in that case nothing would be more natural than that the smaller should become attached to the larger in copies of the two taken in Corinth at the time they were written."[1]

Bishop Perowne gives this testimony as regards the Psalter:

"It is plain that these ancient Hebrew songs and hymns must have suffered a variety of changes in the course of time, similar to those which may be traced in the older religious poetry of the Christian Church, where this has been adapted by any means to the object of some later compiler. Thus, hymns once intended for private use became adapted to public. Words and expressions applicable to the original circumstances of the writer, but not applicable to the new purpose to which the hymn was to be put, were omitted or altered. It is only in a critical age that any anxiety is manifested to ascertain the original form in which a poem appeared. The practical use of hymns in the Christian Church, and of the Psalms in the Jewish, far outweighed all considerations of a critical kind, or rather these last never occurred. Hence it has become a more difficult task than it otherwise would have been to ascertain the historical circumstances under which certain Psalms were written. Some traces we find leading us to one period of Jewish history; others which lead to another. Often there is a want of cohesion between the parts of a Psalm; often an abruptness of transition which we can hardly account for, except on the hypothesis that we no longer read the Psalm in its original form."[2]

All these questions are to be determined by the principles of the Higher Criticism. The authority of the Bible does not depend upon the integrity of particular writings. If the edit-

[1] McGiffert, *The Apostolic Age*, 1897, pp. 275–277. [2] In *l.c.*, p. 82.

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ing and interpolating were done under the influence of the Divine Spirit, this carries with it the same authority as the original document. If the interpolations are of a different character, such as are found to be the case in some at least of the apocryphal additions to Daniel and Esther, they should be removed from the Bible. If the authority of the Bible depended upon our first finding who wrote these interpolations and who edited the books, and whether these interpolators and editors were inspired men, we could never reach conviction as to many of them. But inasmuch as the authority of the Bible depends not upon this literary question of integrity of writing, but upon the Word of God recognized in the writing; and we prove the inspiration of the authors from the authority of the writings rather than the authority of the writings from the inspiration of the authors, — the authority of the Bible is not disturbed by any changes in traditional opinion as to these writings. The only question of integrity with which inspiration has to do is the integrity of the Canon, whether the interpolations, the separate parts, the writings as a whole, are real and necessary parts of the system of divine revelation — whether they contain the Divine Word. This can never be determined by the Higher Criticism, which has to do only with literary integrity and not with canonical integrity. We doubt not the canonicity of Mk. $16^{9\text{-}20}$, although it seems necessary to separate it from the original Gospel of Mark.

VIII. The Authenticity of the Scriptures

Several questions arise under this head. (1) Is the author's name given in connection with the writing? (2) Is it anonymous? (3) Can it be pseudonymous? (4) Is it a compilation? All these are ordinary features of the world's literature. Is there any sound reason why they should not all be found in Holy Scripture? There has ever been a tendency in the Synagogue and the Church to ascribe the biblical books to certain well-known holy men and prophets. Tradition has been busy here. There is no book of the Bible that has not one or more traditional authors. And so in all departments of literature, there

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is scarcely a great name which has not been compelled to father writings that do not belong to it. The genuine writings of Athanasius, Jerome, Augustine, and Ambrose have to be separated by careful criticism from the spurious ; for example :

> "Of the thirty to a hundred so-called Ambrosian hymns, however, only twelve in the view of the Benedictine editor of his works are genuine, the rest being more or less successful imitations by unknown authors. Neale reduces the number of the genuine Ambrosian hymns to ten." [1]

It is well known that Shakespeare's genuine plays have to be discriminated from the large number of others that have been attributed to him. Shakespearian criticism is of so great importance as to constitute a literature of its own.[2] Sometimes the writings of a well-known author have been, in the process of time, attributed to another. We have an example of this in the *Paradoxes* of Herbert Palmer, which have been regarded as Lord Bacon's.[3]

To question the traditional opinion as to authorship of a writing is not to contest the *authenticity* of the writing. Authenticity has properly to do only with the claims of the writing itself, and not with the claims of traditional theories. The *Baba Bathra* does not discriminate between editorship and authorship.[4] It is evident that to the scribes of the second century the principal thing was official committing to writing and not the original writing of the writing. The Talmudic statements as to authorship are many of them absurd conjectures. Josephus and Philo, when they make Moses the author of the narrative of his own death, go beyond the *Baba Bathra* and indulge in folly.

The titles found in connection with the biblical books cannot always be relied upon, for the reason that we have first to determine whether they came from the original authors, or have been appended by inspired editors, or have been attached in the Rabbinical or Christian schools. Thus the difference in the titles

[1] Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, III., 1868, p. 591.
[2] Knight's *Shakespeare*, Supplemental Volume.
[3] See Grosart, *Lord Bacon not the Author of the "Christian Paradoxes."* Printed for private circulation, 1865.
[4] See p. 253.

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of the several Psalms between the Septuagint version and the Massoretic text are so great as to force the conclusion that many of the titles are of late and uncertain origin, and that most, if not all, are of doubtful authority.[1]

In considering the question of authenticity, we have first to examine the writing itself. If the writing claims to be by a certain author, to doubt it is to doubt the credibility and authority of the writing. If these claims are found to be unreliable, the credibility of the writing is gone, and its inspiration is involved. But if the credibility of the writing is not impeached, its inspiration has nothing to do with the question of its human authorship.[2]

The Higher Criticism has been compelled by Deism and Rationalism to meet this question of *forgery* of Biblical Writings. This phase of the subject has now been settled so far that no reputable critics venture to write of any of our canonical writings as forgeries.

IX. Anonymous Holy Scriptures

There are large numbers of the biblical books that are *anonymous: e.g.* the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Job, Jonah, Ruth, many of the Psalms, Lamentations, and the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Tradition has assigned authors for all of these. It is also maintained that the internal statements of some of these books point to their authorship by certain persons.

We have seen the traditional theories of Holy Scripture embedded in the Talmud.[3] Christian tradition modified these in some respects, but the tradition was essentially this: the Pentateuch and Job were written by Moses; Joshua by Joshua;

[1] Murray, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of the Psalms*, 1880, pp. 79 *seq.*; Perowne in *l.c.*, pp. 94 *seq.*

[2] It may be said that the pseudonym claims to be by the author, whose name is given. But in fact the pseudonym itself makes no such claim. It uses the name as a fiction, and usually as a transparent fiction. If any one is deceived it is his own fault or the fault of his teacher. He may be deceived in a similar way by any kind of fiction. The pseudonym has never been regarded as forgery. See pp. 323 *seq.*

[3] See p. 252.

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Judges and Samuel by Samuel; Kings, Jeremiah, and Lamentations by Jeremiah; the Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, by Ezra; Esther by Mordecai; the Psalms by David; Proverbs, Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes by Solomon; the Prophets by those whose names are attached to the books. Each writing was fathered upon a well-known biblical character in whose inspiration it was supposed we might have confidence.

The traditional theory ascribes all the Law to Moses, all the Psalms to David, all the Wisdom to Solomon. One is impelled sometimes to ask why all the Prophecy was not attributed to Isaiah or to Jeremiah, according as the name of the one or the other preceded the list of prophetic writings. How narrow an escape has been made from attributing the whole of Prophecy to Jeremiah, may be estimated when attention is called to the fact that one of the ways by which the anti-critics try to avoid a miss-citation in the Gospels,[1] where a prophecy is attributed to Jeremiah which was really anonymous, though united with Zechariah,[2] is by the theory that the name of Jeremiah was given as a general title to the whole of the prophetic books, his prophecy beginning them in the list of the *Baraitha*, the earliest classification of books in the Talmud.[3] From the point of view of the modern scientific Higher Criticism, it is no more absurd to attribute all the Prophecy to Jeremiah, than all the Law to Moses, all the Wisdom to Solomon, and all the Psalms to David. In none of these cases has there ever been any solid ground on which such theories could rest.

Proverbs, Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes of the Wisdom Literature are attributed by tradition to Solomon. The only reason Job escaped this traditional parentage was probably because it was not regarded by the ancients as belonging to the Wisdom Literature; and its patriarchal scenery made it most natural for them to think of a patriarchal age, and then easily of Moses, who stood on the borders of that age, and belonged to it while in the land of Midian before he took the leadership of Israel. But among the apocryphal books there is a Wisdom of Solo-

[1] Mt. 27[9]. [2] See p. 310.

[3] See A. A. Hodge and B. B. Warfield, Art. "Inspiration," *Presbyterian Review*, 1881, p. 259.

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mon, and, among the pseudepigrapha, a Psalter of Solomon, which are cited as canonical by some of the ancient Fathers. But the Higher Criticism has shown that the Psalter of Solomon belongs to the times of Pompey, the first century B.C., and that the Wisdom of Solomon belongs to the early part of the first Christian century. We are thus prepared to question the traditional parentage of the sapiential literature of the Hebrew Canon. Ecclesiastes is the latest writing in the Old Testament, as shown by its language, style, and theology. As Delitzsch says, if Ecclesiastes could be Solomonic, there would be no such thing as a history of the Hebrew language.[1] The Song of Songs is an operetta in five acts, describing the victory of a pure shepherd girl over all the seductions and temptations that were put forth by Solomon and his court to induce her to abandon her affianced shepherd. Solomon is not even the hero of the drama, but is the tempter of the Shulamite.

The Proverbs represent a collection of wisdom, the result of many centuries and oft-repeated editings. It was gathered under the name of Solomon as the traditional king of the wise men.

Thus the Wisdom Literature of the Old Testament and of the Apocrypha is resolved into a number of writings of different authors and of different collections extending through many centuries until the time of Christ, and preparing the way for the jewelled sentences of wisdom of Jesus of Nazareth, the wisest of men.[2]

The Psalter is ascribed by tradition to David, partly as author and partly as editor. But the testimony of the titles coming from the early editors, and the evidence of the Psalms themselves, make it evident that the Psalter contains the psalmody of Israel in all the centuries of his development in sacred lyrics of prayer and praise. There were several minor psalters representing different periods of literary activity; there were several layers of psalms representing different periods of lyric development. The present Psalter is not earlier than the Maccabean period; but while chiefly representing the Persian, Greek, and Maccabean periods in the history of Israel, yet it also contains

[1] *Hoheslied und Koheleth*, 1875, *s.* 197.

[2] See pp. 392, 396, 401.

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Psalms which go back to the times of the prophets and the kings, and which sprang from the fountain-head of psalmody in the tender, tuneful heart of King David himself. No name so worthy as David's under which to gather the psalmody of the nation which he had started by his impulses in its centuries of prayer and praise to God, even if he wrote few, if any, of the present Psalms. The Psalter is a synagogue book more than a temple-book, and therefore it has been found appropriate for the Christian worship of the congregation in all times.

The Psalter of Solomon is a collection of beautiful Psalms which was made after the final editing of our Psalter; otherwise, they, like the Psalm appended to the Septuagint text, might have found their way into the Psalter itself.

The tradition that Moses wrote the Pentateuch has been so evidently disproved that it is altogether unscholarly for any one to hold to this opinion. The Pentateuch has been shown, after a century of critical work, to be composed of four great documents, which were written in different periods in the history of Israel. These four documents have each its own narrative and code of law. These narratives and law codes bear traces of earlier narratives and law codes, which they have taken up into themselves. These earlier narratives contain original sources in the form of ancient poetry, legends, genealogies, and other historical or traditional monuments. The law codes contain various types of law, indicating their source in the session of the elders, the court of the judges, the Levites and the Priests, or in the prophetic word and divine command. Criticism is carefully tracing these back through all their varied development in the documents to their fountain-heads in their archæological forms. The gain of this position is immense. Instead of the old tradition that the Law and all the institutions, civil, religious, and domestic, were given in the wilderness of the wandering to a nation who had had an experience of several centuries of slavery, and had not yet had any experience whatever as a free nation settled in a land of their own, these laws and institutions are now seen to be the development of the experience of Israel during the centuries of his residence in the Holy Land itself. No one could think of

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ascribing the Constitution of the United States and all the elaborate system of Common and Statute law in Great Britain and America, to the Anglo-Saxon tribes who invaded England and established the basis for Anglo-Saxon civilization. It would be no more absurd than to ascribe the elaborate Pentateuchal codes to Israel of the Exodus.

The Hebrew Law is Mosaic in that its essential fundamental laws were derived from Moses, in that he shaped the legal policy of Israel for all times: the institutions are Mosaic because Moses established their essential nucleus. All that was subsequent in the Law and the institutions was but an unfolding of the germs given by Moses. But that development went on in the enlargement of the law, in the expanding of the institutions, in the unfolding of the precepts, in the experience and history of the people, until the cope-stone of Mosaism was laid by Ezra, the second Moses, in rebuilt Jerusalem and restored Israel.

We have in Hebrew literature an unfolding through the centuries of four distinct types: the legal type, beginning with Moses, and continuing through all the ages of priestly legislation until Ezra crowned the work with the completed Law; the prophetic type, beginning with Samuel and continuing through all the centuries until the Maccabean Daniel; the type of psalmody, beginning with David and unfolding until our Psalter was finally edited, late in the age of the Maccabees; and finally, the type of wisdom, beginning with Solomon and extending to Ecclesiastes of the Hebrew Canon, and the Wisdom of Sirach and Wisdom of Solomon of the Greek and Latin Canons.

X. Pseudonymous Holy Scriptures

Are there *pseudonymous* books in the Bible? This is a well-known and universally recognized literary style which no one should think of identifying with *forgery* or deceit of any kind. Ancient and modern literature is full of pseudonymes as well as anonymes. One need only look over the bibliographical works devoted to this subject,[1] or have a little familiarity with

[1] Barbier, *Dictionnaire des Ouvrages anonymes et pseudonymes*, 4 tom., Paris, 1872–1878; Halkett and Lang, *Dictionary of the Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature of Great Britain*, 4 vols., 1882, *seq.*

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the history of literature, or examine any public library, to settle this question. There is great variety in the use of the pseudonyme. Sometimes the author uses a surname rather than his own proper name, either to conceal himself by it from the public or to introduce himself by a title of honour. Thus Calvin follows the opinion of some of the ancients that the prophecy of Malachi was written by Ezra, who assumed the surname Malachi in connection with it. Then again some descriptive term is used, as by the authors of the celebrated Martin Marprelate tracts. Then a fictitious name is constructed, as in the title of the famous tracts vindicating Presbyterianism against Episcopacy; the authors, Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcommen, and William Spurstow, coined the name Smectymnuus from the initial letters of their names. Among the ancients it was more common to assume the names of ancient worthies. There is an enormous number of these pseudonymes in the Puritan literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The descendants of the Puritans are the last ones who should think of any dishonesty or impropriety connected with their use.

Why should the pseudonyme be banished from the Bible? Among the Greeks and Romans they existed in great numbers. Among the Jews we have a long list in extra-canonical books, covering several kinds of literature, *e.g.* the apocalypses of Enoch, Baruch, Ezra, Assumption of Moses, Ascension of Isaiah, Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Psalter of Solomon. Why should there not be some of these in the Old Testament? It is now conceded by scholars that Ecclesiastes is such a pseudonyme, using Solomon's name.[1] It is claimed by some that Daniel[2] and Deuteronomy[3] are also pseudonymes. If no *a priori* objection can be taken to the pseudo-

[1] This is invincibly established by Wright, *Book of Koheleth*, London, 1883, pp. 79 *seq.*: "Solomon is introduced as the speaker throughout the work in the same way as Cicero in his treatise on 'Old Age,' and on 'Friendship,' selects Cato the elder as the exponent of his views, or as Plato in his Dialogues brings forward Socrates."

[2] See Strack in *l.c.*, pp. 164 *seq.*, and pp. 351 *seq.* of this vol.

[3] So Riehm, *Gesetzgebung Mosis im Lande Moab*, 1854, p. 112, represents the Deuteronomic code as a literary fiction. The author lets Moses appear as a prophetic popular orator, and as the first priestly reader of the Law. It is a literary

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nyme as inconsistent with divine revelation, — if one pseudonyme, Ecclesiastes, be admitted in the Bible, — then the question whether Daniel and Deuteronomy are pseudonymes must be determined by the Higher Criticism, and it does not touch the question of their inspiration or authority as a part of the Scriptures. All would admit that no forger or forgery could be inspired. But that every one who writes a pseudonyme is a deceiver or forger is absurd. The usage of literature, ancient and modern, has established its propriety. If it claims to be by a particular author, and is said by a critic to be a pseudonyme, then its credibility is attacked, and the question of its inspiration is raised. In the New Testament the Gospel of John was thought by some to be a pseudonyme of the second Christian century, but this has been entirely disproved. Weiss tells us :

> "There was certainly in antiquity a pseudonymous literature, which cannot be criticized from the standpoint of the literary customs of our day, or judged as forgery. For it is just the *naïveté* with which the author strives to find a higher authority for his words by laying them in the mouth of one of the celebrated men of the past, in whose spirit he desires to speak, which justifies this literary form. Quite otherwise is it in this case; the author mentions no name; he only gives it to be understood that it is the unnamed disciple so repeatedly introduced who is writing here from his own personal knowledge; he leaves it to be inferred from the comparison of one passage with another that this eye-witness cannot be any one but John. It was Renan who, in the face of modern criticism, said that it was not a case of pseudonymous authorship such as was known to antiquity, it was either truth or refined forgery — plain deception."[1]

fiction, as Ecclesiastes is a literary fiction. The latter uses the person of Solomon as the master of wisdom to set forth the lessons of wisdom. The former uses Moses as the great lawgiver, to promulgate divine laws. This is also the view of Nöldeke, *Alttest. Literatur*, 1868, p. 30; and W. Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, N.Y., 1881, pp. 384 *seq.*, who uses the term "legal" fiction as a variety of literary fiction. We cannot go with those who regard this as an absurdity, or as involving literary dishonesty. Drs. Riehm and Smith, and others who hold this view, repudiate such a thought with abhorrence. The style of literary fiction was a familiar and favourite one of the later Jews. And there can be no *a priori* reason why they should not have used it in Bible times.

[1] Weiss, *Life of Jesus*, T. & T. Clark, Edin., 1883, I. p. 94.

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The authenticity of the Pauline epistles of the imprisonment and the pastoral epistles has been contested in a similar way. The Pauline epistles represent three stages of growth in the experiences and doctrinal teaching of the apostle Paul himself. It is not necessary to think of his disciples as their authors, or to descend into the second century.[1] The Apocalypse has been disputed from ancient times. It has been assigned by some of the ancients to a presbyter, John. Recent criticism is more and more against placing it with the pseudonymous apocalypses of Peter and Paul.

XI. Compilation in Holy Scripture

The historical books of Kings and Chronicles[2] and the Gospel of Luke[3] represent themselves as compilations. They use older documents, which are sometimes mentioned by name. The question then is, how far this compilation has extended; and whether it has been once for all, or has passed through a number of stages. Thus the books of Kings refer to books of Chronicles which are not our books of Chronicles, and our books of Chronicles refer to books of Kings which are not our books of Kings. Both of these historical writers seem to depend upon an ancient book of Chronicles, — only our book of Chronicles has used it in its citation in another book of Kings than the one presented to us in the Canon, for it gives material not found therein.[4] The prophetic histories — Judges, Samuel, and Kings — represent a number of writers, earlier and later, who have worked over the story of Israel in the land of Palestine till the exile. Some of these are Ephraimitic writers, some Judaic. The final authors were Deuteronomic. The last touch to this prophetic history was given by a Deuteronomic editor, who reëdited them all in a series, early in the exile, under the influence of the prophet Jeremiah.

[1] See Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, 1882, pp. 784 *seq.*; Weiss, *Biblical Theology of the New Testament*, Edinburgh, 1882, I. p. 285.

[2] 1 K. 11^{41}, $14^{19.29}$, 16^{5}; 2 K. 1^{18}, 8^{23}, 20^{20}; 1 Ch. 29^{29}; 2 Ch. 9^{29}, 12^{15}, 13^{22}, 16^{11}, 24^{27}, 26^{22}, etc., $33^{18.19}$, 35^{27}; Neh. 11^{23}.

[3] 1^{1-4}.

[4] Nöldeke, *Alttest. Literatur*, Leipzig, 1868, pp. 57 *seq.*

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The narratives of the Chronicler, in Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, which constituted one book, represent the view of the histories taken by a priest centuries later, at the close of the Persian or the beginning of the Greek period. His work is the ecclesiastical chronicle of Jerusalem, rather than a history of the kings or the people. He seems to have used a Midrash of the books of Samuel and Kings, which has been lost, intermediate between the present prophetic histories and the Chronicles. The question arises whether the other historical books are not also compilations. In the New Testament the chief disputes have been as to Matthew and Mark.[1]

The Gospel of Matthew is a compilation, using the Gospel of Mark and the Logia of Matthew as the chief sources. The Gospel of Luke is a compilation, using the same Gospel of Mark and the Logia of Matthew, and also other Hebraic sources for its gospel of the infancy, and, possibly also, another source for the Perean ministry. The book of Acts is a compilation, using a Hebraic narrative of the early Jerusalem Church, and the "We" narrative of a co-traveller with Paul, and probably other sources. The Gospel of John is also partly a compilation, using an earlier Gospel of John in the Hebrew language, and the Hymn to the Logos in the Prologue.

The Apocalypse is a compilation of a number of apocalypses of different dates.[2] The book of Daniel is a compilation in two parts, — the one giving stories relating to Daniel, the other, visions and dreams of Daniel.[3] It is written in two different languages, — the Hebrew and the Aramaic.

The two remaining problems of the Higher Criticism cover so much ground that it will be necessary to consider them in several chapters. The literary forms will be considered in the next chapter, on the Biblical Prose Literature, and the four chapters that follow on Biblical Poetical Literature. The question of credibility will be discussed in the chapter on the Credibility of Holy Scripture.

[1] Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, I., 1882, pp. 24 *seq.*, gives the best statement of this discussion and its results.

[2] Briggs, *Messiah of the Apostles*, pp. 284 *seq.*

[3] See pp. 351 *seq.*

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CHAPTER XIII

BIBLICAL PROSE LITERATURE

THERE has been a great neglect of the study of Holy Scripture as literature, in the Synagogue and in the Church. Few scholars have ever given their attention to this subject. The scholars of the Jewish and Christian world were interested and absorbed in the study of Holy Scripture for religious, dogmatic, and ethical purposes. Even in the development of the discipline of the Higher Criticism, the literary forms were the last things to receive attention.

The literary forms have not shared to any great extent in the revival of biblical studies. And yet these are exactly the things that most need consideration in our day, when the literature of Holy Scripture is compared with the literatures of the other religions of the ancient world, and the question is so often raised why we should recognize the Christian Bible as the inspired word of God rather than the sacred books of other religions.

Bishop Lowth in England, and the poet Herder in Germany, toward the close of the last century, called the attention of the learned world to this neglected field, and invited to the study of the Sacred Scriptures as sacred literature. Little advance has been made, however, owing, doubtless, to the fact that the conflict has been raging about the history, the religion, and the doctrines of the Bible; and, on the field of the Higher Criticism, in questions of authenticity, integrity, and credibility of writings. The finer literary features have not entered into the field of discussion, to any extent, until quite recent times. De Wette, Ewald, and especially Reuss, made valuable contributions to this subject, but even these masters have given their strength to other topics.

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The most obvious divisions of literature are poetry and prose. These are distinguished to the eye by different modes of writing, and to the ear by different modes of reading; but underneath all this is a difference of rhythmical movement. It is difficult to draw the line scientifically between poetry and prose even here, for "Prose has its rhythms, its tunes, and its tone-colors, like verse; and, while the extreme forms of prose and verse are sufficiently unlike each other, there are such near grades of intermediate forms, that they may be said to run into each other, and any line claiming to be distinctive must necessarily be more or less arbitrary."[1] Hence rhetorical prose and works of the imagination in all languages approximate closely to poetry. The poetry of the Bible is written in the manuscripts, and is printed in the Hebrew and Greek texts, as well as in the versions, with few exceptions, exactly as if it were prose; and the Hebrew scribes, who divided the Old Testament Scriptures and pointed them with vowels and accents, dealt with the poetry as if it were prose, and even obscured the poetic form by their divisions of verse and section, so that in many cases it can be restored only by a careful study of the unpointed text and a neglect of the Massoretic sections.

The subject of Biblical Poetry is reserved for the following chapters. In this chapter the Prose Literature of the Bible will be considered. This is found in rich variety.

I. Historical Prose

History constitutes a very large portion of the Old and New Testaments. In the Old Testament there are different kinds of history: the priestly and the prophetic. The priestly is represented by Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, and extends backwards into the priestly sections of the Pentateuch. It is characterized by the annalistic style, using older sources, such as genealogical tables, letters, official documents, and entering into the minute details of the Levitical system and the organization of the State, but destitute of imagination and of the

[1] Lanier, *Science of English Verse*, N.Y., 1880, p. 57.

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artistic sense. The prophetic is represented by three different strata of the books of Samuel and Kings, Joshua and Judges, and the Pentateuch. The earliest of these, the Ephraimitic, is characterized by a graphic realistic style, using ancient stories, traditions, poetic extracts, and entire poems. The Judaic writing is more artistic, giving fewer earlier documents but working over the material into an organic whole. It uses the imagination freely, and with fine æsthetic taste and tact.[1] The Deuteronomic writers use the history merely for the great prophetic lessons they find wrapt up in it.

In the New Testament we have four biographical sketches of the noblest and most exalted person who has ever appeared in history, Jesus Christ, in their variety giving us memoirs in four distinct types.[2]

The Gospel of Mark is graphic, plastic, and realistic, based on the reports of the eye-witnesses, and is nearest to the person and life of our Lord. It uses no other written source than the original Logia of Matthew, which it cites rarely for special sayings of Jesus. The Gospel of Matthew uses the Logia and Mark, and also oral tradition, in order to set forth Jesus as the Messiah of the Jews. The Gospel of Luke uses the Logia and Mark, and other written as well as oral sources to represent Jesus as the Saviour of sinners. The Gospel of John uses an original memoir of the apostle John, and sets the person and life of Jesus, as therein described by an intimate friend, in the additional light of the total experience of the apostolic Church, and sees Jesus in the halo of religious, philosophic reflection from the point of view of the Messiah, the enthroned Son of the Father.

The book of Acts presents the history of the planting and training of the Christian Church, using especially a Hebraic source for the story of Peter and the Church of Jerusalem, and the story of a companion of Paul in his missionary journeys, organizing the material into the second part of a work which began with the life of Jesus, and was possibly designed to be

[1] Dillmann, *Genesis*, 4te. Aufl., Leipzig, 1882, pp. xi *seq.*; Nöldeke, *Alttest. Literatur*, Leipzig, 1868, pp. 15 *seq.*

[2] Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, Berlin, 1882, I. p. 103.

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followed by a third work giving the story of the Church in Rome, which the author did not live to write.[1]

All these forms of history and biography use the same variety of sources as histories in other ancient literature. Their historical material was not revealed to the authors by the Divine Spirit, but was gathered by their own industry as historians from existing material and sources of information. The most that we can claim for them is that they were inspired by God in their work, so that they were guided into truth and preserved from error as to all matters of religion, faith, and morals; but to what extent further in the details and external matters of their composition has to be determined by historical criticism. It is necessary also to consider to what extent their use of sources was limited by inspiration, or, in other words, what kinds of sources were unworthy of the use of inspired historians. There are those who would exclude the legend and the myth, which are found in all other ancient history. If the legend in itself implies what is false, it would certainly be unworthy of divine inspiration to use it; but if it is the poetical embellishment of bare facts, one does not readily see why it should be excluded from the sacred historians' sources any more than snatches of poetry, bare genealogical tables, and records often fragmentary and incomplete, such as are certainly found in the historical books. If the myth necessarily implies in itself polytheism or pantheism, or any of the elements of false religions, it would be unworthy of divine inspiration. It is true that the classic myths which lie at the basis of the history of Greece and Rome, with which all students are familiar, are essentially polytheistic; but not more so than the religions of these peoples and all their literature. It is also true that the myths of Assyria and Babylon as recorded on their monuments are essentially polytheistic. Many scholars have found such myths in the Pentateuch. But over against this there is the striking fact that stands out in the comparison of the biblical narratives of the creation and the flood with the Assyrian and Babylonian; namely, that the biblical are monotheistic, the Assyrian polytheistic. But is there

[1] See Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 3d edit., 1898, pp. 27, 28.

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not a monotheistic myth as well as a polytheistic? In other words, may not the literary form of the myth be appropriate to monotheistic, as well as to polytheistic, conceptions? May it not be an appropriate literary form for the true biblical religion as well as for the other ancient religions of the world?[1]

These questions cannot be answered *a priori*. They are questions of fact. The term "myth" has become so associated with polytheism in usage and in the common mind that it is difficult to use it in connection with the pure monotheism and supernatural revelation of the Bible without misconception. No one should use it unless he carefully makes the necessary discriminations. For the discrimination of the religion of the Bible from the other religions must ever be more important than their comparison and features of resemblance. There can be little objection to the term "legend,"[2] which in its earliest and still prevalent use has a religious sense, and can cover without difficulty most if not all those elements in the biblical history which we are now considering. There is certainly a resemblance to the myth of other nations in the close and familiar association of the one God with the ancestors of our race and the patriarchs of Israel, however we may explain it. Whatever names we may give to these beautiful and sacred traditions which were transmitted in the families of God's people from generation to generation, and finally used by the sacred historians in their holy books; whatever names we may give them in distinction from the legends and myths of other nations,—none can fail to see that poetic embellishment, natural and exquisitely beautiful, artless and yet most artistic, which comes from the imagination of the common people of the most intelligent nations, in these sources that were used by divine inspiration in giving us ancient history in its most attractive form. Indeed, the imagination is in greater use in Hebrew history than in any other history, with all the Oriental wealth of colour in the prophetic historians.

[1] Lenormant, *Beginnings of History*, N.Y., 1882, p. 187.

[2] George P. Marsh, article "Legend," in Johnson's *New Universal Cyclopædia*, 1876, II. p. 1714, and the *Legenda Aurea*, or *Historia Lombardica*, of Jacobus de Voragine of the thirteenth century.

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II. The Historical Use of the Myth

Scholars differ very greatly in their views as to the mythical element in Holy Scripture. There is a general tendency on the part of most critics to avoid the term. But, in fact, the term "myth" means nothing more than a primitive religious story as to the origin of the nation or race, or the association of its ancestors with the deity. There is nothing essentially polytheistic in the term. If, therefore, we distinguish between polytheistic mythology and monotheistic myths, there is no valid objection to the use of the term "myth" in connection with those stories of the origin of Israel, and the communion of the ancient heroes with the heavenly world, which are so primitive that they are beyond the reach of external history and criticism.

Take, for example, the story of the intermarriage of the daughters of men with the angels, in Gen. 6^{1-4}. If this story were found in any other sacred book but the Bible, no one would hesitate to regard it as a myth. Vain efforts have been made in recent times to explain away the angels in various ways, but no respectable commentator would countenance such a thing in our days. There can be no doubt whatever that the passage refers to angels. Why, then, should we hesitate to regard it as a myth? A myth is not necessarily untrue to fact; it is rather a popular, imaginative colouring of a conception of fact, or of a real fact. It is not necessary to deny that there was such a real union of angels with mankind, even if one hints that the form of the story is mythical.

It may be of value to listen to the words of several eminent scholars on this question. Dr. Moore discusses the question with reference to the story of Samson.

"The similarity, in several particulars, between the story of Samson and that of Herakles was early noticed. . . . Many modern writers have made the same comparison, and inferred that Samson is the Hebrew counterpart of the Phœnician Melqart, the Greek Herakles; and that the story of his deeds was either originally a cognate myth, or has taken up numerous mythical elements. . . . The older writers contented themselves with drawing

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out the parallels to the Herakles myth; each begins his career of adventure by strangling a lion; each perishes at last through the machinations of a woman; each chooses his own death. Samson's fox-catching is compared with the capture of the Erymanthian boar, the Cretan bull, the hind of Artemis; the spring which is opened at Lehi to quench his thirst, with the warm baths which Sicilian nymphs open to refresh the weary Herakles; the carrying off of the gates of Gaza reminds some of the setting up of the Pillars of Hercules, others of Herakles' descent to the nether-world. Meier and Ewald even discover that Samson has exactly twelve labours, like Herakles (in late systems). Steinthal not only identifies Samson with Melqart-Herakles, but attempts to explain the whole story as a solar myth, by a thorough-going application of the method which Max Müller and his school introduced in Aryan mythology. He is followed in the main by Goldziher, Seinecke, and Jul. Braun. . . . Wietzke identifies Samson with the 'Egyptian Herakles,' Horus-Ra. The Philistine women all represent 'Sheol-Tafenet'; the Philistines, with whom he is in perpetual strife, are the children of Set-Typhon. The tale of Samson follows the Sun-god through the year: Spring (chapter 14), Summer (15^{1-8a}), Autumn, and Winter (15^{8b-19}); chapter 16 is his descent to the world below; he breaks the gates of Hades (16^{1-3}); bound by Delilah, he loses his eyes and his strength, but his might returns and he triumphs as a god over his foes (16^{4-30}). The name שמשון is derived from שמש 'sun.' . . . A legend whose hero bore such a name would attract and absorb elements of an originally mythical character, such as the foxes in the corn-fields, perhaps, represent; but if this be true, all consciousness of the origin and significance of the tale had been lost, and the mythical traits commingle freely with those which belong to folk-story. This explanation is at least as natural as the alternative, that an original solar myth has been transformed into heroic legend, with the admixture of a large non-mythical element. The historical character of the adventures of Samson may be given up without denying the possibility, or even probability, that the legend, which is very old, has its roots in the earth, not in the sky." [1]

A more cautious view is presented by Dr. Robertson.

"Any traces of mythology to be found in the Old Testament are far less elaborate. They may be said to be mere traces, either remains of an extinct system or rudiments that were never developed, — such as the references to the 'sons of God and the daughters of men,' Rahab, Leviathan, Tannin, and such like. These, it

[1] Moore, *The International Critical Commentary*, *Judges*, 1895, pp. 364, 365.

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should be observed, as they lie before us in the books, are handled with perfect candour and simplicity, as if to the writers they had become divested of all dangerous or misleading associations, or were even nothing more than figures of speech."[1]

III. Historical Use of the Legend

There is very much less opposition to the use of legend for the sources of biblical history. There are few real critics at the present day who would deny the legends which lie at the basis of the historical books of the Old Testament. These are simply highly coloured and richly ornamented stories of actual events which happened in the primitive times. They were handed down from father to son in many generations of popular narrative, passing through many minds and over many tongues, receiving in this way colouring, increment, condensation, changes of many kinds, which do not, however, destroy the essential truth or fact.

Ryle gives an excellent statement with reference to the early chapters of Genesis.

"The literature of Holy Scripture differs not widely in its outward *form* from other literature. In its prehistoric traditions, the Israelite literature shares many of the characteristic features of the earliest legends which the literature of other nations has preserved.

"What though the contents of these chapters are conveyed in the form of unhistorical tradition! The infirmity of their origin and structure only enhances, by contrast, the majesty of their sacred mission. In a dispensation where every stage of Hebrew thought and literature ministers to the unfolding of the purpose of the Most High, not even that earliest stage was omitted, which to human judgment seems most full of weakness. Saint and seer shaped the recollections which they had inherited from a forgotten past, until legend, too, as well as chronicle and prophecy and psalm, became the channel for the communication of eternal truths.

"The poetry of primitive tradition enfolds the message of the Divine Spirit. Criticism can analyze its literary structure; science can lay bare the defectiveness of its knowledge. But neither in the recognition of the composite character of its writing, nor in the discernment of the childish standard of its science, is there any reproach conveyed. For, as always is the case, the instrument

[1] Robertson, *The Early Religion of Israel*, 1889, p. 505.

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of Divine Revelation partakes of limitations inalienable from the age in which it is granted. The more closely we are enabled to scan the human framework, the more reverently shall we acknowledge the presence of the Spirit that pervades it."[1]

Dr. Driver gives us his opinion as to one of the legends in the life of David.

"The narrative 17^{1}–18^{5}, precisely as it stands, it appears impossible to harmonize with 16^{14-23}. The two narratives are in fact two parallel and, taken strictly, incompatible accounts of David's introduction to the history. In 16^{14-23} David is of mature age and a 'man of war,' on account of his skill with the harp, brought into Saul's service at the time of the king's mental distress, and quickly appointed his armour-bearer (vv. 18, 21). In 17^{1}–18^{5} he is a shepherd lad, inexperienced in warfare, who first attracts the king's attention by his act of heroism against Goliath; and the inquiry 17^{55-58} comes strangely from one who in 16^{14-23} had not merely been told who his father was, but had manifested a marked affection for David, and had been repeatedly waited on by him (vv. 21, 23). The inconsistency arises not, of course, out of the double character or office ascribed to David (which is perfectly compatible with historical probability), but out of *the different representation of his first introduction to Saul.* In LXX. (cod. B) $17^{12-31.\ 41.\ 50.\ 55}$–$18^{5}$ are not recognised. By the omission of these verses the elements which conflict with 16^{14-23} are greatly reduced (*e.g.* David is no longer represented as *unknown* to Saul); but they are not removed altogether (comp. $17^{33.\ 38\,ff.}$ with $16^{18.\ 21\,b}$). It is doubtful, therefore, whether the text of LXX. is here to be preferred to MT.; both We. (in Bleek's *Einleitung*, 1878, p. 216), and Kuenen (*Onderzoek*, 1887, p. 392) agree that the translators — or, more probably, perhaps, the scribe of the Hebrew MS. used by them — omitted the verses in question from harmonistic motives, without, however, entirely securing the end desired. The entire section 17^{1}–18^{5} was, however, no doubt derived by the compiler of the book from a different source from 16^{14-23} (notice how David is introduced, $17^{12\,ff.}$, as though his name had not been mentioned before), and embodies a different tradition as to the manner in which Saul first became acquainted with David."[2]

There are many examples of the use of legends in their poetic form. Several of these are given elsewhere in this volume.[3] It will be sufficient to cite one of them here.

[1] Ryle, *The Early Narratives of Genesis*, 1892, pp. 136, 137.

[2] Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Book of Samuel*, 1890, pp. 116, 117.

[3] See pp. 390, 391, 393.

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Joshua 10^{12-14} gives an account of a theophany at Beth-horon, which decides the battle in favour of Joshua and Israel. The poetic extract is from an ancient ode, describing the battle, which has been lost. It is a fragment of a strophe, taken from the book of Yashar, as stated in the context:

> "Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon;
> And thou, Moon, in the valley of Ayalon.
> And the Sun stood still,
> And the Moon stayed,
> Until the nation had avenged themselves of their enemies."

But the previous context, Jos. 10^{11}, gives another entirely different prose legend of the theophany:

"And it came to pass, as they fled from before Israel, while they were in the going down of Beth-horon, that Yahweh cast down great stones from heaven upon them unto Azekah, and they died: they were more which died with the hailstones than they whom the children of Israel slew with the sword."

These two legends, the one poetic, the other prose, came from two different original documents, and were based upon two entirely different versions of the battle.

The dialogues and discourses of the ancient worthies are simple, natural, and profound. They are not to be regarded as exact productions of the words originally spoken, whether preserved in the memory of the people and transmitted in stereotyped form, or electrotyped on the mind of the historian or in his writing by divine inspiration; they are rather reproductions of the situation in a graphic and rhetorical manner, differing from the like usage in Livy and Thucydides, Herodotus and Xenophon, only in that the latter used their reflection and imagination merely; the former used the same faculties guided by divine inspiration into the truth, and restrained from error in all matters in which they were called to give religious instruction.

In the historical writings of Holy Scripture, there is a wealth of beauty and religious instruction for those students who approach it, not only as a work of divine revelation from which the maximum of dogma, or of examples and maxims of practical ethics, are to be derived; but with the higher appreciation and insight of those who are trained to the historian's art of representation, and who learn from the art of history, and the

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styles and methods of history, the true interpretation of historical books, where the soul enters into the enjoyment of the concrete, and is unwilling to break up the ideal of beauty, or destroy the living reality, for the sake of the analytic process, and the abstract resultant, however important these may be in other respects, and under other circumstances.

IV. Prophetic Discourse

The Bible is as rich in oratory, as in its history and poetry. Indeed, the three run insensibly into one another in Hebrew prophecy. Rare models of eloquence are found in the historical books, such as the plea of Judah ;[1] the charge of Joshua ;[2] the indignant outburst of Jotham ;[3] the sentence pronounced upon Saul by Samuel ;[4] the challenge of Elijah.[5] The three great discourses of Moses in Deuteronomy are elaborate orations, combining a great variety of motives and rhetorical forms, especially in the last discourse, to impress upon Israel the doctrines of God, and the blessings and curses, the life and death, involved therein.

The prophetical books present us collections of inspired eloquence, which for unction, fervour, impressiveness, grandeur, sublimity, and power, surpass all the eloquence of the world, as they grasp the historical past and the ideal future, and entwine them with the living present, for the comfort and warning, the guidance and the restraint, of God's people. Nowhere else do we find such depths of passion, such heights of ecstasy, such dreadful imprecations, such solemn warnings, such impressive exhortations, and such sublime promises.

Each prophet has his own peculiarities and excellences. "Joel's discourse is like a rapid, sprightly stream, flowing into a delightful plain. Hosea's is like a waterfall plunging down over rocks and ridges ; Isaiah as a mass of water rolling heavily along."[6] Micah has no superior in simplicity and originality of thought, spirituality and sublimity of conception,

[1] Gen. 44[18-34]. [2] Jos. 24. [3] Jd. 9. [4] 1 Sam. 15. [5] 1 K. 18.
[6] Wünsche, *Weissagungen des Propheten Joel*, Leipzig, 1872, p. 38.

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clearness and precision of prophetic vision. "Isaiah is not the especially lyrical prophet, or the especially elegiacal prophet, or the especially oratorical or hortatory prophet, as we would describe a Joel, a Hosea, or a Micah, with whom there is a greater prevalence of some particular colours; but just as the subject requires, he has readily at command every different kind of style, and every different change of delineation; and it is precisely this, that, in point of language, establishes his greatness, as well as, in general, forms one of his most towering points of excellence. His only fundamental peculiarity is the lofty, majestic calmness of his style, proceeding out of the perfect command which he feels that he has over his matter."[1] Jeremiah is the prophet of sorrow, and his style is heavy and monotonous, as the same story of woe must be repeated again and again in varied strains. Ezekiel was, as Hengstenberg represents, of a gigantic appearance, well adapted to struggle effectively with the spirit of the times of the Babylonian captivity, — a spiritual Samson, who, with powerful hand, grasped the pillars of the temple of idolatry and dashed it to the earth; standing alone, yet worth a hundred prophetic schools, and, during his entire appearance, a powerful proof that the Lord was still among His people, although His visible temple was ground to powder.[2]

In the New Testament the discourses of Jesus and His parabolic teaching present us oratory of the Aramaic type; simple, quiet, transparent, yet reaching to unfathomable depths, and as the very blue of heaven, — every word a diamond, every sentence altogether spirit and life, illuminating with their pure, searching light, quickening with their warm, pulsating, throbbing love.[3]

The discourse of Saint Peter at Pentecost will vie with that of Cicero against Catiline in its conviction of the rulers of Israel, and in its piercing the hearts of the people. The discourses of Saint Paul on Mars Hill, and before the Jews in Jerusalem, and

[1] Ewald, *Die Propheten*, Göttingen, 1867, I. p. 279.

[2] Hengstenberg, *Christology*, T. & T. Clark, Edin., 1864, Vol. II. p. 3.

[3] See A. B. Bruce, *Parabolic Teaching of Christ*, London, 1882, for a fine appreciation of the literary forms of the parables.

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the magnates of Rome at Cæsarea, are not surpassed by Demosthenes on the Crown. We see the philosophers of Athens confounded, some mocking, and others convinced unto salvation. We see the Jewish mob at first silenced, and then bursting forth into a frantic yell for his blood. We see the Roman governor trembling before his prisoner's reasonings of justice and judgment to come. We do not compare the orations of Peter and Paul with those of Cicero and Demosthenes for completeness, symmetry, and artistic finish; this would be impossible, for the sermons of Peter and Paul are only preserved to us in outline; but, taking them as outlines, we maintain that for skilful use of circumstance, for adaptation to the occasion, for rhetorical organization of the theme, for rapid display of argument, in their grand march to the climax, and above all in the effects that they produced, the orations of Saint Peter and Saint Paul are preëminent.

Nowhere else save in the Bible have the oratorical types of three distinct languages and civilizations combined for unity and variety of effect. These biblical models ought to enrich and fortify the sermon of our day. If we should study them as literary forms, as much as we study Cicero and Demosthenes, or as models of sacred eloquence, the pulpit would rise to new grandeur and sublimer heights and to more tremendous power over the masses of mankind.

V. The Epistle

The Epistle may be regarded as the third form of prose literature. This is the contribution of the Aramaic language to the Old Testament in the letters contained in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. But it is in the New Testament that the epistle receives its magnificent development in the letters of Saint James, Saint Peter, Saint Paul, Saint Jude, and Saint John, — some familiar, some dogmatic, some ecclesiastical, some pastoral, some speculative and predictive, and in the Epistle to the Hebrews we have an elaborate essay.

How charming the letters of Cicero to his several familiar friends! What a loss to the world to be deprived of them!

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But who among us would exchange for them the epistles of the apostles? And yet it is to be feared that we have studied them not too much as doctrinal treatises, perhaps, but too little as familiar letters to friends and to beloved churches, and still less as literary models for the letter and the essay. It might refresh and exalt our theological and ethical treatises, if their authors would study awhile Saint Paul's style and method. They might form a juster conception of his doctrines and principles. They certainly would understand better how to use his doctrines, and how to apply his principles.

VI. Prose Works of the Imagination

There has been a great reluctance on the part of Christian people to recognize such forms of literature in Holy Scripture. But an increasing number of scholars find several such works of the imagination among the Old Testament writings. We shall approach the question by working back to it in the lines of the history of Hebrew literature. Works of the imagination play a very important part in Hebrew literature outside the Old Testament. The Haggadistic literature of the Jews, used chiefly for the instruction of the people in the synagogues and in the schools, was largely composed of such writings. Jewish rabbins used parables, stories, and legends of every variety of form and content with the utmost freedom, in order to teach doctrine and morals, and even to illustrate and enforce the legal precepts of the Jewish religion. Our Saviour in His teaching used the same method. His numerous parables have never been equalled for their simplicity, beauty, and power. No human imagination has ever equalled the imagination of the Lord Jesus in story-telling. The Prodigal Son, Dives and Lazarus, the Good Samaritan, the Wise and Foolish Virgins, the Talents, are masterpieces of art. No historic incident, no individual experience, could ever have such power over the souls of men as these pictures of the imagination of our Lord.

The apocryphal literature has many such stories, — stories which have been the favourite themes of Christian art in all

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ages. Judith and Holofernes,[1] Zerubbabel and the King of Persia,[2] the Maccabee mother and her seven sons,[3] Bel and the Dragon,[4] Tobit,[5] and Susanna,[6] are sufficient to remind us of them. These are all regarded as canonical in the Roman Catholic Church. Luther says of Tobit: "Is it history? then is it holy history. Is it fiction? then is it a truly beautiful, wholesome, and profitable fiction, the performance of a gifted poet."

Who can doubt at the present time that these are all stories invented by the imagination of the authors, written in order to teach important religious lessons?

There are no *a priori* reasons therefore why we should not find such prose works of the imagination in the Old Testament. We should not stumble at such literature even if the idea be new to us or repugnant to us. If we have poetic works of the imagination in Job, the Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes, why not prose works of the imagination? If Jesus used such imaginary scenes and incidents as we see in his parables, why may not inspired men in the times of the Old Testament revelation have used them also?

A careful study of the literature of the Old Testament shows that we have four prose works of the imagination in the Old Testament, all written in the times of the restoration. These are Ruth, Jonah, Esther, and Daniel.

VII. The Book of Ruth an Idyll

The book of Ruth is written in prose with two little snatches of poetry. It has appended to it a genealogical table which did not belong to the original document. The story is a simple and graceful domestic story. It is a charming idyll. The scene is laid in the times of the Judges, but there is nothing to remind us of that time except certain antique customs which the author thinks it necessary to explain to his readers. Deborah, Jael, and Jephthah's daughter were the appropriate heroines of that period. They are the striking figures of a rude and

[1] The book of Judith.
[2] 1 Esdras 4.
[3] 4 Macc.
[4] Greek addition to Daniel.
[5] Book of Tobit.
[6] Greek addition to Daniel.

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warlike age. But Ruth seems altogether out of place in such rough times. No historian would ever think of writing such a domestic story as Ruth, as an episode in the history of such a period.[1]

The scenery of the story is the time of Judges, so far as the author's antiquarian knowledge goes; but it is an ideal picture of primitive simplicity and agricultural life in Bethlehem, separated from all that was gross and rude and rough in the real life of those times. The author invents the scenery for his actors, and leaves out of it all that would mar its simplicity and detract from its main interest. The lesson of this idyll is given in the words of Ruth and the words of Boaz. Ruth says to Naomi:[2]

> "Thy people shall be my people,
> And thy God my God."

Boaz says to Ruth:[3]

> "May Yahweh recompense thy doing,
> And may thy reward be ample from Yahweh (God of Israel),
> Under whose wings thou art come to take refuge."

The Moabitess has left her native land and her father's house, as did Abraham of old; and she has sought refuge under the wings of Yahweh, the God of Israel, and she has received her reward.

This story of Ruth and Boaz is all the more striking that it comes into conflict with a law of Deuteronomy, and its enforcement by Nehemiah. Deuteronomy gives this law: "An Ammonite or a Moabite shall not enter into the assembly of Yahweh; even to the tenth generation shall none belonging to them enter into the assembly of Yahweh for ever."[4]

This certainly excludes Ruth, a Moabitess of the first generation. Nehemiah enforced this law against women. He tells us:

> "In those days also saw I that the Jews had married women of Ashdod, of Ammon, of Moab; and their children spake half in the

[1] Some have sought a reason in the fact that she was an ancestress of David. But there is nothing in the character of the monarchs of the Davidic dynasty that would lead us to suppose that they would encourage a writer to trace their descent from a poor and homeless Moabitess, however excellent her character.

[2] 1^{16}. [3] 2^{12}. [4] Deut. 23^{3}.

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speech of Ashdod, and could not speak in the Jews' language, but according to the language of each people. And I contended with them, and cursed them, and smote certain of them, and plucked off their hair, and made them swear by God, *saying*, Ye shall not give your daughters unto their sons, nor take their daughters for your sons, or for yourselves."[1]

Now how shall we reconcile the story of Ruth and Boaz with the law of Deuteronomy and the history of Nehemiah? We are reminded of another law of Deuteronomy,[2] that the eunuch shall not enter into an assembly of Yahweh. And yet the prophet of the exile says: "For thus saith Yahweh of the eunuchs that keep my sabbaths, and choose the things that please me, and hold fast by my covenant: Unto them will I give in mine house, and within my walls a memorial and a name better than of sons and of daughters. I will give them an everlasting name that shall not be cut off."[3]

The book of Ruth and the great prophet of the exile take essentially the same position. They see that the grace of God to eunuchs and Moabites overrides legal precepts, and their zealous enforcement by painstaking magistrates. This seems to give a hint as to the time and purpose of the book of Ruth. It was written probably soon after the return from exile under Joshua and Zerubbabel, in the spirit of the great prophet of the exile, to encourage Israelites to take advantage of the imperial decree, and return to the Holy Land; and with the special purpose of encouraging those who had married foreign wives, and also the foreign widows of Israelites, to return with their children, and seek refuge under the wings of Yahweh, in rebuilt Jerusalem.

Although the book of Ruth is a work of the imagination, it is not necessary to deny that Ruth and Boaz were historical characters. The historic persons, Ruth and Boaz, and the events of their courtship and marriage, were embellished by the imagination in order to set forth the great lessons the author would teach. Just as Zerubbabel was used in the apocryphal literature to set forth the lesson that truth is mightier than wine, women, and kings, so Ruth is used to

[1] Neh. 13^{23-25}. [2] Deut. 23^{1}. [3] Is. $56^{4.5}$.

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teach us that the grace of God pushes beyond the race of Abraham and redeems even the Moabitess, for whom no provision was made in the law code of Deuteronomy or in the discipline of Nehemiah.

VIII. The Story of Jonah

The book of Jonah is inserted in both the Hellenistic and Rabbinical Canons among the Minor Prophets, and yet the book does not contain discourses of prophecy as do the other Minor Prophets. If the book of Jonah were history, its place ought to have been among the historical books. It is among the prophetical writings with propriety only so far as the story which is contained in it was pointed with prophetic lessons. For this prophetic purpose it is immaterial whether the story is real history or an ideal of the imagination, or whether it is history idealized and embellished by the imagination.

1. It was not the aim of the writer to write history. The story is given only so far as it is important to set forth the prophetic lessons of the book. There are two scenes,—the one on the sea, the other at Nineveh. The story begins abruptly; it closes abruptly after giving the lessons. The transitions in the story are the rapid flight of the imagination, and not the steady flow of historical narrative.

2. The prophet Jonah is mentioned in the history of the book of Kings,[1] and a prediction of minor importance is mentioned as given by him. It seems very remarkable, on the one hand, that the book of Jonah should omit this ministry in the land of Israel; on the other hand, that the author of the book of Kings should mention such comparatively unimportant ministry, and yet pass over such important prophetic ministry as that given in the book of Jonah.

3. The two miracles reported in Jonah are marvels rather than miracles. There is nothing at all resembling them in the miracle-working of the Old Testament or the New Testament. They are more like the wonders of the Arabian Nights than the miracles of Moses, of Elijah, of Elisha, or of Jesus or His

[1] 2 K. 14[25].

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apostles. It is true that there are great sharks in the Mediterranean Sea which are said to have swallowed men and horses and afterwards to have cast them up. But this being so, the chief difficulty remains. How can we explain the suspended digestion of the fish, and the self-consciousness of Jonah as indicated by his prayer? And even if we could overcome this difficulty by an unflinching confidence in the power of God to work any and every kind of miracle, the most serious objection would still confront us. It is not so much the supernatural power in the miracle that troubles us as the character of the miracle. There is in it, whatever way we interpret it, an element of the extravagant and the grotesque. The divine simplicity, the holy sublimity, and the overpowering grace which characterize the miracles of biblical history are conspicuously absent. We feel that there is no sufficient reason for such a miracle, and we instinctively shrink from it, not because of a lack of faith in the divine power of working miracles, but because we have such a faith in His grace, and holiness, and majesty that we find it difficult to believe that God could work such a grotesque and extravagant miracle as that described in the story of the great fish. So the story of the wonderful growth and withering of the tree is more like the magic of the Oriental tales than any of the biblical miracles. It seems to be brought into the scene as an embellishment rather than for any real purpose of grace. A careful study of all the miracles of Holy Scripture excludes this magic tree from their categories, and, to say the least, puts it in a category by itself.

4. The repentance of Nineveh, from the king on his throne to the humblest citizen, the extent of it, the sincerity of it, the depth of it, is still more marvellous. Nineveh was at that time the capital of the greatest empire of the world. It was a proud and conquering nation, least likely of all to repent. The history of the times is quite well known, and this history seems to make such an event incredible. Some have endeavoured to minimize the repentance as a mere official one, such as were ordered by monarchs during the Middle Ages. But these apologists of traditional theory forget that according to the story God recognizes the sincerity and the extraordinary

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character of the repentance. God granted His mercy, and recalled His decree of destruction on that account. This repentance is a marvellous event. Nothing like it meets us in the history of Israel or in the history of the Church. It is an ideal of the imagination. Our Saviour uses the story of the repentance of Nineveh to shame the unrepenting cities of His time. There was no historical repentance so well suited to His purpose.

5. The prayer given in the book is not suited to it if the story be historical, but it is entirely appropriate if it be regarded as ideal and symbolic.

This prayer is the prayer of thanksgiving of a man who, either in fact or in figure, has been drowned in the sea. He has gone down to the bottom, the seaweed is wrapt about his head; he has then, in his departed spirit, gone down to the roots of the mountains, has entered into Sheol, the abode of the dead, and has been shut up in its cavern by the bars of the earth. His deliverance has been a resurrection from the dead. Such figures of speech to represent great sufferings of an individual or of a nation are found in the Psalms and the Prophets.[1]

If the descent into the belly of the fish, the abode therein three days, and the casting up again are simply a poetic symbol, a devouring of Israel by the great sea-monster, Babylon,[2] it is entirely appropriate for the author to use in the song the symbol of death, Sheol, and resurrection, as a parallel symbol to that of the narrative, the swallowing by the fish, abiding three days in the fish, and casting forth by the fish.

6. The whole style of the piece is such as we find in the Jewish *Haggada*, of which this may be one of the earliest specimens.

[1] Hosea (13^{14}) uses the same figure of speech for the exile and the restoration. "*I will ransom them from the power of Sheol; I will redeem them from Death.*" Isaiah and Ezekiel also represent the restoration as a resurrection from Sheol, the abode of the dead, and as the rising up of the dry bones from the battle-field of the slain.

[2] The author probably had in mind the words of Jeremiah: "Nebuchadnezzar . . . hath swallowed me up like a dragon, he hath filled his maw with my delicates; he hath cast me out" (51^{34}). And he may have been thinking of Hosea's words: "After two days will he revive us; on the third day he will raise us up, and we shall live before him" (6^{2}).

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It is objected that our Lord in His use of Jonah, gives His sanction to the historicity of the story; but this objection has little weight, for our Lord's method of instruction was in the use of stories of his own composition. We ought not to be surprised, therefore, that he should use such stories from the Old Testament likewise. It is urged that our Saviour makes such a realistic use of it, that it compels us to think that he regarded it as real; but, in fact, he does not make a more realistic use of Jonah than he does of the story of Dives and Lazarus. Just such a realistic use of the story of Jannes and Jambres withstanding Moses is made in the Second Epistle to Timothy, and the author compares them with the foes of Christ in his time, 2 Tim. 3^8. And Jude (v. 9) makes just as realistic a use of the story of Michael, the archangel, contending with the devil, and disputing about the body of Moses, and compares this dispute with the railers of his time. These stories are from the Jewish *Haggada*, and not from the Old Testament. No scholar regards them as historic events. If epistles could use the stories of the Jewish *Haggada* in this way, why should not our Lord use stories from the Old Testament? Our Saviour uses the story of Jonah just as the author of the book used it, to point important religious instruction to the men of his time. Indeed, our Lord's use of it rather favours his interpretation of it as symbolic. For it is just this symbolism that the fish represents, — Sheol, the swallowing up, — death; and the casting forth, — resurrection, — that we have seen in the story of Jonah interpreted by the prayer, which makes the story appropriate to symbolize the death and resurrection of Jesus.

For these reasons, the story of Jonah is commonly regarded by modern scholars as an ideal story, a work of the imagination. There are two great lessons taught in the book of Jonah, one in each scene of the story. The first lesson is similar to that taught by Amos and a later psalmist.[1]

God has power to bring up from the depths of the sea, from the womb of Sheol, from the belly of the fish, those who turn unto Him, to His holy temple. Israel's calling as the prophet of the nations cannot be escaped. He may be overwhelmed in the depths of affliction; he may descend into Sheol, the abode of the dead; he may be swallowed by the great monsters who subdue the nations, — but God will raise him up, restore him to life and to his prophetic ministry. Jonah — Pharisaic Israel

[1] Amos $9^{2.3}$; Ps. 139^{7-10}.

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— may renounce his high calling and perish; but a second Jonah, a revived and converted preacher, will surely fulfil it.

But the greatest lesson of the story is in the repentance of Nineveh, and the attitude of Jonah toward that great event. Jonah again represents historic Israel, preaching with sufficient readiness the doom of the nations, and watching for the *Dies Iræ* when that doom would be fulfilled. Jonah goes out of the city and selects a good place from whence he can see the grand sight, — the overthrow of the capital of that nation which was the greatest foe of his people. But Jonah does not represent the ideal Israel. God has other views than Jonah. He does not look with complacency upon the death of 120,000 babes, who knew not enough to do right or wrong. He does not delight in the death of men, but rather in the repentance of men. A million or more human beings gathered in Nineveh, that great capital of the ancient world, cannot perish without giving sorrow to the heart of God. Jonah may delight in such a scene; God cannot. The repentance of Nineveh is sufficient to change all. In an instant the decree of its destruction is annulled, and divine love triumphs over the sentence of judgment. This author caught such a wonderful glimpse of the love of God to the heathen world, that it makes the book of Jonah a marvel in the doctrine of the Old Testament.

IX. The Story of Esther

The book of Esther is one of the Writings of the Rabbinical Canon. In the Hellenistic Canon, it is placed after the apocryphal pieces of fiction, called Tobit, and Judith, as if recognized to be of the same type. The style of Esther is dramatic and rapid in its development of incident. Scene after scene springs into place, until the climax of difficulty is reached, and the knot is tied so that it seems impossible to escape. Then it is untied with wondrous dexterity. All this is the art of the story-teller, and not the method of the historian. The things which interest the historian are not in the book. Esther is a didactic story, like Ruth and Jonah, Judith and Tobit, and raises more historical difficulties than can easily be re-

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moved. The monarch seems to be Xerxes, the voluptuous and absolute ruler of the Persian Empire. The story is one of court intrigue, in which Esther, the favourite wife, and her uncle, Mordecai, prevail over Haman, the prime minister. The book is connected with the Purim festival, and is supposed to give the historical account of its origin. This is denied by many modern scholars. It is held that Esther is a piece of historical fiction, designed to set forth the importance of the Purim festival, as a national feast, and to teach the great lesson of patriotism. It does not by any means follow from the connection of the book with the feast, that the book is historical. Indeed Esther does not explain the Purim feast.[1] It does not give any adequate reason why the Jews of Palestine and Egypt and of the rest of the world should celebrate a feast which, according to Esther, was connected with the deliverance of the Jews remaining in exile in the Persian Empire, an event less worthy of commemoration than a hundred others. But it is not necessary to determine its exact origin. Many a Christian feast rests upon unhistoric legends. We need but mention the feast of the Ascension of Mary, the feast of Saint Veronica, the feast of the Finding of the Cross, and the feast of the Sleepers.

The sole redeeming feature of the book is its patriotism. Esther and Mordecai are heroes of patriotic attachment to the interests of the Jews. For this they risk their honour and their lives. The same spirit we find in Judith, and, in a measure, in Nehemiah and Daniel. If patriotism is a virtue, and belongs to good morals in the Jewish and Christian systems, then the book has its place in the Bible, as teaching this virtue, even if everything else be absent. No book is so patriotic as the book of Esther. Esther is the heroine of patriotic devotion. She is the incarnation of Jewish nationality, and thus is the appropriate theme of the great national festival of the Jews. And in all the Christian centuries Esther has been an inspiration to heroic women and an incentive to deeds of daring for heroic men. And if, as many signs seem to indicate, woman in the next century is to use her great endowments in a large

[1] See C. H. Toy, "Esther as Babylonian Goddess" in *The New World*, March, 1898, pp. 130 *seq.*

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measure for the advancement of the kingdom of God, Esther will exert a vaster influence in inspiring her to holy courage and unflinching devotion and service. For, granting that patriotism in its narrower sense may be a form of selfishness, yet when patriotism has been transformed into an enthusiasm for humanity and a passionate devotion to the Saviour of man, it then calls forth those wondrous energies of self-sacrifice with which woman seems to be more richly endowed than man.

X. The Stories of Daniel

The book of Daniel also belongs to the group of prose literature which may be called historical fiction. In the Hebrew Canon Daniel is not classed with the Prophets, but with the Writings. The *Baraitha* ascribes it to the men of the Great Synagogue;[1] later tradition to Daniel himself. But both these theories are against the evidence. The language is of a later type. As Driver says: "The verdict of the language of Daniel is thus clear. The Persian words *presuppose* a period after the Persian Empire had been well established; the Greek words *demand*, the Hebrew *support*, and the Aramaic *permit* a date *after the conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great* (B.C. 332)."[2]

The Hebrew book of Daniel encloses an Aramaic section, 2^{4b}–7. This section is in the western Aramaic dialect, and could not have been written in Babylon, where the eastern Aramaic was used. It seems probable that this Aramaic section is older than the enclosing Hebrew parts.[3] The book is divided into two equal parts, Chapters 1–6, a series of stories, and Chapters 7–12, a series of visions, both in chronological order. This division does not correspond with the difference in language, and comes from the final author. The stories are all in the older Aramaic section, in which Daniel is always spoken of in the third person. They are not historical or biographical, but are episodes with prophetic lessons. They are grouped about the legendary Daniel of Ezek. $14^{14\text{-}20}$, 28^{3}, and

[1] See p. 252.
[2] *Introduction*, 6th ed., p. 508.
[3] Strack, *Einleitung*, 5te Aufl., p. 150.

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are of the same type of historical fiction as the later stories of Susanna, and Bel and the Dragon, which were added to Daniel in the ancient Greek Septuagint version.

This is the opinion of Sayce :[1]

> "'Darius the Mede' is, in fact, a reflection into the past of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, just as the siege and capture of Babylon by Cyrus is a reflection into the past of its siege and capture by the same prince. The name of Darius and the story of the slaughter of the Chaldæan king go together. They are alike derived from that unwritten history, which in the East of to-day is still made by the people, and which blends together in a single picture the manifold events and personages of the past. It is a history which has no perspective, though it is based on actual facts; the accurate calculations of the chronologer have no meaning for it, and the events of a century are crowded into a few years. This is the kind of history which the Jewish mind in the time of the Talmud loved to adapt to moral and religious purposes. This kind of history thus becomes, as it were, a parable, and under the name of Haggadah serves to illustrate the teaching of the Law."

The Aramaic vision of Chapter 7 is entirely parallel with the vision of Chapter 2. If the story of Chapter 2 is fiction, the prediction must be fiction likewise. These two visions are, therefore, pseudepigraphic. The visions of Chapters 8–12 in the Hebrew language are of a still later date than Chapters 2–7, and are pseudepigraphic likewise. The book of Daniel is unknown to Ben Sirach, who mentions Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve ;[2] and all Hebrew literature is silent with reference to it until the earliest Sibylline oracle, III. 388 ff., circa 140 B.C., and 1 Macc. 2^{60}, circa 100 B.C., both referring to the Aramaic section. Daniel is frequently used in the subsequent pseudepigrapha and the New Testament. The writer is evidently familiar with the Greek period of history, but unfamiliarity with Babylonian and Persian periods leads him into grave historical blunders. The Hebrew sections seem to imply the troublous times of Antiochus Epiphanes. The angelology, eschatology, and Messianic ideas of the book are nearer to those

[1] Sayce, *The Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, 1894, pp. 528, 529.
[2] See pp. 123 *seq.*

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of the book of Enoch and the New Testament than they are to those of other writings of the Old Testament. The religious ideas are nearer those of the late Greek period. The evidence from all these sources leads us to the opinion that the book of Daniel was written as historic fiction in 168–165 B.C., with the use of various earlier documents, as an encouragement to heroic courage and fidelity to the national religion.

The words of Bevan may be cited here:

"The narratives are evidently intended to be consecutive in point of time, but they are very loosely connected with each other. Their most marked feature is the didactic purpose which appears throughout. In every one of these stories we see the righteous rewarded, or the wicked signally punished, as the case may be. On the one hand Daniel and his three friends, the servants of the True God, though apparently helpless in the midst of the heathen, triumph over all opposition, while on the other hand the mightiest Gentile potentates are confounded and humbled to the dust. This would in itself suffice to indicate that the book was intended for the encouragement of the Jews at a time when they were being persecuted by pagan rulers. And when we pass from the narratives to the visions, we find that this view is confirmed. For in the visions the final victory of the 'Saints' over the Gentile powers is repeatedly insisted upon. Further examination shews that this victory of the saints is to take place in the days of a Gentile king who will surpass all his predecessors in wickedness. . . .

"It is, however, necessary to guard against a possible misconception. Though the author of Daniel has everywhere the circumstances of his own time in view, we cannot regard Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar, still less Darius the Mede, simply as portraits of Antiochus Epiphanes. The author is contending, not against Antiochus personally, but against the heathenism of which Antiochus was the champion. He justly considers the struggle between Antiochus and the faithful Jews as a struggle between opposing principles, and his object is to shew that under all circumstances the power of God must prevail over the powers of this world.

"That the author does not address his contemporaries in his own name, after the manner of the ancient prophets, but clothes his teaching in the form of narratives and visions, is perfectly in accordance with the spirit of later Judaism. The belief that no more prophets were to be found among the people of God seems

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gradually to have established itself during those ages of Gentile oppression (Ps. 74[9]). Loathing the present, the pious Jews naturally idealized the past."[1]

These are then the most general forms of prose literature contained in the Sacred Scriptures. They vie with the literary models of the best nations of ancient and modern times. They ought to receive the study of all Christian men and women. They present the greatest variety of form, the noblest themes, and the very best models. Nowhere else can we find more admirable æsthetic as well as moral and religious culture. Christian people should urge that our schools and colleges attend to this literature, and not neglect it for the sake of the Greek and Roman literatures, which with all their rare forms and extraordinary grace and beauty, yet lack the Oriental wealth of colour, depths of passion, heights of rapture, holy aspirations, transcendent hopes, and transforming moral power.

[1] Bevan, *The Book of Daniel*, 1892, pp. 22, 23, 24.

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CHAPTER XIV

CHARACTERISTICS OF BIBLICAL POETRY

THE Hebrews were from the most ancient times a remarkably literary and poetic people. Poetry pervaded and influenced their entire life and history. The Bible has preserved to us a large amount of this poetry, but it is almost exclusively religious poetry. The most ancient poetry of Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt is likewise religious. There is, however, evidence from the poetic lines and strophes quoted in the historical books, as well as from statements with regard to other poetry not included in the collections known to us, sufficient to show that a large proportion of the poetic literature of the Hebrews has been lost. This poetry had to do with the every-day life of the people, and with those national, social, and historical phases of experience that were not strictly religious. For reference is made to the *Book of the Wars of Yahweh*[1] and the *Book of Yashar*,[2] anthologies of poetry earlier than any of the poetic collections in the Hebrew Scriptures; and also to a great number of songs and poems of Solomon with reference to flowers, plants, trees, and animals.[3] The mention of Ethan, Heman, Calcol, and Darda, the sons of Mahol, in connection with the wisdom and poems of Solomon, opens a wide field of conjecture with regard to the great amount of their poetry.[4] And if such a masterpiece as the book of Job is the product of a sacred poet whose name, or at least connection with the poem, has been lost, how many more such great poems and lesser ones may have disappeared from the memory of the Hebrew people during their exile and prolonged afflictions under foreign yokes. For we cannot believe

[1] Nu. 21^{14}. [2] Jo. 10^{13}; 2 Sam. 1^{18}. [3] 1 K. $4^{32.33}$. [4] 1 K. 4^{31}.

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that the few odes[1] preserved from the early times could exist alone. These masterpieces of lyric poetry must have been the flower and fruit of a long and varied poetical development. Indeed there are fragments of other odes[2] which are doubtless but specimens of many that have disappeared.

Reuss admirably states the breadth of Hebrew poetry:

> "All that moved the souls of the multitude was expressed in song; it was indispensable to the sports of peace, it was a necessity for the rest from the battle, it cheered the feast and the marriage (Is. 5^{12}; Amos 6^{5}; Jd. 14), it lamented in the hopeless dirge for the dead (2 Sam. 3^{33}), it united the masses, it blessed the individual, and was everywhere the lever of culture. Young men and maidens vied with one another in learning beautiful songs, and cheered with them the festival gatherings of the villages, and the still higher assemblies at the sanctuary of the tribes. The maidens at Shilo went yearly with songs and dances into the vineyards (Jd. 21^{19}), and those of Gilead repeated the sad story of Jephthah's daughter (Jd. 11^{40}); the boys learned David's lament over Jonathan (2 Sam. 1^{18}); shepherds and hunters at their evening rests by the springs of the wilderness sang songs to the accompaniment of the flute (Jd. 5^{11}). The discovery of a fountain was the occasion of joy and song (Nu. 21^{17}). The smith boasted defiantly of the products of his labour (Gen. 4^{23}). Riddles and witty sayings enlivened the social meal (Jd. 14^{12}; 1 K. 10). Even into the lowest spheres the spirit of poetry wandered and ministered to the most ignoble pursuits (Is. 23^{15} *seq*).[3]

I. The Features of Hebrew Poetry

In the Hebrew poetry preserved to us in the Sacred Scriptures we observe the following characteristics:

1. *It is religious poetry.* Indeed it was most suitable that Hebrew poetry should have this as its fundamental characteristic; for the Hebrews had been selected by God from all the nations to be His own choice possession, His first-born among the nations of the earth;[4] and therefore it was their distinctive inheritance that they should be a religious people above

[1] Ex. 15; Nu. 21; Jd. 5. See pp. 369, 379, 413.
[2] Jos. $10^{12.13}$; 1 Chr. 12^{18}. See pp. 337, 393.
[3] Art. "Heb. Poesie," Herzog, *Encyklopädie*, II. Aufl. V. pp. 672 *seq.*
[4] Ex. 4^{22}, 19^{5}.

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all things else. And it is of the very nature of religion that it should express itself in song; for religion lays hold of the deepest emotions of the human soul, and causes the heartstrings to vibrate with the most varied and powerful feelings of which man is capable. These find expression through the voice and pen in those forms of human language which alone by their rhythmic movement are capable of uttering them. From this point of view Hebrew poetry has unfolded a rich and manifold literature that not only equals in this regard the noblest products of the most cultivated Indo-Germanic races, the Greek, the Roman, and the Hindu; but also lies at the root of the religious poetry of the Jewish Synagogue and the Church of Christ, as their fruitful source, their perennial well-spring of life and growth. No poetry has such power over the souls of men as Hebrew poetry. David's Psalms, Solomon's sentences, Isaiah's predictions, the plaints of Job, are as fresh and potent in their influence as when first uttered by their masterly authors. They are world-wide in their sway; they are everlasting in their sweep. The songs of Moses and the Lamb are sung by heavenly choirs.[1]

2. *It is simple and natural.* Ewald states that "Hebrew poetry has a simplicity and transparency that can scarcely be found anywhere else — a natural sublimity that knows but little of fixed forms of art, and even when art comes into play, it ever remains unconscious and careless of it. Compared with the poetry of other ancient peoples, it appears as of a more simple and childlike age of mankind, overflowing with an internal fulness and grace that troubles itself but little with external ornament and nice artistic law."[2] Hence it is that the distinction between poetry and rhetorical prose is so slight in Hebrew literature. The Hebrew orator, especially if a prophet, inspired with the potent influences of the prophetic spirit, and stirred to the depths of his soul with the divine impulse, speaks naturally in an elevated poetic style, and accordingly the greater part of prophecy is poetic. And when the priest or king stands before the people to bless them, or lead them in their devotions, their benedictions and prayers assume the poetic

[1] Rev. 15[3].

[2] *Die Dichter*, I. p. 15.

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movement. Thus there is the closest correspondence between the emotion and its expression, as the emotion gives natural movement and harmonious undulation to the expression by its own pulsations and vibrations. The pulsations are expressed by the beat of the accent, which, falling as a rule on the ultimate in Hebrew words, strikes with peculiar power; and the vibrations are expressed in accordance with the great variety of movement of which they are capable in the parallelism of members. As W. Robertson Smith correctly says: "Among the Hebrews all thought stands in immediate contact with living impressions and feelings, and so if incapable of rising to the abstract is prevented from sinking to the unreal."[1] This faithful mirroring of the concrete in the poetic expression is the secret of its power over the masses of mankind, who are sensible of its immediate influence upon them, although they may be incapable of giving a logical analysis of it.

3. *It is essentially subjective.* The poet sings or writes from the vibrating chords of his own soul's emotions, presenting the varied phases of his own experience, in sorrow and joy, in faith and hope, in love and adoration, in conflict, agony, and despair, in ecstasy and transport, in vindication of himself and imprecation upon his enemies. Even when the external world is attentively regarded, it is not for itself alone, but on account of its relation to the poet's own soul as he is brought into contact and sympathy with it. This characteristic of Hebrew poetry is so marked in the Psalter, Proverbs, and book of Job, as to give their entire theology an anthropological and indeed an ethical character. Man's inmost soul, and all the vast variety of human experience, are presented in Hebrew poetry in the common experience of humanity of all ages and of all lands.

4. *It is sententious.* The Hebrew poet expresses his ethical and religious emotions in brief, terse, pregnant sentences loosely related one with another, and often without any essential connection, except through the common unity of the central theme. They are uttered as intuitions, that which is immediately seen and felt, rather than as products of logical reflection, or careful

[1] *British Quarterly*, January, 1877, p. 36.

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elaborations of a constructive imagination. The parts of the poem, greater and lesser, are distinct parts, the distinction often being so sharp and abrupt that it is difficult to distinguish and separate the various sections of the poem, owing to the very fact of the great variety of possibility of division, in which it is a question simply of more or less. The author's soul vibrates with the beatings of the central theme, so that the movement of the poem is sometimes from the same base to a more advanced thought, then from a corresponding base or from a contrasted one; and at times, indeed, step by step, in marching or climbing measures. As Aglen says, "Hebrew eloquence is a lively succession of vigorous and incisive sentences, producing in literature the same effect which the style called arabesque produces in architecture. Hebrew wisdom finds its complete utterance in the short, pithy proverb. Hebrew poetry wants no further art than a rhythmical adaptation of the same sententious style."[1] Hence the complexity and confusion of Hebrew poetry to minds which would find strict logical relations between the various members of the poem, and constrain them after occidental methods. Hence the extravagance of Hebrew figures of speech, which transgress all classic rules of style, heaping up and mixing metaphors, presenting the theme in such a variety of images, and with such exceeding richness of colouring, that the Western critic is perplexed, confused, and bewildered in striving to harmonize them into a consistent whole. Hebrew poetry appeals through numberless concrete images to the emotional and religious nature, and can only be apprehended by entering into sympathetic relations with it by following the guidance of its members to their central theme, to which they are all in subjection as to a prince, while in comparative independence of one another.

5. *It is realistic.* Shairp says: "Whenever the soul comes into living contact with fact and truth, whenever it realizes these with more than common vividness, there arises a thrill of joy, a glow of emotion. And the expression of that thrill, that glow, is poetry. The nobler the objects, the nobler will be the poetry they awaken when they fall on the heart of a true

[1] *Bible Educator*, Vol. II. p. 340.

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poet."[1] The Hebrew poets entered into deep and intimate fellowship with external nature, the world of animal, vegetable, and material forces; and by regarding them as in immediate connection with God and man, dealt only with the noblest themes. To the Hebrew poet all nature was animate with the influence of the Divine Spirit, who was the agent in the creation, brooding over the chaos, and conducts the whole universe in its development toward the exaltation of the creature to closer communion with God, so that it may attain its glory in the divine glory. Hence all nature is aglow with the glory of God, declaring Him in His being and attributes, praising Him for His wisdom and goodness, His minister to do His pleasure, rejoicing at His advent and taking part in His theophanies. And so it is the representation of Hebrew poetry that all nature shares in the destiny of man. In its origin it led by insensible gradations to man, its crown and head, the masterpiece of the divine workman. In his fall it shared with him in the curse; and to his redemption it ever looks forward, with longing hope and throes of expectation, as the redemption of the entire creation. And so there is no poetry so sympathetic with nature, so realistic, so sensuous and glowing in its representations of nature, as Hebrew poetry. This feature of the sacred writings, which has exposed them to the attacks of the physical sciences, presenting a wide and varied field of criticism, is really one of their most striking features of excellence, commending them to the simple-minded lovers of nature; for while the Hebrew Scriptures do not teach truths and facts of science in scientific forms, yet they alone, of ancient poetry, laid hold of the eternal principles, the most essential facts and forms of objects of nature, with a sense of truth and beauty that none but sacred poets, enlightened by the Spirit of God, have been enabled to do. Hence it is that not even the sensuous romantic poetry of modern times, enriched with the vast stores of research of modern science, can equal the poetry of the Bible in its faithfulness to nature, its vividness and graphic power, its true and intense admiration of the beauties of nature and reverence of its sublimities.

[1] *Poetic Interpretation of Nature*, p. 15.

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II. Ancient Theories of Hebrew Poetry

The leading characteristics of Hebrew poetry determine its forms of expression; its internal spirit sways and controls the form with absolute, yea, even with capricious, power. The Hebrew poets seem acquainted with those various forms of artistic expression used by the poets of other nations to adorn their poetry, yet they do not employ them as rules or principles of their art, constraining their thought and emotion into conformity with them, but rather use them freely for particular purposes and momentary effects. Indeed Hebrew poetry attained its richest development at a period when these various external beauties of form had not been elaborated into a system, as was the case at a subsequent time in other nations of the same family of languages.

There are various ways employed in the poetry of the sister languages of measuring and adorning the verses. Thus *rhyme* is of exceeding importance in Arabic poetry, having its fixed rules[1] carefully elaborated. But no such rules can be found in Hebrew poetry. Rhyme exists, and is used at times with great effect to give force to the variations in the play of the emotion by bringing the variations to harmonious conclusions; but this seldom extends beyond a group of verses or a strophe.[2] So also the Hebrew poet delights in the play of words, using their varied and contrasted meanings, changing the sense by the slight change of a letter, or contrasting the sense all the more forcibly in the use of words of similar form and vocalization, and sometimes of two or three such in the parallel verses.[3] Alliteration and assonance are also freely employed. All this is in order that the form may correspond as closely as possible to the thought and emotion in their variations, as synonymous, antithetical, and progressive; and that the colouring of the expression may heighten its effect. The principle of rhyme, however, remains entirely free. It is not developed into a system and artistic rules.

The measurement of the verses, or the principle of *metres*, is

[1] Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, 2d ed., II. pp. 377–381.
[2] See pp. 373 *seq.* [3] See pp. 375, 376.

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thoroughly developed in Arabic poetry, where they are ordinarily reckoned as sixteen in number.[1] Repeated efforts have been made to find a system of metres in Hebrew poetry. Thus Josephus[2] represents that the songs Ex. 15 and Deut. 32 were written in hexameters, and that the Psalms were written in several metres, such as trimeters and pentameters. Eusebius[3] says that Deut. 32 and Ps. 18 are in heroic metre of sixteen syllables, and that trimeters and other metres were employed by the Hebrews. Jerome[4] compares Hebrew poetry with the Greek poetry of Pindar, Alcæus, and Sappho, and represents the book of Job as composed mainly of hexameters with the movement of dactyls and spondees; and[5] he finds in the Psalter iambic trimeters and tetrameters. But these writers seem to have been misled by their desire to assimilate Hebrew poetry to the great productions of the classic nations with which they were familiar.

And yet there is a solid basis of fact underlying these statements. It is true that the Massoretic system of vowel points does not admit of any such arrangement of measured feet as is known in Greek and Latin poetry. The fragments of the transliterated Hebrew of Origen's Hexapla show us that the Massoretic system is extremely artificial; the pointing of Origen's time does not yield the measured feet, or the equal number of syllables in lines, according to the statement of Eusebius, who must have either built upon the Hebrew pronunciation as given by Origen, or else upon information from Hebrew sources or upon tradition. Jerome must have known the Hebrew pronunciation of his day and the measures of poetry as known to the Hebrew of his day. But it seems altogether likely that the accurate pronunciation of the ancient Hebrew had already been lost, and that the knowledge of the measures of biblical poetry had perished likewise.

There is no evidence in Jerome's version that he understood the measures of biblical poetry. There is certainly no heroic metre of sixteen syllables in Ps. 18 or Deut. 32. The

[1] Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, 2d ed., II. p. 387.
[2] *Antiquities*, II. 16, IV. 8, VII. 12.
[3] *De Præp. Evang.*, XI. 5.
[4] *Preface to the Book of Job.*
[5] *Epist. ad Paulam.*

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number of syllables varies, if we count the two separated lines of the Hebrew arrangement as one, usually from twelve to sixteen syllables, seldom more and seldom less. There are certainly no dactyls in the book of Job. It is quite possible to arrange the book of Job like Ps. 18 and Deut. 32; for the book of Job has the same measure as these ancient poems, and so presents the appearance of hexameters to those who think these other poems hexameters. The truth that underlies the statement of these ancient authors, which they received from Hebrew tradition, is that there are trimeters, tetrameters, pentameters, and hexameters in Hebrew poetry. The measurement, however, is not of feet or of syllables, but of words or word accents, just as in ancient Egyptian and Babylonian poetry.[1] If the hexameter is regarded as six measures, Hebrew poetry has six measures, that is, six words or word groups, just as truly as Greek and Latin poetry has six measures consisting of so many feet of varied arrangement as to quantity.

III. Modern Theories of Hebrew Poetry

More recent attempts have been made to explain and measure Hebrew verses after the methods of the Arabic and Syriac. Thus William Jones[2] endeavoured to apply the rules of Arabic metre to Hebrew poetry. But this involves the revolutionary proceeding of doing away with the Massoretic system entirely, and in its results is far from satisfactory. The Arabic poetry may be profitably compared with the Hebrew as to spirit, characteristics, figures of speech, and emotional language, as Wenrich has so well done,[3] but not as regards metres; for these, as the best Arabic scholars state, are comparatively late and were probably preceded by an earlier and freer poetic style.

Saalchütz[4] endeavoured to construct a system of Hebrew metres, retaining the Massoretic vocalization, but contending that the accents do not determine the accented syllable, and

[1] See p. 378. [2] *Com. Poet. Asiat. curav.*, Eichhorn, 1777, pp. 61 *seq.*

[3] *De Poeseos Heb. atque Arabic. orig. indole mutuoque consensu atque discrimine*, Lipsiæ, 1843.

[4] *Von der Form der Hebräischen Poesie*, 1825.

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so pronouncing the words in accordance with the Aramaic, and the custom of Polish and German Jews, with the accent on the penult instead of the ultimate.

Bickell[1] strives to explain Hebrew poetry after the analogy of Syriac poetry. His theory is that Hebrew poetry is essentially the same as Syriac, not measuring syllables, but counting them in regular order. There is a constant alternation of accented and unaccented syllables, a continued rise and fall, so that only iambic and trochaic feet are possible. The Massoretic accentuation and vocalization are rejected, and the Aramaic put in its place. The grammatical and rhythmical accents coincide. The accent is, like the Syriac, generally on the penult. The parallelism of verses and thought is strictly carried out. Bickell has worked out his theory with a degree of moderation and thoroughness which must command admiration and respect. Not distinguishing between long and short syllables, and discarding the terminology of classic metres, he gives us specimens of metres of 5, 7, 12, 6, 8, 10 syllables, and a few of varying syllables. He has applied his theory to the whole of Hebrew poetry,[2] and arranged the entire Psalter, Proverbs, Job, Lamentations, Song of Songs, most of the poems of the historical books, and much of the prophetic poetry in accordance with these principles. He has also reproduced the effect in a translation into German, with the same number of syllables and strophical arrangement.[3] The theory is attractive and deserves better consideration than it has thus far received from scholars; yet it must be rejected on the ground (1) that it does away with the difference between the Hebrew and the Aramaic families of the Shemitic languages, and would virtually reduce the Hebrew to a mere dialect of the Aramaic. (2) It overthrows the traditional accentuation upon which Hebrew vocalization and the explanation of Hebrew grammatical forms largely depend.

Doubtless the Massoretic system is artificial and designed

[1] *Metrices Biblicæ*, 1879; *Carmina Veteris Testamenti Metrice*, 1882.

[2] *Zeitschrift d. D. M. G.*, 1880, p. 557; *Carmina Veteris Testamenti Metrice*, 1882.

[3] *Dichtungen der Hebräer*, 1882.

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more for rhetorical rendering than for speech; yet it must have a real basis in ancient usage. I cannot think that the accent on the ultimate was the invention of the Massorites or the Sopherim. There seems rather to be just this original difference between the great groups of the Shemitic family, that the Hebrew accents on the ultimate, the Aramaic on the penult, and the Arabic on the antepenult. The change of the accent to the penult among the more ignorant Jews was more natural than an artificial change from the penult to the ultimate.

(3) Furthermore, Bickell is forced to make many arbitrary changes in the text to carry out his theory. He makes many wise suggestions, however, and it is somewhat remarkable how constantly his arrangements of the poetry in lines and strophes correspond with those which I have made on the simpler principle of measurement by word instead of measurement by syllable.

Hebrew poetry, as Ewald has shown, may, on the Massoretic system of accentuation and vocalization, be regarded as generally composed of lines of seven or eight syllables, with sometimes a few more or a few less, for reasons that may be assigned.[1] This is especially true of the ancient hymns, which are chiefly trimeters, and of the major part of the Psalms, which are either trimeters or double trimeters, and so hexameters. Yet even here we must regard Hebrew poetry as at an earlier stage of poetic development than the Syriac. The poet is not bound to a certain number of syllables. While in general making the syllabic length of the lines correspond with the parallelism of the thought and emotion, he does not constrain himself to uniformity as a principle or law of his art; but increases or diminishes the length of his lines in perfect freedom in accordance with the rhythmical movements of the thought and emotion themselves. The external form is entirely subordinated to the internal emotion, which moves on with the utmost freedom, and assumes a poetic form merely as a thin veil, which does not so much clothe and adorn, as shade and colour the native beauties of the idea. This movement of emotion gives rise to a general harmony of expression in the parallelism of structure in lines

[1] *Dichter*, I. pp. 108 *seq.*

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and strophes — a parallelism which affords a great variety and beauty of form. Sometimes the movement is like the wavelets of a river flowing steadily and smoothly on, then like the ebbing and flowing of the tide in majestic antitheses, and again, like the madly tossed ocean in a storm, all uniformity and symmetry disappearing under the passionate heaving of the deepest emotions of the soul.

IV. Lowth's Doctrine of Parallelism

The first to clearly state and unfold the essential principle of parallelism in Hebrew verse was Bishop Lowth,[1] although older writers, such as Rabbi Asarias, and especially Schöttgen,[2] called attention to various forms of parallelism. Lowth distinguishes three kinds:

1. *Synonymous.*

> O Jehovah, in Thy strength the king shall rejoice;
> And in Thy salvation how greatly shall he exult!
> The desire of his heart Thou hast granted unto him,
> And the request of his lips Thou hast not denied.[3]

2. *Antithetical.*

> A wise son rejoiceth his father;
> But a foolish son is the grief of his mother.[4]

3. *Synthetic.*

> Praise ye Jehovah, ye of the earth;
> Ye sea monsters, and all deeps:
> Fire and hail, snow and vapour,
> Stormy wind, executing His command.[5]

Bishop Lowth also saw that there was some kind of metre in Hebrew poetry. He said:[6]

> "Thus much, then, I think, we may be allowed to infer from the alphabetical poems; namely, that the Hebrew poems are written in verse, properly so called; that the harmony of the verses does not arise from rhyme, that is, from similar corresponding sounds terminating the verses, but from some sort of rhythm, probably from some sort of metre, the laws of which are now altogether unknown, and wholly indiscoverable."

[1] *De Sacra Poesi Hebr.* XIX., 1753; also Preliminary Dissertation to his work on Isaiah, 1778.
[2] *Horæ Heb.*, Diss. VI., *De Exergasia Sacra.* [3] Ps. $21^{1.2}$.
[4] Prov. 10^{1}. [5] Ps. $148^{7.8}$. [6] *Isaiah*, Preliminary Dissertation, p. vii.

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Bishop Lowth's views have been generally accepted, although they are open to various objections; for the majority of the verses are synthetic, and these in such a great variety that it seems more important in many cases to classify and distinguish them than to make the discriminations proposed by Bishop Lowth. There is a general mingling of the three kinds of parallelism in Hebrew poetry, so that seldom do the synonymous and antithetical extend beyond a couplet, triplet, or quartette of verses. The poet is as free in his use of the various kinds of parallelism as in the use of rhyme or metre, and is only bound by the principle of parallelism itself.

4. Bishop Jebb[1] added a fourth kind, which he called the introverted parallelism, where the first line corresponds with the fourth, and the second with the third, thus:

My son, if thine heart be wise,
My heart also shall rejoice;
Yea, my reins shall rejoice,
When thy lips speak right things.[2]

This is a difference in the structure of the strophe and in the arrangement of the parallelism, rather than in the parallelism itself. We may add two other kinds of parallelism, — the emblematic and the stairlike.

5. The emblematic parallelism is quite frequent in Hebrew poetry:

For lack of wood the fire goeth out:
And where there is no whisperer, contention ceaseth.

Coal for hot embers, and wood for fire;
And a contentious man to inflame strife.[3]

Take away the dross from silver,
And there cometh forth a vessel for the finer.

Take away the wicked from before the king,
And his throne shall be established in righteousness.[4]

6. An unusual but graphic kind of parallelism is the stairlike movement, especially characteristic of the Pilgrim Psalms:[5]

I will lift up mine eyes unto the mountains — from whence cometh *my help*:
My help is from Yahweh — Maker of heaven and earth.

[1] *Sacred Literature*, § iv., 1820.
[2] Prov. $23^{15.16}$.
[3] Prov. 26^{20-21}.
[4] Prov. 25^{4-5}.
[5] Ps. 120–134.

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May He not suffer thy foot to be moved; — may He not *slumber*, *thy Keeper*.
Behold He *slumbers* not and sleeps not, — the *keeper* of Israel.
Yahweh is thy *keeper*[1] — is thy shade on thy right side;
By day the sun will not smite thee, — nor the moon by night.
Yahweh will *keep* thee from every evil — he will *keep* thee, thyself.
He[1] will *keep* thy going out and thy coming in — from now on even for ever.[2]

The last word of the first line becomes the first word of the second. The last two words of the third line are taken up in the fourth. The fifth, seventh, and eighth lines repeat the *keeper* of the fourth line.

An example may be given from the Song of Deborah:[3]

Curse ye Meroz, saith the angel of Yahweh,
Curse ye for ever — the inhabitants thereof;
Because they came not — to the *help* of Yahweh,
To the *help* of Yahweh against the mighty.
Blessed above *wives* be Jael,
The *wife* of Heber the Kenite,
Above *wives* in the tent be she blessed.
Water he asked — *milk* she gave;
In the lordly dish — she brought him *curds*;
Her *hand* to the tent pin she put forth,
And her right *hand* to the workman's *hammer*;
And she *hammered* Sisera — she smote through his head,
And she pierced, and she struck through his temples.
At her feet he *bowed*, he *fell*, he lay;
At her feet he *bowed*, he *fell*;
Where he *bowed*, there he *fell* slain.

This parallelism of members was until recently thought to be a peculiarity of Hebrew poetry, as a determining principle of poetic art, although it is used among other nations for certain momentary effects in their poetry; but recent discoveries have proved that the ancient Assyrian, Babylonian, and Akkadian hymns have the same dominant feature in their poetry, so that the conjecture of Schrader,[4] that the Hebrews brought it with them in their emigration from the vicinity of Babylon, is highly probable. Indeed, it is but natural that we should go back of the more modern Syriac and Arabic poetry to the more ancient Assyrian and Babylonian poetry for explanation of the poetry of the Hebrews, which was historically brought into connection with the latter and not with the former. Taking these ancient

[1] יהוה has been inserted without reason in the Massoretic text of these two passages.
[2] Ps. 121. [3] Jd. 5^{23-27}. [4] *Jahrb. f. Prot. Theo.*, I. 122.

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Shemitic poetries together, we observe that they have unfolded the principle of parallelism into a most elaborate and ornate artistic system. Among other nations it has been known and used, but it has remained comparatively undeveloped. Other nations have developed the principles of rhyme and metre, which were known and used, but remained undeveloped by the Hebrews, Assyrians, and Babylonians.

V. Ley's Theory of Measures

In addition to the principle of parallelism, others have sought a principle of measurement of the verses of Hebrew poetry by the accent. Thus Lautwein,[1] Ernst Meier,[2] and more recently Julius Ley.[3] The latter has elaborated quite a thorough system, with a large number of examples. He does not interfere with the Massoretic system, except in changes of the *maqqeph* and *metheg*, and in his theory of a circumflex accentuation in monosyllables at the end of a verse. He arranges Hebrew poetry into pentameters, hexameters, octameters, and decameters, with a great variety of breaks or cæsuras, as, for instance, in the octameter, which may be composed of 4+4 tones, or 2+6, 3+5, or 5+3. His theory gives longer verses than seem suited to the principle of parallelism and the spirit of Hebrew poetry. His octameters are, in my opinion, chiefly tetrameters, and his decameters pentameters, and many of his pentameters trimeters. At the same time his views are in the main correct. He has done more to establish correct views of Hebrew poetry than any other since Lowth. The accent has great power in Hebrew verse. The thought is measured by the throbbings of the soul in its emotion, and this is naturally expressed by the beat of the accent. The accent has no unimportant part to play in English verse, but in Hebrew, as the poetic accent always corresponds with the logical accent, and that is as a rule on the ultimate, it falls with peculiar power. Even in prose the accent controls the vocalization of the entire word, and in pause has double

[1] *Versuch einer richtigen Theorie von d. biblischen Verskunst*, 1775.

[2] *Die Form der Hebr. Poesie*, 1853.

[3] *Grundzüge d. Rhythmus des Vers- und Strophenbaues in d. Hebr. Poesie*, 1875; *Leitfaden der Metrik der Hebr. Poesie*, 1887.

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strength. How much more is this the case in poetry, where the emotion expressed by homogeneous sounds causes it to beat with exceeding power and wonderful delicacy of movement. This can hardly be reproduced or felt to any great extent by those who approach the Hebrew as a dead language. We can only approximate to it by frequent practice in the utterance of its verses.

In 1881 I published my views of Hebrew poetry, which in the main correspond with those of Ley. I could not accept his long measures, or the views of substitution and compensation, which he has since abandoned. But I have held, with increasing firmness in my teaching and writing, that the Hebrew poet measured his line by the word accent or word group.[1] The Hebrew poet had the liberty of uniting, in a word group, two or more short words. The many monosyllables, particles, segholates, infinitives, etc., might be used in this way, or might be treated as independent words. The particles often assume an archaic ending for this purpose, or a conjunction is prefixed.[2]

There are, however, long words where the secondary accent must be counted in the measure. Such long words are not common in Hebrew, but they have to be considered when they occur.[3] It should also be said that the Hebrew poet changes his measure at times just as the poets of other literatures, in order to give variety and force to his style. This is most frequent at the beginning or the end of strophes.[4]

There has been a strange reluctance on the part of Hebrew scholars to recognize the measures of Hebrew poetry, but within a few years great advance has been made in this respect in all parts of the world.

[1] *Homiletical Quarterly*, London, 1881, pp. 398 *seq.*, 555 *seq.*; *Biblical Study*, 1st ed., 1883, pp. 262 *seq.*; *Hebraïca*, five articles on Hebrew poetry, 1886–1887.

[2] The prefix prepositions מן, ל, כ, ב might be used as separate words by giving them the ancient form of מני, למו, כמו, במו. So also the monosyllables בל, אל, עד, על, if they are to be accented as separate words, assume the archaic form אלי, בלי, עדי, עלי. So לא would be usually if not always toneless; but ולא, בלא, כלא may receive the accent. (See Ley, *Leitfaden*, *s.* 4 *seq.*)

[3] For specimens, see Ley, *Leitfaden*, *s.* 4, and notes, pp. 382, 383.

[4] See for illustrations pp. 383, 384.

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Upon these two principles of the parallelism of members and the play of the accent the form of Hebrew verse depends. The ancient verse divisions have been obscured and lost, even if they were ever distinctly marked. We can recover them only by entering into the spirit of the poetry, and allowing ourselves to be carried on in the flow of emotion, marking its beats and varied parallelism. These features of Hebrew poetry make it a universal poetry, for the parallelism can be reproduced in the main in most languages into which Hebrew poetry may be translated, and even the same number of accents may be to a great extent preserved; only that the colouring of the words, and the varied rhythm of their utterance, and the strong beating of the accent, can only be experienced by a Hebrew scholar in the careful and practised reading of the Hebrew text.

VI. The Poetic Language

As in all other languages, so in the Hebrew the poetic style is elevated, artistic, and cultivated, and hence above the every-day talk of the houses and streets. For this purpose it selects not the language of the schools, which becomes technical, pedantic, and artificial, but the older language, which, with its simplicity and strong vital energy, is in accord with the poetic spirit.

Thus in the forms of the language there is (*a*) an occasional use of the fuller sounding forms, as *athah* for *ah*, of the fem. noun; (*b*) the older endings of prepositions in *b^elî* for *bal*, *minnî* for *min*, *'êlê* for *'el*, *'ălê* for *'al*, *'ădhê* for *'adh*; (*c*) the older case endings of nouns, as *chay^etho* for *chayyath*, and *b^enî* for *ben*; (*d*) the older suffix forms in *mô* and *êmô* for *âm*; (*e*) the fuller forms of the inseparable prepositions *l^emô* for *l^e*, *b^emô* for *b^e*; (*f*) the *nun* paragogic or archaic ending of 3 pf. of verbs, *ûn* for *û*.

The style is more primitive, using many archaic expressions that have been lost to the classic language. The monuments of Assyria and Babylon show us that the earlier Hebrew language was historically in contact with the languages of Syria and the Euphrates. The Assyrian and Babylonian shed great

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light on these poetic archaisms. A later connection of Hebrew with Aramaic is indicated in the later historical writings of the Bible. The poetic language is also remarkably rich in synonyms, exceedingly flexible and musical in structure, and thus the older forms are retained in these synonyms for variety of representation, when they have long passed from use in the prose literature.

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CHAPTER XV

THE MEASURES OF BIBLICAL POETRY

HEBREW poetry is measured in part by rhyme and assonance, but chiefly by the beats of the accents.

I. ASSONANCE AND RHYME

Many specimens of word painting may be found in Hebrew poetry. The following examples may suffice:

Psalm 105 is composed of six hexameter strophes of seven lines each. Two of these strophes (I. and V.) have rhyme in the form of identical suffixes of the noun and verb. This may be sufficiently represented in English by the italicized personal pronouns. Each line of the first strophe closes with the suffix *aw;* each line before the cæsura has the suffix *ō* or *mō;* each line of the fifth strophe closes with the suffix *am.*

STROPHE I

O give thanks,[1] proclaim *His*[2] name — make[3] known among the peoples *His*[4] doings.
Sing to *Him*, make melody to *Him* — muse on all *His* wonders.
Glory in *His* holy name — let the heart of them be glad that seek *Him.*[5]
Resort to Yahweh and *His* strength — seek continually *His* face.

[1] לידוה has been inserted to make the ascription more definite; but it makes the line too long, and was unnecessary in the original.

[2] The first half of the line throughout ends in the suffix וֹ, 3d pers. sing. masc. suffix to singular noun, *His*, except where the infinitive construct is used, line 5, and the 3d plural (in מוֹ), line 7. See note on p. 370.

[3] The hexameter always has a cæsura. See p. 382. This is indicated by the mark —.

[4] The line always closes with יו, 3d pers. sing. masc. suffix to plural noun, *His.*

[5] מבקשי יהוה for the original מבקשיו. The insertion of יהוה makes the line too long.

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Remember the wonders of *His*[1] doing — the judgments of *His* mouth and *His* marvels ;[2]
Ye seed of Abraham *His* servant — ye children of Jacob, *His* chosen ones.
He is Yahweh *their*[3] God — in all the earth are *His* acts of judgment.[4]

Strophe V

Their land swarmed with frogs — in the chambers of *their*[5] king.
He said it, and the swarm came — lice in all *their* border.
He gave their rains to be hail — flaming fire in *their* land.
And He smote their vine and their fig tree — and brake in pieces the tree of *their* border.
He said it, and the locust came — and the young locust, countless *their*[6] number,
And did eat up every herb of their land — and did eat up the fruit of *their* ground.
And he smote all the firstborn in their land — and the firstfruits of all *their* strength.[7]

The 6th Psalm is an example of the use of the suffix of the first person singular, *ī*, at the close of each line except the last two of the first strophe, where the change to two lines with *kā* = *Thee* is effective.

1. Yahweh, do not in thine anger rebuke *me.*
Yahweh,[8] do not in thy heat chasten *me.*
Since[9] I am withered[10] be gracious to *me;*
Since[9] my bones are vexed[10] heal *me;*
Yea sorely vexed is[9] *my* soul,
And it is come,[11] Yahweh, unto *my* death.

[1] Read נפלאות עשתו for Hebrew נפלאותיו אשר עשה, which is prosaic.

[2] There has been a transposition ; מפתיו goes to the end of the line. The scribe has transformed this hexameter line with cæsura into a prose line.

[3] Read אלהימו for אלהינו. This keeps the rhyme in *o*, although מו is 3d plural suffix.

[4] Ps. 105[1-7].

[5] Hebrew מלכידם is evidently a mistake for מלכם. There is only one king of Egypt to whom this passage can refer.

[6] The suffix was unnecessary here, and it was omitted by a scribe who had no interest in the rhyme. We should read מכפרם for מכפר. To give the force in English, it is necessary to paraphrase.

[7] Ps. 105[30-36].

[8] The parallelism requires the insertion of *Yahweh.*

[9] Transpose the clauses.

[10] Omit *Yahweh* in these instances. It makes the lines too long, and is unnecessary.

[11] This line is corrupt. Instead of וְאַתָּה יְהוָה עַד־מָתַי read וַיֵּאת יהוה עַד־מֹתִי.
The omission of ' in the first word has occasioned the incorrect traditional pointing, which yields no good sense. Besides the Massoretic ◦ over ת, while it suggests the אתה of the second singular, really implies a traditional doubt as to the form.

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O return,[1] deliver *my* soul:
For the sake of thy kindness,[2] save *me*.
For in death there is no remembrance of *thee*:
In Sheol, who will give thanks to *thee*?

2. I am weary with *my* groaning;
All night make I to swim *my* bed;
I water with my tears[2] *my* couch.
Because of grief wasteth away *mine* eye;
It waxeth old because of *mine* adversary.[3]
All ye workers of iniquity, depart[4] from *me*;
For Yahweh hath heard the voice of *my* weeping;
Yahweh hath heard *my* supplication;
Yahweh receiveth[4] *my* prayer.
They will be ashamed and will be sore vexed all *mine*[5] enemies.

There is a fine example of assonance in the first pentameter strophe of Ps. 110.

Utterance of Yahweh to *my* lord — Sit at *my* right hand,
Until I put *thine* enemies — the stool for *thy* feet.
With the rod of *thy* strength[6] — rule in the midst of *thine* enemies.
Thy people will be volunteers — in the day of *thy* host, on the holy mountains.[7]
From the womb of the morning there will be for *thee*, — the dew of *thy* young men.

A fine example of word-painting is found in Jd. 5^{22}:

אז הלמו עקבי סוס
מדהרות דהרות אביריו

The movement of the words in utterance is like the wild running of horses.

The most elaborate example of word play is in the great apocalypse, Is. 24–27. It is indeed characteristic of this marvellous hexameter. The force of the original Hebrew can hardly be represented in English:

הבוק תבוק הארץ והבז תבז 24^{3}

Hibbōq tibbōq hā'āretz w'hibbōz tibbōz.

אבלה נבלה הארץ אמללה נבלה תבל 24^{4}

'Ābh'lā nābh'lā hā'āretz, 'uml'lā nābh'lā tēbhēl.

[1] Omit *Yahweh* in this instance. It makes the line too long, and is unnecessary. [2] Transpose the clauses.

[3] Point singular צוֹרְרִי for Massoretic צוֹרְרָי. [4] Transpose words.

[5] The change to plural is probably designed at the close of the strophe. The last clause of the psalm is a later addition.

[6] "May Yahweh send it forth from Zion," is a gloss of prayer. It breaks the movement of the poetry by an abrupt change of subject.

[7] הרי, *mountains*, instead of הדרי, *attire:* frequent mistake of ר for ד.

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24[16] ואמר רד לי רד לי אוי לי
בגדים בגדו ובגד בוגדים בגדו

Wā'ōmar rāzī lī rāzī lī 'ōwī lī
Bōgh'dhīm bāghādhu, wūbheghedh bōgh'dhīm baghādhū.

25[6] משתה שמנים משתה שמרים
שמנים ממחים שמרים מזקקים

Mishtē sh'mānīm, mishtē sh'mārīm
Sh'mānīm m'muchāyim sh'mārīm m'zuqqāqīm.

27[7] הכמכת מכהו הכהו אם כהרג הרוגיו הרג

"As the smiting of those that smote him hath he smitten him? or as the slaying of them that were slain by him is he slain?"

Sometimes great force is produced in a poem by the change of a single letter of a word in word play.

At the brooks of Reuben were great *decrees* of mind.
Why didst thou dwell among the sheepfolds,
Listening to the bleatings of the flocks?
At the brooks of Reuben were great *searchings* of mind.

This tetrastich begins and closes with the same identical line, except that for the word חקקי, *decrees*, we have חקרי, *searchings*. There is a single letter changed, ק to ר, to emphasize the transformation of the bold mental decrees into the timid, hesitating searchings of the mind.[1]

II. The Measures by Word or Accent

The Hebrew poet measured his lines by the beats of the accent, or by word, or word-groups, as did ancient Babylonian and Egyptian poets. Accordingly three beats of the accent give us trimeters, four tetrameters, five pentameters, and six hexameters. All these measures appear in Hebrew poetry, as they do in Babylonian and Egyptian poetry. There are no dimeter lines, except occasionally in connection with trimeters and tetrameters to vary the measure.

1. *The Trimeter*

The trimeter is the most frequent measure, especially in the more ancient historical poetry, and in the Psalter, and in the Wisdom Literature. The alphabetical poems enable us to

[1] Jd. 5[15.16]. Geo. Moore in his *Commentary on Judges* thinks the second line a mistaken repetition of the first, and that it gives the true, original text. I cannot agree with him.

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study the trimeters, as the lines are limited by the letters of the alphabet in their progress. The first example will be taken from the alphabetical Ps. 9, where there is a double limitation by the letter Aleph and by the rhyme in the suffix *Ka*.

אוֹדֶה [1] בכל־לבי [2] לְךָ
אספרה [3] כל־נִפְלְאוֹתֶיךָ
אשמחה ואעלצה בְךָ
אזמרה [4] עליון שִׁמְךָ

Each line begins with the first person of the cohortative imperfect of the verb and with the letter Aleph; each line closes with the suffix of the second singular noun. Here, then, the lines are distinctly marked at the beginning and at the end by words in assonance. One word only remains in each line between the two. These lines are measured by three words or three word accents.

Psalm 111 is a fine example of an alphabetical psalm:

אוֹדֶה	בכל־לבב [5] לְךָ		לתת	[7] נחלת	גוֹיִם
בְּסוֹד	ישרים	ועדה	[8] מעשׂיו	אמת	ומשפט
גדלים	מעשׂי	יהוה	נאמנים	כל	פקודיו
דרושים	לכל	[6] חפציו	סמוכים	לעד	לעולם
הוֹד	והדר	פעלו	עשׂוים	באמת	וישר
וצדקתו	עמדת	לעד	פדות	שלח	לעמו
זכר	עשׂה	לנפלאותיו	צוה	לעולם	בריתו
חנון	ורחום	יהוה	קדוש	ונורא	שמו
טרף	נתן	ליראיו	ראשית	חכמה	יראתו [9]
יזכר	לעולם	בריתו	שכל־טוב	לכל	עשיהם
כח־מעשיו	הגיד	לעמו	תהלתו	עמדת	לעד

[1] "Yahweh" has been inserted in the Massoretic text, as usual in such circumstances. In use in worship the reference to Yahweh was plain enough. For private reading it seemed necessary to the scribe to insert it.

[2] לך has been omitted by the Massoretic text. It is implied by the Greek *σοί*.

[3] The long word נִפְלְאוֹתֶיךָ has two accents, therefore כל is to be attached to it by Măqqēph.

[4] There has been a transposition of עליון and שמך by a scribe who did not understand the rhyme and who followed the prose order of words.

[5] The Greek version has *σοί*, which implies either an interpretation, or לך in the text. יהוה has been inserted as usual, but it makes the line a tetrameter. It is possible that the poet has increased his measure here, for sometimes trimeters begin with tetrameters, but it is not probable.

[6] The Greek version has *θελήματα αὐτοῦ* = חפציו, which is more probable than the Hebrew חפציהם. [7] להם has been inserted for preciseness of statement.

[8] מעשי ידיו makes the line a tetrameter. It is improbable; read מעשיו.

[9] יראת יהוה, in the Hebrew stands for an original יראתו.

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The lines are distinctly separated by the fact that each one begins with a letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and they continue in the order of the alphabet until the psalm is complete in twenty-two lines. Each line has three accented words.[1]

Psalm 112 is also an alphabetical psalm of exactly the same structure as Ps. 111.

In the Hebrew manuscripts there is a separation of lines in Deut. 32, 33; 2 Sam. 22; Ps. 18, which indicates that these are all trimeters. The poems ascribed to Balaam[2] are also trimeters, although there is nothing in the text itself to show it.

A fine example of the trimeter may be given from the Egyptian poem called the *Hymn to the Nile:*

Adoration to the Nile!
Hail to thee, O Nile!
Who manifesteth thyself over this land,
And comest to give life to Egypt!
Mysterious is thy issuing forth from the darkness,
On this day whereon it is celebrated!
Watering the orchards created by Ra,
To cause all the cattle to live.
Thou givest the earth to drink, inexhaustible one!
Path that descendest from the sky,
Loving the bread of Seb and the firstfruits of Nepera,
Thou causest the workshops of Pthah to prosper.[3]

A French scholar says of this poem:

"The text of the Hymn is divided into fourteen verses, introduced by red letters, and each, with two exceptions, containing the same number of complete phrases, separated from one another by red points. Unfortunately we are still ignorant of the rules of Egyptian poetry, but as the variant readings show that the number of syllables in one and the same sentence is not the same in the different texts, it is probable that the tonic accent played a chief part in it."[4]

Erman,[5] the distinguished Egyptologist of Berlin, also says that Egyptian poetry is measured by the tonic accent, and that there is a vast amount of poetry in Egyptian literature.

[1] No emendation is necessary in the Hebrew text. The use of the Mâqqēph is sufficient in lines 1, 11, 12, 13, 20, 21. But it is probable that in some of these lines there has been a slight corruption of the original text, as I have indicated in the notes.

[2] Nu. 23[7 seq., 18-24].

[3] *Records of the Past*, new edition, III. 48.

[4] Paul Guieysse, *Records of the Past*, III. p. 47.

[5] *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 1894, p. 395.

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2. *The Tetrameter*

The tetrameter is composed of four beats of the accent or word-groups. It is usually divided by a cæsura in the middle. The following specimen of an ancient Babylonian hymn may suitably introduce the subject: [1]

In heaven who is great? — Thou alone art great.
On earth who is great? — Thou alone art great.
Where Thy voice resounds in heaven — the gods fall prostrate.
Where Thy voice resounds on earth — the genii kiss the dust.

This resembles in some respects the ode of the Red Sea.[2] The latter has a refrain which does not appear at the close of the strophes, but is given apart from them. It should be placed at the close of the strophes. The strophes increase, the second strophe being twice the length of the first, and the third strophe three times its length. The movement is clearly tetrameter, with the cæsura in the midst of each line.

STROPHE I

עזי וזמרת־יה — ויהי־לי לישועה
זה־אלי ואנוהו — אלהי־אבי וארממנהו
יהוה איש־מלחמה — יהוה שמו
מרכבת־פרעה וחילו — ירה בים
ומבחר שלשיו — טבעו בים־סוף
תהמת יכסימו — [3] במצולת כמו־אבן [4]
אשירה ליהוה — כי־גאה גאה
סוס ורכבו — רמה בים } Refrain.

STROPHE II

ימינך יהוה — נאדרי בכח
ימינך יהוה — תרעץ אויב
וברב גאונך — תהרס קמיך
תשלח חרנך — יאכלמו כקש
וברוח אפיך — נערמו מים
נצבו כמו נד נזלים
קפאו תהמת — בלב ים

אמר אויב — ארדף אשיג
אחלק שלל — תמלאמו נפשי
אריק חרבי — תורישמו ידי
נשפת ברוחך — כסמו ים
צללו כעופרת במים אדירים [5]
אשירה ליהוה — כי־גאה גאה
סוס ורכבו — רמה בים } Refrain.

[1] *Transactions Soc. Bib. Arch.*, II. p. 62. [2] Ex. 15.

[3] ידמו is a prosaic insertion.

[4] The cæsura is striking in each of these lines. The arrangement agrees with the usual division of the lines, except in the second line, which is divided in the Massoretic text into two lines, spoiling the movement.

[5] There is no departure from the tetrameter movement in this long strophe. In most of the lines the cæsura is plain. In the Massoretic text, lines 5, 6, 7 are changed into trimeters by the misuse of the Mǎqqēph.

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STROPHE III

מי כמכה באלם יהוה	נמנו כל ישבי כנען
מי כמכה — נאדר בקדש	תפל עליהם — אימתה ופחד
נורא תהלת — עשה פלא	בגדל זרועך — ידמו כאבן
נטית ימינך — תבלעמו ארץ	עד יעבר — עמך יהוה
נחית בחסדך — עם־זו נאלת	עד יעבר — עם־זו קנית
נהלת בעזך — אל־נוה קדשך	תבאמו ותטעמו — בהר נחלתך
שמעו עמים — ירגזון [1] גוים	מכון לשבתך — פעלת יהוה
חיל אחז — ישבי פלשת	מקדש יהוה — כוננו ידיך [2]
אז נבהלו — אלופי אדום	אשירה ליהוה — כי־נאה נאה } Refrain.
אילי מואב — יאחזמו רעד	סום ורכבו — רמה בים }

Psalm 13 gives an example of a tetrameter, where the beginning of the lines in the first strophe is marked by an identical phrase, and the lines conclude with rhyme:

How long, Yahweh, — forever [3] wilt thou forget *me*?
How long wilt thou hide thy face from *me*?
How long shall I take counsel in *my* soul?
How long [4] shall I have sorrow — by day [3] in *my* heart?
How long shall he be exalted — over me [3] be *mine* enemy?

There are not so many examples of the tetrameter in Hebrew poetry as of the other measures. There are few in the Psalter. Fine specimens, however, are the Song of Deborah,[5] the Lament of David over Jonathan,[6] and Pss. 1, 4, 7, 12, 16, 45, 46, 58.

3. *The Pentameter*

The pentameter has five beats of the accent, or five word-groups. There is always a cæsura, usually after the third beat, but sometimes for variety after the second beat.

The epic of the Descent of Istar to Sheol is a fine example

[1] It is improbable that this line only should be trimeter. Insert גוים in accordance with parallelism.

[2] We now have a supplementary line which seems not to have belonged to the original poem. It is just such a liturgical supplement as we often find in the Psalter. The Massoretic text reduces a few of the lines to trimeters by an improper use of the Măqqēph. In the last line יהוה is to be preferred to אדני.

[3] These three cases are transpositions made by the scribe, who did not discern the rhyme, and so followed the prose order of words. The restoration of the original order restores the cæsuras also.

[4] עד־אנה is restored in this line. The Massoretic text omits it. It is improbable that the original lacked it. [5] Jd. 5. [6] 2 Sam. 1^{19-27}.

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of the pentameter in Babylonian poetry.[1] The following extract may suffice :

To the land without return — the region of darkness,
Istar, daughter of Sin — her face did set ;
Yea, the daughter of Sin — did set her face
To the house of darkness — the abode of Irkalla,
To the house whose entering — knows no going out again,
To the path whose way — has no returning,
To the house which cuts off — him entering it from light,
Where dust is their nourishment — their food is slime,
Light is never beheld — in darkness they dwell :
They are clothed like the birds — their garments are wings.
On the door and its bolt — is lying the dust.

The pentameter is the most frequent measure in Hebrew poetry, next to the trimeter. This is the measure which is called by Budde the *Kina* measure, because apparently he first noticed it in the book of Lamentations. But, in fact, there is no propriety in this name. The earliest Hebrew dirge, the Lament of David over Jonathan, is not in this measure, but in the tetrameter ; and on the other side this measure is not especially adapted to the dirge. All kinds of poetry appear in this measure. It seems especially adapted to didactic poems, such as Ps. 119.

The pentameter line is often treated as if it were composed of two lines in parallelism. But the second half of the pentameter line is not in such marked parallelism with the first as the second line of a trimeter poem. It is rather supplementary to the first half, even when parallelism appears.

A fine specimen of the pentameter is the alphabetical dirge contained in Lam. 3. The dirge has twenty-two strophes, in which the initial letter of the strophe is a letter in the order of the Hebrew alphabet. But the alphabetical structure is not confined to the initial letters of the strophes. Each strophe contains three lines, and each line begins with the characteristic letter of the strophe. Four of these strophes will suffice as specimens of the twenty-two. Bickell makes these lines of twelve syllables in accordance with his theory of the structure of Hebrew verse. In general, his lines of twelve syllables correspond with our pentameter.

[1] F. Brown, "Religious Poetry of Babylona" in *Presbyterian Review*, 1888, p. 69.

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אני־הגבר ראה עני – בשבט עברתו | גדר בעדי ולא־אצא – הבביד נחשתי
אותי נהג וילך – חשך ולא־אור | גם־כי אשק ואשוע – שתם תפלתי
אך־בי ישב יהפך – ידו כל־היום | גדר דרכי בגזית – נתיבותי עוה

לב ארב הוא־לי – ארית במסתרים | בלה בשרי ועורי – שבר עצמותי
דרכי סורר ויפשחני – שמני שומם | בנה עלי – ויקף ראש ותלאה
[2] דרך קשתו – ויציבני כמטרא לחץ | במחשכים [1] חושיבני – כמתי עולם

The great alphabetical poem in praise of the Divine Word, Ps. 119, has twenty-two strophes, and each strophe is composed of eight lines, and each line of the strophe begins with the characteristic letter of the strophe. The pentameter movement is clear, and the lines are distinctly marked off by the letters of the alphabet. Bickell regards the lines of this poem also as composed of twelve syllables.

אשרי תמימי־דרך – ההלכים [4] בתורה | במה יזכה־נער את־ארחו – לשמר כדברך
אשרי נצרי עדותיו – בכל־לבב ידרשוהו | בכל־לבי דרשתיך – אל־תשגני [3] ממצותיך
אף־לא פעלו עולה – בדרכיו הלכו | בלבי צפנתי אמרתך – למען־לא אחטא־לך
אתה צויתה פקודיך – לשמר מאד | ברוך אתה יהוה – למדני חקיך
אחלי יכנו דרכי – לשמר חקיך | בשפתי ספרתו – [3] כל־משפטי פיך
אז־לא אבוש – בהביטי אל־כל מצותיך | בדרך עדותיך ששתי – כעל כל־הון
אודך בישר־לבב – בלמדי משפטי צדקך | בפקודיך אשיחה – ואביטה [3] אורחותיך
את־חקיך אשמר – [3] אל־תעזבני עד־מאד | בחקותיך [3] אשתעשע – לא־אשכח דברך [5]

4. *The Hexameter*

The Hebrew hexameter is a double trimeter. The cæsura ordinarily divides the line in the middle. Hence it is not always easy to decide whether the line is a hexameter or two trimeters. But there are several helps to the decision of this question: (*a*) The hexameter line is occasionally divided by the cæsura into 4 + 2 or 2 + 4. (*b*) There will also be exam-

[1] This word has two accents, on account of the number of long vowels.

[2] The only changes in the Massoretic text are insertion of Măqqēphs in lines 1, 3, 7, 8, 10, all of which are in accordance with good usage. The lines have the cæsuras after the third beat of the accent, except lines 5 and 12.

[3] These are all long words with two accents, both of which are counted in the measure.

[4] The Hebrew language prefers תמימי־דרך to תמימי דרך. It is improbable that the line is hexameter. Read therefore בתורה instead of בתורת יהוה. The divine name is unnecessary.

[5] The Măqqēphs are changed in lines 3, 6, of the א strophe, and in lines 3, 5, 8, of the ב strophe. These need no justification.

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ples of two cæsuras dividing the line into 2 + 2 + 2. (*c*) Pentameter lines will be found to vary the movement. As the poet will sometimes shorten his trimeter into a dimeter, his tetrameter into a trimeter, and his pentameter into a tetrameter, so there are occasional pentameter lines in hexameter poems. (*d*) The second half of the line will be complementary to the first half, and the parallelism will be between the hexameter lines. I shall use as an illustration "the golden A B C of women."[1]

אשת־חיל מי ימצא — ורחק ממכרה
בטח בה לב בעלה — ושלל לא־יחסר
גמלתהו טוב ולא־רע — כל ימי חייה
דרשה צמר ופשתים — ותעש בחפץ כפיה
היתה כאניות סוחר — ממרחק תביא לחמה
ותקם בעוד־לילה — ותתן־טרף לביתה — וחק לנערתיה
זממה שדה ותקחהו — מפרי כפיה נטע־כרם
חגרה בעז מתניה — ותאמץ [2] זרועתיה
טעמה כי־טוב סחרה — לא־יכבה בלילה נרה
ידיה שלחה בכישור — וכפיה תמכו פלך
כפה פרשה לעני — וידיה שלחה לאביון
לא־תירא לביתה משלג — [3] כל־ביתה לבש שנים
מרבדים עשתה לה — שש וארגמן לבושה
נודע בשערים בעלה — בשבתו [2] עם־זקני־ארץ
סדין עשתה ותמכר — וחגור נתנה לכנעני
עז והדר לבושה — ותשחק ליום אחרון
פיה פתחה בחכמה — ותורת חסד על־לשונה
צופיה הילכות ביתה — ולחם עצלות לא־תאכל
קמו בניה ויאשרוה — [4] עמר בעלה ויהללה
רבות בנות עשו־חיל — ואת עלית על־כלנה
שקר־החן והבל־היפי — אשה יראת־יהוה — היא תתהלל
תנו־לה מפרי ידיה — ויהללוה בשערים מעשיה: [5]

There are also alphabetical psalms in the hexameter movement. Psalm 145 has twenty-two alphabetical hexameter lines. Psalm 37 has twenty-two alphabetical hexameter couplets.

[1] Prov. 31[10–31].

[2] These long words have two accents.

[3] כי has come into the Massoretic text by dittography.

[4] The *Waw consec* implies a verb, and the measure is just this much too short. I have ventured to insert עמר as parallel with קמו.

[5] This beautiful alphabetical poem might be taken as composed of alphabetical trimeter distichs so far as most of the poem is concerned, for the cæsura is in the middle of the line in all cases except three lines. But lines ו and ש have two cæsuras, and line ב has a cæsura after the fourth beat.

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There are many other hexameter psalms. It is a favourite measure of later prophecy. Thus the beautiful hymn, Is. 60, and the magnificent apocalypse, Is. 24–27, are in this measure.[1]

5. *Varying Measures*

There are a few cases in which the measure varies in the several strophes. The simplest and finest example of these is Ps. 23, which in the first strophe is trimeter, in the second tetrameter, and in the third pentameter.

1. Yahweh is-my-shepherd: I-cannot-want.
   In-pastures of-green-grass He-causeth-me-to-lie-down;
   Unto-waters of-refreshment He-leadeth-me;
   Me-myself He-restoreth.[2] ————————

2. He-guideth-me in-paths of-righteousness for-his-name's-sake.
   Also when-I-walk in-the-valley of-dense-darkness
   I-fear-not evil, for-Thou-art with-me:
   Thy-rod and-Thy-staff they comfort-me.

3. He-prepareth before-me a-table in-the-presence-of my-adversaries;
   Has-He-anointed with-oil my-head; my-cup is-abundance.
   Surely-goodness and-mercy pursue-me all-the-days of-my-life,
   And-I-shall-return[3] (to-dwell)-in-the-house-of Yahweh for-length of-days.[4]

We have seen that Hebrew poetry has its measures as clearly and accurately marked as other poetry. Great light is thrown upon the meaning of a multitude of passages by arranging the poetry in accordance with its true measures. And it is a sure guide to glosses inserted by later editors in the text. We are yet in the infancy of this study. Great fruit may be anticipated from the prosecution of it in the future.

[1] See Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, 7th ed., pp. 296 *seq.*, 394 *seq.*, where these hexameters are arranged in measures and strophes.

[2] A broken line; a dimeter.

[3] A pregnant term implying the verb "dwell," which has been inserted.

[4] I have here indicated the number of accents by combining in English the words combined in Hebrew.

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CHAPTER XVI

THE PARALLELISMS OF HEBREW POETRY

THE great formative principle of Hebrew poetry is the parallelism of members. These members vary from the couplet to the strophe of fourteen lines. Seldom does the strophe extend beyond this number of lines. However numerous the lines may be, and however the strophes and larger divisions of a poem may be arranged, the principle of parallelism determines the whole.

I. THE COUPLET

The simplest form of the parallelism of members is seen in the couplet, or distich, where two lines balance one another in thought and its formal expression. The couplet is seldom used except in brief, terse, gnomic utterances.

1. The simplest form of the couplet is the *synonymous* couplet.

The following specimens of the synonymous couplets may suffice:

The liberal soul shall be made fat:
And he that watereth shall be watered also himself.[1]

The evil bow before the good;
And the wicked at the gates of the righteous.[2]

A man hath joy in the answer of his mouth:
And a word in due season, how good it is![3]

A merchant shall hardly keep himself from doing wrong;
And an huckster shall not be freed from sin.[4]

Saul smote his thousands,
And David his myriads.[5]

[1] Prov. 11^{25}. [2] Prov. 14^{19}. [3] Prov. 15^{23}. [4] Ecclus. 26^{29}.
[5] 1 Sam. 18^{7}.

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2. *Antithetical* couplets are numerous and varied:

A wise son maketh glad his father;
But a foolish son is the grief of his mother.
Treasures of wickedness profit not;
But righteousness delivereth from death.
Yahweh will not let the desire of the righteous famish;
But the craving of the wicked He disappointeth.
He becometh poor that worketh with an idle hand;
But the hand of the diligent maketh rich.
He that gathereth in fruit harvest is a wise son;
But he that lies in deep sleep in grain harvest is a base son.[1]

In the second of these couplets the antithesis is throughout: "Righteousness" to "treasures of wickedness," and "delivereth from death" to "profit not." Usually, however, there are one or more synonymous terms to make the antithesis more emphatic. In the fourth couplet "hand" is a common term, and the contrast is of "idle" and "diligent," "becometh poor" and "maketh rich." In the third couplet "Yahweh" is a common term with "He," and "desire" synonymous with "craving," in order to the antithesis of "righteous" with "wicked," and of "will not let famish" with "disappointeth." In the first couplet "son" is a common term; "father" and "mother" are synonymous, in order to the antithesis of "wise" and "foolish," "maketh glad" and "grief." In the fifth couplet "son" is a common term, "fruit harvest" is synonymous with "grain harvest," whereas "wise" has as its antithesis "base," and "gathereth" "lies in deep sleep."

Sometimes the antithesis is limited to a single term:

Man's heart deviseth his way;
But Yahweh directeth his steps.[2]

Here the contrast is between "man's heart" and "Yahweh"; the remaining terms are synonymous.

The antithesis sometimes becomes more striking in the antithetical position of the terms themselves:

He that spareth his rod, hateth his son;
But he that loveth him seeketh him chastisement.[3]

The common terms are "father" and "son," the antithetical, "spareth his rod" with "seeketh him chastisement," and "hateth" with "loveth"; but that which closes the first line begins the second, and that which begins the first closes the second.

The following additional specimens from the Wisdom of Jesus may be studied.

[1] Prov. 10^{1-5}. [2] Prov. 16^{9}. [3] Prov. 13^{24}.

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Whosoever exalteth himself shall be humbled;
But whosoever humbleth himself shall be exalted.[1]

Unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance;
But from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath.[2]

Think not that I came to destroy the law;
I came not to destroy, but to fulfil.[3]

3. Parallelism is ordinarily *progressive* in that great variety of form which such a rich and powerful language as the Hebrew renders possible.

The blessing of Rebekah by her brothers[4] is a progressive distich:

O thou our sister, become thousands of myriads,
And may thy seed inherit the gate of those that hate them.

The second line sums up the "thousands of myriads" of the first, in order to give the climax of the wish, in the inheritance of the gate of their enemies.

The words of Moses when the ark of the covenant set forward and when it rested are couplets.[5]

Arise, Yahweh, and let Thine enemies be scattered;
And let those who hate Thee flee from before Thee.

Return, Yahweh,
To the myriads of thousands of Israel.

The first of these couplets is synonymous throughout; the second is an example of an unfinished line; the pause in the poetical movement is to give more emphasis to the second line when its advanced idea is expressed.

The following additional specimens will illustrate the variations possible in the synthesis.

The fear of Yahweh is a fountain of life,
To depart from the snares of death.[6]

The eyes of Yahweh are in every place,
Keeping watch upon the evil and the good.[7]

Watch and pray lest ye enter into temptation:
The spirit is willing but the flesh is weak.[8]

Till heaven and earth pass away,
Not one yodh shall pass away from the law.[9]

[1] Mt. 23^{12} = Lk. 14^{11}, 18^{14}. [2] Mt. 25^{29} = Mk. 4^{25}; Lk. 8^{18}, 19^{26}.
[3] Mt. 5^{17}. "Prophets" in the first line is a later addition to the text which has nothing to justify it in the context. [4] Gen. 24^{60}.
[5] Num. $10^{35.\,36}$. [6] Prov. 14^{27}. [7] Prov. 15^{3}. [8] Mk. 14^{38} = Mt. 26^{41}.
[9] Mt. 5^{18} = Lk. 16^{17}. The ἡ μία κερέα of Matthew is not in Luke, and is not original. It makes the line too long.

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4. There are many emblematic couplets:

A word fitly spoken,
Is like apples of gold in baskets of silver.

As an earring of gold and an ornament of fine gold,
So is a wise reprover upon an obedient ear.[1]

As cold water to a thirsty soul,
So is good news from a far country.[2]

They that are whole have no need of a physician, but they that are sick:
I came not to call the righteous, but on the contrary, sinners.[3]

The book of Proverbs in its first great collection contains 376 couplets, of every variety.[4] The second great collection is also composed chiefly of couplets, although specimens of other forms occur.[5] The Wisdom of Jesus has a large number also.[6]

II. The Triplet

The tristich, or triplet, of three lines is not common in Hebrew poetry. There are only eight in the entire book of Proverbs.[7]

1. The synonymous triplet is most frequent.

The priests' blessing is a fine specimen of a synonymous tristich.

Yahweh bless thee and keep thee;
Yahweh let His face shine upon thee and be gracious to thee;
Yahweh lift up His face upon thee and give thee peace.[8]

The oldest of the sayings of the Jewish Fathers is of this form:

Be deliberate in judgment,
And raise up many disciples,
And make a fence to the Law.[9]

Jesus uses this form also.

Ask and it shall be given unto you;
Seek, and ye shall find;
Knock, and it shall be opened unto you.

[1] Prov. $25^{11.\ 12}$.
[2] Prov. 25^{25}.
[3] Mk. 2^{17} = Mt. 9^{12} = Lk. $5^{31.\ 32}$.
[4] Prov. 10–22^{16}.
[5] Prov. 25–29.
[6] See pp. 69, 86.
[7] Prov. 22^{29}, $25^{8.\ 13.\ 20}$., $27^{10.\ 22}$., 28^{10}, 30^{20}.
[8] Num. 6^{24-26}.
[9] Pirqe Aboth 1^{9}.

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This is followed by another triplet, progressive to it.

For every one that asketh, receiveth,
And he that seeketh, findeth,
And to him that knocketh it shall be opened.[1]

2. The antithetical triplet takes the form of one antithetical line to two other lines. Sometimes the antithesis appears in one line, sometimes in another.

These examples will suffice:

Seest thou a man diligent in his business?
He shall stand before kings;
He shall not stand before mean men.[2]

Thine own friend, and thy father's friend, forsake not;
But go not to thy brother's house in the day of thy calamity:
Better is a neighbor that is near than a brother far off.[3]

The foxes have holes,
And the birds of the heaven nests;
But the Son of man hath not where to lay his head.[4]

3. Progressive triplets are more frequent, but the progression is seldom thorough-going.

These specimens show the variety of method:

Go not forth hastily to strive,
Lest in the end, therefore, what wilt thou do,
When thy neighbour hath put thee to shame?[5]

Be ye of the disciples of Aaron:
Loving peace and pursuing peace,
Loving mankind and bringing them nigh.[6]

4. The emblematic tristich may be illustrated by the following specimens:

As the cold of snow in the time of harvest,
So is a faithful messenger to them that send him;
For he refresheth the soul of his masters.[7]

As one that taketh off a garment in cold weather,
And as vinegar upon nitre;
So is he that singeth songs to an heavy heart.[8]

[1] Mt. 7^{7-8}. [2] Prov. 22^{29}. [3] Prov. 27^{10}. [4] Mt. 8^{20} = Lk. 9^{59}. [5] Prov. 25^{8}. [6] Pirqe Aboth 1^{12}. [7] Prov. 25^{13}. [8] Prov. 25^{20}.

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III. The Tetrastich

The tetrastich is formed from the distich, and consists generally of pairs balanced over against one another, but sometimes of three lines against one; rarely there is a steady march of thought to the end.

The oracle respecting Jacob and Esau[1] is an example of balanced pairs:

Two nations are in thy womb,
And two peoples will separate themselves from thy bowels;
And people will prevail over people,
And the elder will serve the younger.

The pairs are synonymous within themselves, but progressive with reference to one another.

The blessing of Ephraim by Jacob is an example of antithetical pairs:

He also will become a people,
And he also will grow great;
But yet the younger will become greater,
And his seed abundance of nations.[2]

The song of the well is an interesting and beautiful example of a more involved kind of parallelism, where the second and third lines constitute a synonymous pair; while at the same time, as a pair, they are progressive to the first line, and are followed by a fourth line progressive to themselves:

Spring up well! Sing to it!
Well that princes have dug;
The nobles of the people have bored,
With sceptre, with their staves.[3]

The dirge of David over Abner presents a similar specimen, where, however, the first and fourth lines are synonymous with one another, as well as the second and third lines:

Was Abner to die as a fool dieth?
Thy hands were not bound,
And thy feet were not put in fetters:
As one falling before the children of wickedness, thou didst fall.[4]

A fine example of a tetrastich, progressive throughout, is found

[1] Gen. 25^{23}.

[2] Gen. 48^{19}. The measures of the last two lines are spoiled by the later prosaic insertion of אחיו, מבניו, and יהודה, none of which are needed for the sense.

[3] Nu. $21^{17.18}$.

[4] 2 Sam. $3^{33.34}$.

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in the extract from an ancient ode describing the Gadites who joined David's band:

> Heroes of valour, men, a host,
> For battle, wielders of shield and spear;
> And their faces were faces of a lion,
> And like roes upon the mountains for swiftness.[1]

The blessing of Abram by Melchizedek is composed of two progressive couplets:

> Blessed be Abram of God Most High,
> Founder of heaven and earth;
> And blessed be God Most High,
> Who hath delivered thine adversaries into thine hand.[2]

The tetrastich is quite frequent in Proverbs. The little supplementary collection of the Words of the Wise[3] has no fewer than fourteen of them.[4] The second great collection of the proverbs of Solomon[5] has four examples,[6] the words of Agur one,[7] and the collection of Aluqa one.[8]

These may suffice as specimens:

> The eye that mocketh at his father,
> And despiseth to obey his mother,
> The ravens of the valley shall pick it out,
> And the young eagles shall eat it.[8]

The second couplet gives the punishment for the sin of violation of the parental law, which violation is stated in the first couplet.

The following tetrameter is a fine specimen of two couplets, in which the first gives the comparison, the second the explanation:

> Take away the dross from the silver,
> And there cometh forth a vessel for the finer.
> Take away the wicked from before the king,
> And his throne shall be established in righteousness.[9]

A third specimen is also of two couplets:

> If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat;
> And if he be thirsty, give him water to drink:
> For thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head,
> And Yahweh shall reward thee.[10]

The second couplet gives the reasons for the conduct recommended in the first.

[1] 1 Chr. 12^{8}. [2] Gen. 14^{19}. [3] Prov. 22^{17-24}.
[4] Prov. $22^{22-23.\ 24-25.\ 26-27}$, $23^{10-11.\ 13-14.\ 15-16.\ 17-18}$, $24^{1-2.\ 3-4.\ 5-6.\ 15-16.\ 17-18.\ 19-20.\ 21-22}$.
[5] Prov. 25–29. [7] Prov. 30^{5-6}. [9] Prov. 25^{4-5}.
[6] Prov. $25^{4-5.\ 9-10.\ 21-22}$, 26^{4-5}. [8] Prov. 30^{17}. [10] Prov. 25^{21-22}.

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Jesus gives many sentences of this type:

No household servant[1] can have two masters:
For either he will hate the one and love the other;
Or else he will hold to the one and despise the other.
Ye cannot serve God and Mammon.[2]

This is a fine specimen of introverted parallelism. The following have two progressive couplets:

Every idle word that men speak,
They shall give account thereof in[3] the judgment;
For by thy words thou shalt be justified,
And by thy words thou shalt be condemned.[4]

Give not that which is holy unto the dogs,
Neither cast your pearls before the swine,
Lest haply they trample them under their feet,
And turn and rend you.[5]

An interesting specimen of the tetrastich is:[6]

If[7] ye forgive men their trespasses,
Your Father[8] will also forgive you your trespasses;[9]
But if ye forgive not men their trespasses,
Neither will your Father forgive your trespasses.

This is composed of two antithetical couplets. It is inserted by Matthew immediately after the Lord's Prayer. But it is not given by Luke in that context.

IV. The Pentastich

The pentastich is usually a combination of the distich and tristich. A beautiful specimen is given in a strophe of an ode of victory over the Canaanites at Bethhoron, which has been lost.[10]

[1] Matthew omits *οἰκέτης* of Luke, probably in order to generalize, as usual in his collection of the Wisdom of Jesus (Mt. 5–7). [2] Mt. 6^{24} = Lk. 16^{13}.

[3] It is common in Matthew to insert *day* before *judgment* in order to make the reference more distinct to the ultimate day of doom. See my *Messiah of the Gospels*, p. 240.

[4] Mt. 12^{36-37}. [5] Mt. 7^{6}. [6] Mt. 6^{14-15} = Mk. 11^{25-26}.

[7] The connective *γάρ* has been inserted in order to attach the logion to its context in the Gospel.

[8] The evangelist inserts "heavenly" before Father in the first couplet, but not in the second. This is in accord with the peculiar usage of our Matthew. See my *Messiah of the Gospels*, p. 79.

[9] Matthew omits "trespasses" in the second line, but the measure requires it, as well as the antithetical statement in the fourth line.

[10] Jos. 10^{12-13}. See p. 337, where it is cited.

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The oracle[1] with which Amasai joined David's band is an example of the same kind, save that the fifth line is progressive to the previous four lines:

Thine are we, David,
And with thee, son of Jesse.
Peace, peace to thee,
And peace to thy helpers;
For thy God doth help thee.

The song of Sarah gives a couplet and triplet:

Laughter hath God made for me.
Whosoever heareth will laugh with me.
Who could have said to Abraham:
Sarah doth suckle children?
For I have borne a son for his old age.[2]

The pentastich is rare in the book of Proverbs. I have noted four specimens.[3] The last is a good one:

Put not thyself forward in the presence of the king,
And stand not in the place of great men;
For better is it that it be said unto thee, Come up hither;
Than that thou shouldst be put lower in the presence of the prince
Whom thine eyes have seen.

Here the triplet gives the reason for the recommendation in the couplet, which begins the quintet.

There are several specimens in the Sayings of the Jewish Fathers. I shall give two:

Be not as slaves that minister unto the Lord,
With a view to receive recompense;
But be as slaves that minister to the Lord
Without a view to receive recompense;
And let the fear of heaven be upon you.[4]

This tetrameter is a finer specimen than we have found in Proverbs. It is composed of two antithetical couplets, and a concluding line of exhortation synthetic to both.

Here is a still finer specimen of the tetrameter pentastich — an antithetical pair:

1. More flesh, more worms;
More treasures, more care;
More maid-servants, more lewdness;
More men-servants, more thefts;
More women, more witchcrafts.

[1] 1 Chr. 12^{18}.
[2] Gen. 21^{6-7}.
[3] Prov. 23^{4-5}, $24^{13-14, 23-25}$, 25^{6-7}.
[4] Pirqe Aboth 1^{3}.

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2. More law, more life;
More wisdom, more scholars:
More righteousness, more peace;
He who has gotten a name, hath gotten a good thing for himself;
He who has gotten words of law, hath gotten for himself the life of the world to come.[1]

The following is the best specimen of introverted[2] parallelism that can be found in the entire range of Wisdom Literature:

All men cannot receive this saying, but they to whom it is given;
For there are eunuchs which were so born from their mother's womb,
And there are eunuchs which were made eunuchs by men,
And there are eunuchs which made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom of God:
He that is able to receive it, let him receive it.[3]

V. The Hexastich

The hexastich may consist of three couplets, two triplets, and other various combinations. A few specimens will suffice, as others will be given in connection with the study of the strophe.

The blessing of the sons of Joseph by Jacob is a fine hexastich:

The God before whom my fathers walked — Abraham and Isaac,
The God who acted as my shepherd — from the first even to this day,
The Malakh who redeemed me from every evil — bless the lads:
And let my name be named in them,
And the name of my fathers, — Abraham and Isaac;
And let them increase to a great multitude — in the midst of the land.[4]

The first tristich is in its three lines synonymous so far as the first half of the lines, but in the second half there is a steady march to the climax. The second tristich is synonymous in its first and second lines, where the leading idea of the name is varied from Jacob himself to Abraham and Isaac, but the third line is an advance in thought.

Isaac's blessing of Esau is also a hexastich:

Lo, far from the fatness of the earth will thy dwelling-place be,
And far from the dew of heaven above,
And by thy sword wilt thou live;
And thy brother wilt thou serve.
And it will come to pass when thou wilt rove about,
Thou wilt break off his yoke from upon thy neck.[5]

[1] Pirqe Aboth 2^8. [2] See p. 367. [3] Mt. 19^{11-12}.
[4] Gen. 48^{15-16}. [5] Gen. 27^{39-40}.

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There are ten hexastichs in the book of Proverbs.[1] I shall give one specimen:

Deliver them that are carried away unto death,
And those that are ready to be slain see that thou hold back.
If thou sayest, Behold, we knew not this,
Doth not He that weigheth the hearts consider it?
And He that keepeth thy soul, doth He not know it:
And shall not He render to every one according to his work?[2]

In Ben Sirach we find the following:

Any plague but the plague of the heart;
Any wickedness but the wickedness of a woman;
Any affliction but the affliction from them that hate me;
Any revenge but the revenge of enemies;
There is no poison greater than the poison of a serpent;
There is no wrath greater than the wrath of an enemy.[3]

The Sayings of the Fathers gives the following choice specimens:

There are four characters in those who sit under the wise:
A sponge, a funnel, a strainer, and a sieve.
A sponge, which sucks up all;
A funnel, which lets in here and lets out there;
A strainer, which lets out the wine and keeps back the dregs;
A bolt-sieve, which lets out the dust and keeps back the fine flour.[4]

We add this specimen because it is similar to one of Jesus' soon to follow:

Whosesoever wisdom is in excess of his works — to what is he like?
To a tree whose branches are abundant and its roots scanty;
And the wind comes and uproots it and overturns it.
And whosesoever works are in excess of his wisdom — to what is he like?
To a tree whose branches are scanty and its roots abundant;
Though all the winds come upon it they stir it not from its place.[5]

This has two antithetical pentameter triplets.

VI. The Heptastich

The heptastich is capable of a great variety of arrangements.

The blessing of Noah is a heptastich. It is comprised of two distichs and a tristich.

Cursed be Canaan; —
A servant of servants shall he be to his brethren.

[1] Prov. $23^{1-3.\ 19-21.\ 26-28}$, 24^{11-12}, 26^{24-26}, $30^{15-16.\ 18-19.\ 21-23.\ 29-31.\ 32-33}$.
[2] Prov. 24^{11-12}. [3] Ecclus. 25^{13-15}. [4] Pirqe Aboth 5^{21}.
[5] Pirqe Aboth 3^{27}. See p. 404.

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Blessed be Yahweh, God of Shem,
And let Canaan be their servant.
May God spread out Japheth,
And may He dwell in the tents of Shem,
And let Canaan be their servant.[1]

In the first distich we have an example of an unfinished line, a dimeter with the second line progressive to it. In the second distich we have a simple progression in the thought. In the final tristich the progression runs on through the three lines. It is also worthy of note that the last line is in the three examples of the nature of a refrain.

The heptastich is not common in Hebrew Wisdom. There are two examples in Proverbs. The first of these is the picture of the sluggard.[2] The other is the following:

Eat thou not the bread of him that hath an evil eye,
Neither desire thou his dainties:
For as he reckoneth within himself, so is he.
Eat and drink, saith he to thee;
But his heart is not with thee.
The morsel which thou hast eaten shalt thou vomit up,
And lose thy sweet words.[3]

A fine example of this type is found in the Sayings of the Jewish Fathers, a pentameter:

Consider three things, and thou wilt not come into the hands of transgressors.
Know whence thou comest and whither thou art going,
And before whom thou art to give account and reckoning.
Know whence thou comest: from a fetid drop;
And whither thou art going: to worm and maggot;
And before Whom thou art about to give account and reckoning,
Before the King of the king of kings. Blessed be He.[4]

A still more beautiful specimen is given by Jesus:

Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth,
Where moth and rust doth consume,
And where thieves break through and steal:
But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven,
Where neither moth nor rust doth consume,
And where thieves do not break through and steal:
For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.[5]

This heptastich is composed of two antithetical triplets of exhortation, with a concluding line giving the reason for the exhortation.

[1] Gen. 9^{25-27}. See Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, p. 30.
[2] Prov. 24^{30-32}. See p. 418.
[3] Prov. 23^{6-8}.
[4] Pirqe Aboth, 3^{1}.
[5] Mt. 6^{19-21}.

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The triplets are antithetical, line for line, in a most impressive correspondence of language and thought.

VII. The Octastich

The octastich of eight lines is used thrice in Proverbs.[1]

A favourite everywhere is the one of Agur:

Two things have I asked of Thee,
Deny me them not before I die:
Remove far from me vanity and lies:
Give me neither poverty nor riches;
Feed me with the food that is needful for me,
Lest I be full and deny, and say, Who is Yahweh?
Or lest I be poor and steal,
Or use profanely the name of my God.[2]

A fine specimen is in Ecclesiastes:

He that diggeth a pit shall fall into it;
And whoso breaketh through a fence, a serpent shall bite him.
Whoso heweth out stones shall be hurt therewith;
And he that cleaveth wood is endangered thereby.
If iron be blunt, and one hath not whet the edge,
He must put forth strength: and wisdom is profitable to direct.
If the serpent bite before it is charmed,
Then there is no profit in the charmer.[3]

Ben Sirach also has some fine specimens. The following may be cited, because of its similarity to some sentences of Jesus:

And stretch thine hand unto the poor,
That thy blessing may be perfected.
A gift hath grace in the sight of every man living,
And from the dead detain it not.
Fail not to be with them that weep,
And mourn with them that mourn.
Be not slow to visit the sick:
For that shall make thee to be beloved.[4]

VIII. The Decastich

The decastich, a piece of ten lines, is used in Proverbs in the pentameter temperance poem;[5] in the beautiful piece of recommendation of husbandry;[6] also in a word of Agur, which is regarded as an early specimen of the sceptical tendencies which are so strong in Ecclesiastes,[7] in the riddle of the four little

[1] Prov. 23^{22-25}, $30^{7-9, 11-14}$.
[2] Prov. 30^{7-9}.
[3] Eccles. 10^{8-11}.
[4] Ecclus. 7^{32-35}.
[5] Prov. 23^{29-35}; see p. 418.
[6] Prov. 27^{23-27}.
[7] Prov. 30^{2-4}.

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wise creatures,[1] and in the ten-lined strophes of the Praise of Wisdom.[2]

A fine specimen is given in Tobit, as follows:

Give alms of thy substance;
And when thou givest alms let not thine eye be grudging;
Neither turn thy face from any poor,
And the face of God shall not be turned away from thee.
If thou hast abundance, give alms accordingly;
If thou hast little, be not afraid to give according to the little:
For thou layest up a good treasure for thyself against the day of necessity.
Because alms delivereth from death;
And suffereth not to come into darkness:
For alms is an offering for all that give it in the sight of the Most High.[3]

When we go beyond the decastich to the pieces of twelve lines or fourteen lines, we gain nothing additional to illustrate the principles of parallelism.

IX. The Strophe

The strophe is to the poem what the lines or verses are in relation to one another in the system of parallelism. Strophes are composed of a greater or lesser number of lines, sometimes equal, and sometimes unequal. Where there is a uniform flow of the emotion the strophes will be composed of the same number of lines, and will be as regular in relation to one another as the lines of which they are composed; but where the emotion is agitated by passion, or broken by figures of speech, or abrupt in transitions, they will be irregular and uneven. The strophes are subject to the same principles of parallelism as the lines themselves, and are thus either synonymous to one another, antithetical, or progressive, in those several varieties of parallelism already mentioned. A favourite arrangement is the balancing of one strophe with another on the principle of the distich, then again of two with one as a tristich. Thus the song[4] of Moses has three parts, with four strophes in each part, arranged in double pairs of strophe and antistrophe, according to the scheme of $3 \times 2 \times 2$. The song of Deborah[5] is composed

[1] Prov. 30^{24-28}. See p. 418. [2] Prov. 1–9. [3] Tobit 4^{7-11}.
[4] Deut. 32. [5] Jd. 5.

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of three parts, with three strophes in each part, according to the scheme of 3×3. These divisions are determined by the principles of parallelism, not being indicated by any signs or marks in the Hebrew text.

D. H. Müller[1] has recently called attention to the fact that there is what he names responsion, concatenation, and inclusion, in Hebrew as well as in Babylonian and Arabic strophical organization. He gives ample illustrations, for which he deserves more credit than most scholars have been disposed to give him. He is entirely right in this matter, although there is nothing new in his theory but the terminology and some of the illustrations.[2] Responsion is simply the antithetical parallelism of strophes, concatenation is the stairlike parallelism of lines used in strophical relations, and inclusion is the introverted parallelism of strophes.

Babylonian and Egyptian poetry have clearly marked strophical organization. The hymn to Amen Ra, said to be of the fourteenth century B.C., in the golden age of Egyptian history and literature, is a fine specimen. The beginning of each verse is indicated by a red letter; and each verse is also divided into short pauses by small red points.[3]

This is the eighth strophe:

> Deliverer of the timid man from the violent;
> Judging the poor, the poor and the oppressed;
> Lord of Wisdom, whose precepts are wise;
> At whose pleasure the Nile overflows;
> Lord of Mercy, most loving;
> At whose coming men live;
> Opener of every eye;
> Proceeding from the firmament;
> Causer of pleasure and light;
> At whose goodness the gods rejoice;
> Their hearts revive when they see him.

This hymn has twenty strophes, the number of lines in each being as follows: 12, 14, 8, 7, 13, 8, 9, 11, 9, 15, 14, 9, 10, 5, 11, 13, 10, 5, 10, 18.

[1] *Die Propheten in ihren ursprünglichen Form. Die Grundgesetze der ursemitischen Poesie.* 2 Bde., Wien, 1896.

[2] I have taught all these to my classes for years, and references to them will be found in my earlier writings.

[3] *Records of the Past*, II. pp. 129 *seq.*

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The Hymn to the Nile is remarkably regular, and it resembles in length, and in the number of its strophes and the lines that compose them, the song of Moses.[1] The Hymn to the Nile has the following fourteen strophes: 11, 8, 8, 10, 10, 8, 10, 11, 12, 10, 9, 8, 14, 8.[2]

The development of the strophical system in ancient Egyptian poetry doubtless influenced Hebrew poetry. The Egyptian culture, combined with the inherited Shemitic culture, enabled the Hebrew poets to appropriate the artistic forms belonging to the poetry of the two great nations of the old world, and reproduce them under the influence of the Divine Spirit for the training of Israel in the holy religion.

There is no intrinsic reason why the strophes of Hebrew poetry should be more regular than those of Egyptian poetry, but in fact the strophes of Hebrew poetry are ordinarily regular in the number of the lines.

1. *Strophes of Two Lines*

Strophes of two lines are not common. Psalm 34 is an example of alphabetical trimeter couplets.

Two of these will suffice as examples:

א. I will bless Yahweh at every time,
Continually His praise shall be in my mouth.

ב. In Yahweh my soul will make her boast;
The meek will hear and they will be glad.

An example of an alphabetical hexameter couplet is found in Ps. 37. I shall take the strophes with ל and מ as illustrations, because these give examples where the cæsura does not come in the middle of the line:

ל. The wicked borroweth and payeth not — but the righteous dealeth graciously and giveth.
For they that be blessed of Him inherit the land — but they that be cursed of Him shall be cut off.

מ. Of Yahweh are a man's goings established — but He delighteth in His way:
Though he fall he shall not be utterly cast down — for Yahweh upholdeth with His hand.[3]

[1] Deut. 32.

[2] *Records of the Past*, New Series, III. pp. 46 *seq.*

[3] Ps. 37[21-24].

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2. *Strophes of Three Lines*

The triplet is more frequently used in strophes.

An example has been given in the alphabetical dirge of Lam. 3.[1] Another specimen may be found in the Wisdom of Jesus already given.[2] This additional one will suffice.

Be not ye called Rabbi:
For One is your Rabbi;
And all ye are brethren.

Call ye no one Father:[3]
For One is your Father,
He which is in heaven.

Be not ye called Master:
For One is your Master;[3]
The greatest among you is your servant.—[4]

This beautiful piece of Wisdom is of great artistic beauty. In the Hebrew original[5] each line was a trimeter measured by three beats of the accent. The lines are organized in three strophes of three lines each. The number three determines its artistic structure, and it is, accordingly, the cube of three; three strophes of three lines of three accents.

3. *Strophes of Four Lines*

The tetrastich as a double couplet is very frequent in strophes.

Psalm 3 is a good specimen of the quartette trimeter.

1. Yahweh, how are mine adversaries increased!
   Many are rising up against me;
   Many are saying of my soul,
   There is no salvation for him in God.

2. But Thou[6] art a shield about me;
   My glory and the lifter up of mine head.
   With my voice unto Yahweh I was crying,
   And He answered me from His holy hill.

3. As for me I laid me down and slept;
   I awaked; for Yahweh was sustaining me.

[1] See p. 382. [2] See pp. 388, 389.

[3] "On the earth" and "Messiah" are explanatory additions, which destroy the measure. [4] Mt. 23[8-12].

[5] In translating into an unknown original, we cannot be sure of the exact words that were used, but we may come sufficiently near for our present purpose. [6] יהוה makes line too long.

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I will not be afraid of myriads of the people,
That have set themselves against me round about.

4. O Arise,[1] Save me, my God!
For Thou hast smitten all mine enemies upon the cheek bone;
Thou hast broken the teeth of the wicked·
Salvation belongs to Yahweh.[2]

4. *Strophes of Five Lines*

The author of the book of Samuel gives us[3] a little piece of poetry of the didactic type that he calls: "The Last Words of David." This lyric is composed of four strophes of five trimeter lines each.[4]

1. Utterance of the man whom the Most High raised up;
The spirit of Yahweh speaks in me,
And his word is upon my tongue;
The God of Israel doth say to me,
The Rock of Israel doth speak.

2. A ruler over men — righteous;
A ruler in the fear of God.
Yea, he is like the morning light when the sun rises,
A morning without clouds.
From shining, from rain, tender grass sprouts from the earth.

3. Is not thus my house with God?
For an everlasting covenant hath He made with me,
Arranged in all things, and secured;
Yea, all my salvation and every delight
Will He not cause it to sprout?

4. But the worthless, like thorns all of them are thrust away,
For they cannot be taken with the hand.
The man touching them,
Must be armed with iron, and the spear's staff;
And with fire they will be utterly consumed.

Psalm 67 has three trimeter pentastichs.

1. May God be gracious to us and bless us;
Let His face shine toward us,

[1] "Yahweh" is inserted in the Hebrew text without need.
[2] The last clause, which I have omitted, is a liturgical addition.
[3] 2 Sam. 23^{1-7}.
[4] The lyric is introduced with these words: "David, the son of Jesse, saith." Two explanatory statements are inserted: "The anointed of the God of Jacob" and "Sweet in the songs of Israel"; which call attention to the fact that the supposed author was king of Israel by divine appointment and that he was a sweet singer, renowned for lyric composition. These statements have no place in the poem as such.

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And give to us peace;[1]
That Thy way may be known in the earth;
Among all nations Thy salvation.

2. Let the people praise Thee, O God;
Let the people praise Thee, all of them;
Let the nations be glad and sing for joy;
For Thou wilt judge the peoples with equity,
And the nations Thou wilt lead in the earth.

3. Let the people praise Thee, O God,
Let the people praise Thee, all of them;
The land hath given her increase;
And Yahweh, our God, will bless us,[2]
And all the ends of the earth will fear him.

5. *Strophes of Six Lines*

The six-lined strophe may be illustrated by the tetrameter, Ps. 46, which also has a refrain.

1. God is ours, a refuge and strength,
A help in troubles ready to be found;
Therefore we shall not fear though the earth change,
And though mountains be moved into the heart of the seas;
Its waters roar, — be troubled,
Mountains shake with the swelling thereof.
Yahweh Sabaoth is with us;[3]
The God of Jacob is our refuge.

2. A river (there is) whose streams make glad the city of God,
The holy place of the tabernacles of Elyon.
God is in her midst; she cannot be moved;
God will help her at the turn of the morn.
Nations raged — kingdoms were moved;
Has He uttered His voice, the earth melteth.
Yahweh Sabaoth is with us;
The God of Jacob is our refuge.

3. Come, behold the doings of Yahweh,
What wonders He hath done in the earth.
He is causing wars to cease unto the ends of the earth;
The bow He breaketh, and cutteth the spear in sunder.[4]

[1] It is improbable that the high-priest's blessing (Nu. 6^{24-26}) would be mutilated, especially as the third line is needed to make up the five lines of the strophe. I do not hesitate, therefore, to restore it.

[2] The words יברכנו אלהים are repeated in the Hebrew text by dittography. They destroy the measure. I have therefore elided them. The original Yahweh I have used instead of the later Elohim.

[3] The refrain at the close of this strophe has been omitted as occasionally elsewhere in Hebrew poetry, and it should be restored.

[4] The destruction of the instruments of war is as in Hos. 2^{20}, Is. 9^{4}. We regard the clause שלות ישרף באש as a later marginal addition that has crept

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Be still and know that I am God:
I shall be exalted among the nations, I shall be exalted in the earth.
Yahweh Sabaoth is with us;
The God of Jacob is our refuge.

Jesus gives us two fine specimens of this type. The first has[1] two antithetical hexastichs in the tetrameter movement, in which each line of the second strophe is in parallelism with its fellow in the first strophe:

1. Every one which heareth[2] these words of mine and doeth them,
Shall be likened unto a wise man,
Which built his house upon the rock:
And the rain descended, and the floods came,
And the winds blew, and beat upon that house;
And it fell not: for it was founded upon the rock.

2. But every one which heareth these words of mine and doeth them not,
Shall be likened unto a foolish man,
Which built his house upon the sand:
And the rain descended, and the floods came,
And the winds blew, and smote upon that house;
And it fell: and great was the fall thereof.

This certainly is finer than any specimen of the hexastich in the whole range of the literature of Wisdom. The gospel of Matthew has preserved this piece in its original form, but Luke[3] has condensed it and made it into a prose parable.

We shall now consider a longer piece, where the gospel has condensed the concluding strophe, and at times, also, by minor changes, mars the beauty of the other strophes. But the piece is so symmetrical that it is quite easy to see its original structure. This splendid piece of the Wisdom of Jesus describes His royal judgment.[4] It is unsurpassed for simplicity, grandeur, pathos, antithesis, and graphic realism. It is composed of five pentameter strophes of six lines each. The first strophe is introductory, describing the King taking His seat on His judgment throne, surrounded by angels, the assembly of all nations before Him, and His separating them as a shepherd divides his sheep from his goats. The judgment itself is presented in four strophes, a pair for the righteous and a pair for the wicked, each pair composed of a strophe and an antistrophe, and the second pair being in such thorough-going antithetical parallelism to the first pair that

into the text. It is trimeter in the midst of tetrameters, and makes the strophe one line too long.

[1] Mt. 7^{24-27}.

[2] *πᾶς ὅστις ἀκούει* (v. 24) and *πᾶς ὁ ἀκούων* (v. 26) go back to the same original, כל השמע. *οὖν* is a connective that was inserted by the evangelist to adapt this sentence of Wisdom to its context.

[3] Lk. 6^{47-49}.

[4] Mt. 25^{31-46}.

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every line in the one is in antithesis to every line of the other. The whole concludes with a couplet summing up the everlasting penalty:

1. When the Son of Man shall come in His glory, and all the angels with Him,
   Then shall He sit on the throne of His glory:
   And before Him will be gathered all the nations:
   And he shall separate them one from another,
   As the shepherd separateth the sheep from the goats:
   And He shall set the sheep on His right hand, but the goats on the left.

2. Then shall the King say unto them on His right hand,
   Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit from the kingdom,[1]
   Which was prepared for you from the foundation of the world:
   For I was an hungered, and ye gave Me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave Me drink:
   I was a stranger, and ye took Me in: naked, and ye clothed Me:
   I was sick, and ye visited Me: I was in prison, and ye came unto Me.

3. Then shall the righteous answer him,[2] Lord,
   When saw we Thee an hungered and fed Thee, or athirst and gave Thee drink?
   When[3] saw we Thee a stranger, and took Thee in? or naked, and clothed Thee?
   When[3] saw we Thee sick, and visited Thee?[4] or in prison, and came unto Thee?
   And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you,
   Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of these least of My brethren, ye did it unto Me.

4. Then shall the King[5] say also unto them on the left hand,
   Depart from Me, ye cursed, into Gehenna,[6]
   Which is prepared for the devil and his angels:
   For I was an hungered, and ye gave Me no meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink:
   I was a stranger, and ye took Me not in: naked, and ye clothed Me not;
   I was sick, and ye visited Me not: I was in prison, and ye came not unto Me.[7]

[1] The Greek combines lines 2 and 3 into one prose sentence, *τὴν ἡτοιμασμένην ὑμῖν βασιλείαν*, but the Hebrew, as Delitzsch gives it, is המלכות המוכנה לכם, so that the third line begins with the participial clause (cf. strophe 4, line 3).

[2] *λέγοντες* is a prosaic insertion. Hebrew poets usually omit לאמר, leaving it to be understood (cf. Ps. 2[2]). [3] *δέ* is an insertion of the Greek translation.

[4] This clause is verified by the parallel in 2, line 6; it was left out in the prose translation.

[5] The parallelism of 2, line 1, requires "King." The Greek has reduced it to the mere subject implied in *ἐρεῖ*.

[6] There is a tendency in the Gospels to explain the Hebrew Gehenna to Gentile readers. I think that Gehenna was in the original in antithesis with "kingdom," and that "eternal fire" is an explanatory substitution (see *The Expository Times*, June, 1897, p. 397). See also Chap. IV. p. 90.

[7] This line has been reduced as strophe 3, line 4. There the verb "visited thee" was left out, here the verb "came unto me."

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5. Then shall the wicked[1] answer him, Lord,
When saw we Thee an hungered (and did not give Thee meat[2]), or athirst (and gave Thee not to drink);
(When saw we Thee) a stranger (and took Thee not in), or naked (and clothed Thee not);
(When saw we Thee) sick (and did not visit Thee), or in prison (and did not come unto Thee).
Then shall He answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you,
Inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of the least of these, ye did it not unto Me.

The following couplet was probably added by the evangelist:

And these shall go away into eternal punishment;
But the righteous into eternal life.

6. *Strophes of Seven Lines*

The seven-lined strophe may be illustrated by the four pentameter strophes of Ps. 118.

1. Give thanks to Yahweh; for He is good — for His mercy is for ever;
Let Israel now say — that His mercy is for ever;
Let the house of Aaron now say — that His mercy is for ever;
Let them now that fear Yahweh say — that His mercy is for ever.
Out of my distress I called upon Yah — He answered me in a large place.
Yahweh is mine; I will not fear: — what can man do unto me?
Yahweh is mine, as among them that help me — I will see my desire in my enemies.

2. Better to seek refuge in Yahweh — than to trust in man.
Better to seek refuge in Yahweh — than to trust in nobles.
All nations do compass me about — it is in the name of Yahweh that I will destroy them.
They do compass me about; yea, they do compass me all about — it is in the name of Yahweh that I will destroy them:
They do compass me about as bees — they will surely be quenched as the fire of thorns.[3]
They did thrust sore at me that I might fall — but Yahweh helped me;
My help and my song is Yah — and He is become mine for victory.

3. The voice of rejoicing and victory — is in the tents of the righteous:[4]
The right hand of Yahweh is exalted — the right hand of Yahweh is doing valiantly.

[1] The antithesis requires the "wicked" over against the "righteous," and not simply the subject of the verb. The measure of the line also demands it.

[2] In this strophe the clauses were all condensed in the Greek prose translation by omission of all the verbs, and the summing of them up in "minister unto thee." They should all be restored.

[3] The third "It is in the name of Yahweh that I will destroy them," is dittography. I elide it therefore.

[4] "The right hand of Yahweh is doing valiantly," is a dittograph from the line below. I elide it therefore.

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I shall not die but I shall live — and I will declare the works of Yah.
Yah hath chastened me sore — but to death he did not give me.
Open for me the gates of righteousness — that I may enter into them to give thanks to Yah.
Yonder gate is Yahweh's — the righteous may enter therein.
I will give thanks to Thee, for Thou hast answered me — and art become mine for victory.

4. The stone the builders rejected — is become the head of the corner.
From Yahweh is this — it is marvellous in our eyes.
This very day Yahweh hath made — let us rejoice and let us be glad in it.
O now Yahweh give victory — O now Yahweh send prosperity.
Blessed be he that cometh in the name of Yahweh — we bless you from the house of Yahweh.
Yahweh is God and He hath let shine His face for us[1] even unto the horns of the altar.
My God art Thou, and I will give thanks unto Thee — my God I will exalt Thee.[2]

A choice pentameter of seven-lined strophes is the prophecy (Is. 14). The following strophes will be sufficient to illustrate:

1. How art thou fallen from heaven — O day star, son of the morning!
How art thou cut down to earth — thou who didst lay low the nations!
Thou, indeed, who saidst in thine heart — I will ascend unto heaven,
Above the stars of God — I will lift up my throne,
And will sit in the mount of congregation — on the remote parts of the north:
I will ascend above the heights of cloud — I will be like to 'Elyon.
Yet unto Sheol thou art brought down — to the sides of the pit.

2. They that look upon thee, narrowly look upon thee — upon thee consider;
Is this the man that made the earth tremble — shook kingdoms;
Made the habitable world as a wilderness — and its cities overthrew;
His prisoners did not loose to their homes — all (of them) kings of nations?
All of them lay down in honour — each in his own house:
But thou art cast forth as an abhorred vulture[3] — clothed with the slain,
Among those pierced with the sword, descending to the stones of the Pit[4] — thou art like a carcass trodden under foot.[5]

7. *Strophes of Eight Lines*

The strophe of eight lines is more frequent.

Psalm 8 is a beautiful example of a hymn in two strophes of eight lines each, with a refrain, having the peculiarity that the

[1] The clause omitted is a gloss from the margin. It was a liturgical direction with regard to the thank offering accompanying this *Te Deum* for victory.

[2] The psalm closes with a final liturgical line: "Give thanks to Yahweh; for He is good — for His mercy is for ever."

[3] Read נשר, *vulture*, for נצר, *branch*, and strike out מקברך as a gloss.

[4] This, according to usage, is the Pit of Sheol. [5] Is. 14[18-19].

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refrain begins the first strophe and closes the second, thus ending the psalm :

1. Yahweh, our Lord,
How excellent is Thy name in all the earth !
Thou whose glory doth extend over the heavens,
Out of the mouth of little children and sucklings
Thou dost establish strength because of Thine adversaries,
To silence enemy and avenger.
When I see Thy heavens, the work of Thy fingers,
Moon and stars which Thou hast prepared ;
What is frail man, that Thou shouldst be mindful of him ?
Or the son of man, that Thou visitest him ?

2. When thou didst make him a little lower than divine beings,
With glory and honour crowning him,
Thou mad'st him to have dominion over the works of Thy hands ;
All things Thou didst put under his feet :
Sheep and oxen, all of them ;
And also beasts of the field ;
Birds of heaven, and fishes of the sea ;
Those that pass through the paths of the sea.
Yahweh, our Lord,
How excellent is Thy name in all the earth !

Jesus gives a strikingly beautiful specimen of the octastich [1] in three tetrameter strophes, with an introductory couplet. These strophes are in synonymous parallelism, line for line, throughout the eight lines of the three strophes. There are a few places where the gospel has marred the original line by the Greek translation, by words of explanation, or by condensation. But the piece is so symmetrical that it is difficult to miss the original.

Take heed that ye do not your righteousness before men,[2]
Else ye have no reward with your Father.[3]

This is the introductory couplet. Three kinds of righteousness are now taken up : almsgiving, prayer, and fasting. Between the prayer and the fasting, Matthew, as often in the Sermon on the Mount, has inserted other material relating to prayer ; namely, the Lord's Prayer, which is given by Luke in a more appropriate historical place, and a tetrastich as to forgiveness.[4] The three strophes are as follows :

[1] Mt. $6^{1-6.\ 16-18}$.

[2] The Greek adds the explanatory *πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι αὐτοῖς*, which makes the line too long, and is tautological.

[3] Matthew as usual adds *τῷ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*.

[4] See *The Expository Times*, July, 1897, p. 453.

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1. When [1] thou doest alms, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites: [2]
For they sound a trumpet before them in the synagogues and in the streets,
That they may have glory of men.
Verily I say unto you, They have received their reward.
But thou,[3] when thou doest alms,
Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth:
That thine alms may be in secret;
And thy Father which seeth in secret shall recompense thee.

2. When [4] thou prayest,[5] thou shalt not be as the hypocrites:
For they love to stand [6] in the synagogues and on [7] the streets,
That they may be seen of men to pray.
Verily I say unto you, They have received their reward.
But thou, when thou prayest,
Enter into thine inner chamber and close [8] the door:
And pray to thy Father which is in secret;
And thy Father which seeth in secret shall recompense thee.

3. When thou fastest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites:
They [9] are of sad countenance, because they disfigure their faces,
That they may be seen of men to fast.
Verily I say unto you, They have received their reward.
But thou, when thou fastest,
Anoint thy head and wash thy face: [10]
That thou mayest be seen of thy Father which is in secret;
And thy Father which seeth in secret shall recompense thee.

The threefold reiteration in these parallel lines as to the three classes of righteous conduct is exceedingly powerful.

[1] *οὖν* has been inserted as a connective.

[2] Comparison with the other strophes makes it evident that there has been a transposition here, which has destroyed the measure of the two lines, and made them into one prose sentence. It is easy to restore the original.

[3] "Thou" should be inserted, as in the other two strophes.

[4] *καὶ* is a Greek insertion.

[5] There is a variation in the Greek between the second singular and second plural, which is due to the inexactness of the translator. I do not hesitate to restore the second singular, which was evidently original throughout.

[6] "Pray" has been transposed in Greek from the next line. The parallel lines and other strophes show that it belongs there.

[7] "Corners" has been inserted to make it more specific.

[8] The Greek connects this clause with the following sentence because of its idiomatic use of the participle for the Hebrew verb.

[9] The Greek attaches *σκυθρωποί* to the "hypocrites," but the parallel lines show that there should be a statement respecting them at the beginning of the second line.

[10] *μὴ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις* — *ἀλλὰ* are insertions to make the statement more emphatic, but they destroy the measure of the line and the parallelism with the other strophes.

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8. *Strophes of Nine Lines*

Psalms 42, 43, give strophes of nine lines with refrains:

1. As a hart which crieth out after the water brooks,
So my soul crieth out for Thee, O God!
My soul doth thirst for God, for the God of life:
How long ere I shall come to appear before the face of God?
My tears have been to me food day and night;
While they say unto me all day, Where is thy God?
These things would I remember, and would pour out my soul within me:
How I used to pass along in the throng, used to lead them up to the house of God,
With the sound of rejoicing and praise, a multitude keeping festival.
Why art thou bowed down, my soul? and why art thou moaning within me?
Wait on God: for yet shall I praise Him,
The deliverance of my face, and my God.

2. Therefore would I remember Thee from the land of Jordan, and the Hermons, from the mount Mizar.
Deep unto deep is calling to the sound of Thy cataracts;
All Thy breakers and Thy billows do pass over me:
By day Yahweh will appoint His mercy,
And by night His song will be with me, prayer to the God of my life.
I must say to the God of my rock, Why dost Thou forget me?
Why go I mourning because of the oppression of an enemy?
As a breaking in my bones my adversaries do reproach me;
While they say unto me all day, Where is thy God?
Why art thou bowed down, my soul? and why art thou moaning within me?
Wait on God: for yet shall I praise Him,
The deliverance of my face, and my God.

3. Judge me, O God, and plead my cause against an unmerciful nation;
Against a man of deceit and wickedness, deliver me.
O Thou God, my fortress, why dost Thou cast me off?
Why must I go about mourning because of the oppression of an enemy?
Send Thy light and Thy truth: let them lead me;
Let them bring me unto Thy holy mount, even to Thy dwellings:
That I may come to the altar of God,
To the God of the joy of my rejoicing,
That I may praise Thee with harp, O God, my God.
Why art thou bowed down, my soul? and why art thou moaning within me?
Wait on God: for yet shall I praise Him,
The deliverance of my face, and my God.

The strophes have each nine lines, the refrain three lines. I am well aware that other arrangements of the lines are usual, and that objection may be taken to my elimination of v. 7 *a*; but it seems clearly established that a copyist's mistake has caused the

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refrain of the first strophe to be deprived of its closing word, which begins this verse; and the other three words are easiest to explain as copyist's mistakes, also repeated from the refrain.

9. *Strophes of Ten Lines*

Strophes of ten lines are frequent. The Psalm of Creation[1] has eight trimeter strophes of ten lines each.

Two strophes will suffice to illustrate:

1. Bless, O my soul, Yahweh.
   My God[2] Thou art very great;
   With grandeur and glory Thou art clothed;
   Covering Thyself with light as a garment,
   Stretching out heaven as a curtain;
   He who layeth in the waters His chambers,
   He who maketh the clouds His chariot,
   He who walketh on the wings of the wind;
   Making winds His messengers,
   His ministers flaming fire.

2. He laid the earth on its foundations:
   It cannot be moved for ever and ever.
   With the deep as a vesture Thou didst cover it.
   Above the mountains waters were standing;
   At Thy rebuke they flee,
   At the sound of Thy thunder they haste away;
   They flow over the mountains, they descend into the valleys,
   Unto the place that Thou didst lay for them,
   The bound Thou didst set that they might not pass over:
   They may not return to cover the earth.

10. *Strophes of Twelve Lines*

The strophe of twelve lines may be illustrated by the beautiful piece of Wisdom (Prov. 9):

1. Wisdom hath builded her house,
   She hath hewn out her seven pillars:
   She hath killed her beasts; she hath mingled her wine;
   She hath furnished her table.
   She hath sent forth her maidens to cry
   Upon the high places of the city:
   Whoso is simple, let him turn in hither;
   As for him that is void of understanding, she saith to him:
   Come, eat of my bread,

[1] Ps. 104.

[2] The Massoretic יהוה has been inserted from dittography. It makes the trimeter into a tetrameter without reason.

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And drink of the wine which I have mingled.
Leave off, ye simple ones, and live;
And walk in the way of understanding.

2. The woman Folly is clamorous;
Simplicity, — she knoweth nothing.
And she sitteth at the door of her house,
On a seat in the high places of the city,
To call to them that pass by,
Who go right on their way:
Whoso is simple, let him turn in hither;
And as for him that is void of understanding, she saith to him,
Stolen waters are sweet,
And bread eaten in secret is pleasant.
But he knoweth not that the Shades are there,
That her guests are in the depths of Sheol.

11. *Strophes of Fourteen Lines*

The strophe of fourteen lines is frequent in Hebrew poetry. Psalm 18 = 2 Sam. 22 is a good example.

Two strophes will suffice to show it:

1. I love Thee, Yahweh, my strength,
My [1] rock and my fortress and my deliverer;
My God, my strong rock in whom I seek refuge;
My shield, and horn of my salvation, my high tower,
(I said) I will call upon Yahweh, who is worthy to be praised:
So shall I be saved from mine enemies.
The breakers [2] of death compassed me,
And the floods of Belial terrified me,
The cords of Sheol compassed me,
The snares of Death came upon me;
In my distress I call upon Yahweh,
And cry unto my God;
He hears my voice out of His temple,
And my cry [3] comes unto His ears.

2. Then the earth shook and trembled,
And the foundations of the mountains moved,
And were shaken, because He was wroth.
There went up a smoke in His nostrils,
And fire out of His mouth devoured:
Coals were kindled by it.
And He bowed the heavens and came down,
Thick darkness under His feet,

[1] יהוה of Hebrew text should be elided. It is an assimilation to 2 Sam. 22, which omits previous line.

[2] חבלי of Hebrew text is dittography from next line. The reading of 2 Sam. 22 is correct. See p. 91.

[3] לפניו is not in 2 Sam. 22. It makes the line too long, and should be elided.

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And rode upon the cherub and flew:
Yea, flew swiftly upon the wings of the wind.
He made darkness[1] round about Him His pavilion,
Darkness of waters, thick clouds of the skies,
From the brightness before Him,[2] they passed,
Hailstones and coals of fire.

12. *Unequal Strophes*

The strophes are not always of an equal number of lines. Often there is an intentional variation of their number. One of the earliest odes[3] is composed of three strophes, gradually diminishing, in accordance with its dirgelike character, in $6 \times 5 \times 4$ lines. The ode is abrupt in style, rapid in transitions, full of rare forms and expressions, with frequent alliterations, and of real beauty:

Come to Heshbon!
Built, yea established be the city of Sihon;
For fire went forth from Heshbon,
Flame from the city of Sihon.
It consumed Ar of Moab,
The lords of the high places of Arnon.

Woe to thee, Moab!
Thou art lost, people of Chemosh!
He hath given over his sons unto flight,
And his daughters unto captivity,
Unto the king of the Amorites, Sihon!

Then we shot at them — He was lost —
Heshbon unto Dibon —
And we wasted them even unto Nophah,
With fire unto Medeba.

The refrain is frequently used in Hebrew poetry. We have had a number of examples where it begins or closes strophes of equal length.[4] But the refrain does not always divide the poem into equal strophes. Thus the dirge of Saul[5] is composed of three parts, which melt away according to the scheme of 18, 5, 1. The refrain itself does not always correspond throughout. Thus in Ps. 80 it increases itself for emphasis in the heaping up of the divine names in the successive strophes;

[1] מתרץ of Hebrew text is an explanatory insertion.
[2] עביז of Hebrew text is from dittography.
[3] Nu. 21^{27-30}. [4] See pp. 403, 406, 410. [5] 2 Sam. 1^{19-27}.

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the third and fourth strophes constitute a double strophe, giving the allegory of the vine with a double refrain at the close, massing together a series of imperatives. Psalm 45 gives a varying refrain and three gradually increasing parts. The refrain is also used for the division of larger pieces of poetry, as in the Song of Songs, where it divides the poem into five acts; and in the great Book of Comfort of the second Isaiah, where the two earlier editions, as well as the final division, are all marked by refrains.[1] In all these cases the strophes and the divisions of the poems are of unequal lengths. The strophes of the book of Job and of the Prophets are also usually unequal.[2]

[1] See Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, 7th ed., pp. 141 *seq.*, 229 *seq.*, 338 *seq.*
[2] See pp. 422–425.

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CHAPTER XVII

THE KINDS OF HEBREW POETRY

HEBREW poetry may be divided into three general classes, — Lyric, Gnomic, and Composite.

I. LYRIC POETRY

Lyric poetry is the earliest development of literature. We find it scattered through the various historical and prophetical books, and also in the great collection of Hebrew lyric poetry, the Psalter. The three pieces ascribed by tradition to Moses[1] subdivide lyric poetry into the hymn, the prayer, and the song. The hymn is found in rich variety, — the evening hymn, the morning hymn, the hymn in a storm, hymns of victory or odes, the thanksgiving hymn. The Korahite Psalter is composed chiefly of hymns; so also the most of the fourth and fifth books of the Psalter, including the greater and lesser hallels, the hallelujahs, and doxologies. The prayers are in great abundance, — evening and morning prayers, a litany before a battle, prayers for personal and national deliverance, psalms of lamentation, penitence, religious meditation, of faith and assurance, — in all the rich variety of devotion. These are most numerous in the psalms ascribed to David, and may be regarded as especially the type of the Davidic Psalter, the earliest prayer-book of Israel. A special form of this class is the dirge, represented in the laments of David over Saul and Jonathan, and over Abner, and in the very elaborate and artistic book of Lamentations, and not infrequently in the Prophets. The songs are abundant, and in every variety of historical description, pictures of nature, didactic exhortation and advice, social and other poems. In the Psalter there are songs of exhortation,

[1] Ex. 15; Ps. 90; Deut. 32.

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warning, encouragement, historical recollection, prophetic anticipation, and the love song. The psalms of Asaph are chiefly of this class of poems.

II. Gnomic Poetry

Gnomic poetry has but few specimens in the historical books. There has been preserved a riddle of the ancient hero Samson:

> From the eater came forth food,
> And from the strong came forth sweetness.

This is followed by a satire:

> If you had not ploughed with my heifer,
> You would not have found out my riddle.[1]

Another witty saying of this hero is preserved:

> With the jawbone of an ass a heap two heaps;
> With the jawbone of an ass have I smitten a thousand men.[2]

The fable of Jotham[3] is the finest specimen of this gnomic poetry to be found in Hebrew apart from the Wisdom Literature.

> The trees went forth on a time
> To anoint a king over them.
>
> 1. And they said unto the olive tree:
> Come thou, and reign over us.
> But the olive tree said unto them:
> Shall I leave my fatness,
> Wherewith they honour God and men,
> And go to sway over the trees?
>
> 2. And the trees said to the fig tree:
> Come thou, and reign over us.
> But the fig tree said unto them:
> Shall I leave my sweetness,
> And also my good fruit,
> And go to sway over the trees?
>
> 3. And the trees said unto the vine:
> Come thou, and reign over us.
> And the vine said unto them:
> Shall I leave my wine,
> Which cheereth God and man,
> And go to sway over the trees?
>
> 4. And[4] the trees said unto the bramble:
> Come thou, and reign over us.

[1] Jd. $14^{14.18}$. [2] Jd. 15^{16}. [3] Jd. 9^{8-15}.
[4] The Hebrew כל = *all* seems an unnecessary insertion.

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But the bramble said unto the trees:[1]
Come, seek refuge in my shadow:
[1] And fire will come out of the bramble,
To devour the cedars of Lebanon.

The Hebrews were fond of this species of poetry, but we could hardly expect to find much of it in the Bible.[2] Its religious and ethical forms are preserved in a rich collection in the Proverbs, consisting of fables, parables, proverbs, riddles, moral and political maxims, satires, philosophical and speculative sentences. There are several hundred distinct couplets, — synonymous, antithetical, parabolical, comparative, emblematical, — besides fifty larger pieces of three, four, five, six, seven, and eight lines, with a few poems, such as the temperance poem,[3] the pastoral,[4] the pieces ascribed to the poets Aluqah, Agur, and Lemuel, the alphabetical praise of the talented wife,[5] and the great admonition of Wisdom in fifteen advancing discourses.[6]

A few specimens of this kind of poetry will suffice to illustrate it.

There are several riddles ascribed to Aluqah.[7]

(1) The riddle of the insatiable things:[7]

Two daughters (cry): give! give!
Three are they which cannot be satisfied;
Four say not, Enough.

The answer:

Sheol, and a barren womb;
Land cannot be satisfied with water;
And fire says not: Enough.

(2) The riddle of the little wise people.[8]

Four are little ones of earth;
But they are wise exceedingly.

The answer:

The ants are a people not strong,
But they prepare in summer their food;

[1] The Hebrew text inserts the conditional clause "if in truth ye anoint me king over you," which is a prose sentence, and "if not," as an explanation: but it destroys the measure.

[2] See Wünsche, *Die Räthselweisheit bei d. Hebräern*, Leipzig, 1883.

[3] Prov. 23^{29-35}.

[4] Prov. 27^{22-27}.

[5] Prov. 31^{10-31}; see p. 383, where it is given.

[6] Prov. 1–9.

[7] Prov. 30^{15-16}.

[8] Prov. 30^{24-28}.

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Conies are a people not mighty,
But they make in the rock their home;
A king the locusts have not,
But they march forth in bands — all of them;
The spider with the hands thou mayest catch,
But she dwells in the palaces of kings.

There is also a beautiful temperance poem [1] composed of ten pentameter lines.

Who hath woe? who hath wretchedness? who hath stripes? who hath murmuring?
Who hath wounds without cause? who hath dark flashing eyes?
Those tarrying long at the wine: those going to seek spiced wine.
Look not on wine when it sparkleth red;
When it giveth in the cup its glance; floweth smoothly:
Its end is that as a serpent it biteth, and like an adder it stingeth.
Thine eyes will see strange things, and thine heart utter perverse things;
So that thou wilt become like one lying down in the heart of the sea; and like one lying down on the top of a mast.
They have smitten me (thou wilt say), but I am not hurt: they have wounded me, I feel it not:
How long ere I shall arise that I may seek it yet again?

Another choice piece is the poem of the sluggard [2] of seven trimeters.

By the field of a slothful man I passed,
And by the vineyard of a man without understanding;
And lo, its wall was overgrown with thorns,
Its face covered over with nettles,
And its wall of stones was broken down;
So that I gazed to give it attention:
I saw — I received instruction.

This is followed by a tetrastich trimeter, which is quoted from the Praise of Wisdom.[3]

A little sleep, a little of slumber,
A little folding of the hands to lie down;
And thy poverty comes walking on,
And thy want as a man armed with a shield.

III. Composite Poetry

Composite poetry starts in part from a lyric base, as in prophecy, beginning with the blessings of Jacob and Moses, and the poems of Balaam, and continuing in lesser and greater pieces in the prophetical writings, the Song of Songs, and

[1] Prov. 23^{29-35}. [2] Prov. 24^{30-34}. [3] Prov. 6^{10}.

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Lamentations; in part from a gnomic base as in the book of Job and Ecclesiastes.

IV. Dramatic Poetry

The dramatic element is quite strong in Hebrew poetry. A few examples will suffice.

1. I shall give the first from the Psalter:

Chorus. Lift up your heads, O ye gates;
Yea, lift yourselves, ye everlasting doors:
That the King of Glory may come in.
Inquiry. Who, then, is the King of Glory?
Response. Yahweh, strong and mighty,
Yahweh, mighty in battle.
Chorus. Lift up your heads, O ye gates;
Yea, lift them, ye everlasting doors;
That the King of Glory may come in.
Inquiry. Who is he, the King of Glory?
Response. Yahweh Sabaoth,
He is the King of Glory.[1]

2. The prophet Hosea gives a good example:

Prophet. O return, Israel,
Unto Yahweh thy God;
For thou hast stumbled by thy iniquity.
Take with you words,
And return unto Yahweh;
Say unto Him everything.
Ephraim. Forgive iniquity and accept good things;
And we will render the fruit of our lips.
Asshur cannot save us,
Upon horses we will not ride,
And we will not say any more 'our god'
To the work of our hands;
Thou by whom the orphan receives compassion.
Yahweh. I will heal their apostasy,
I will love them freely;
For my anger hath turned from him.
I will be as the dew to Israel;
Let him bloom as the wild flower,
And let him strike his roots like Lebanon,
Let his shoots grow,
And let his majesty be as the olive,
And let him have scent like Lebanon;
Let those who abide in his shadow return,
Let them quicken the corn,

[1] Ps. 24[7-10]. See Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, p. 146.

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And let them bloom like the vine,
And their memory be as the wine of Lebanon.
Ephraim. What have I to do any more with idols?
Yahweh. I have responded, and I shall regard him.
Ephraim. I am like a green cypress.
Yahweh. Of me is thy fruit found.
Prophet. Whoso is wise, let him understand these things;
Understanding, let him know them:
That the ways of Yahweh are upright,
And the righteous walk therein,
But transgressors stumble therein.[1]

3. The book of Isaiah gives one of the grandest specimens:

Prophet. Who, there, is coming from Edom,
Stained red in his garments from Bozrah;
Who, there, made glorious in his apparel,
Strutting in the greatness of his strength?
Yahweh. I that speak in righteousness,
That am mighty to save.
Prophet. Wherefore art thou red in thine apparel,
And thy garments like him that treadeth in the wine fat?
Yahweh. I have trodden the wine-press alone;
And of the peoples there was no man with me:
Yea, I have been treading them in mine anger,
And trampling them in my fury,
So that their juice is sprinkled upon my garments,
And all my raiment I have stained.
For the day of vengeance was in my heart;
And the year of my redeemed is come.
Yea, I was looking and there was none to help;
And I was wondering and there was none to uphold;
And so mine own arm brought salvation for me,
And my fury it upheld me.
Verily, I have been stamping the peoples in mine anger,
And I have been breaking them to pieces in my wrath,
And I have been pouring down their juice on the earth.[2]

The book of Job uses the dramatic element in a series of dialogues between Job and his friends, and concludes with the voice of God. The dramatic element reaches its climax among the Hebrews in the Song of Songs.

The first act of the Song of Songs is as follows:

SCENE I

Solo. Let him kiss me with some kisses of his mouth,
For thy caresses are better than wine;
For scent thine ointments are excellent;

[1] Hos. 14^{2-10}. See Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, pp. 176 *seq.*
[2] Is. 63^{1-6}. See Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, pp. 313 *seq.*

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O thou sweet ointment, poured forth as to thy name!
Therefore the virgins love thee.

Solo. Oh! Draw me!

Chorus. After thee we will run!

Solo. O that the king had brought me to his apartment!

Chorus. We will rejoice and we will be glad with thee,
We will celebrate thy caresses more than wine.
Rightly they love thee.

SCENE II

Shulamite. Dark am I—

Chorus. —but lovely—

Shulamite. —daughters of Jerusalem, as the tents of Kedar,

Chorus. —as the curtains of Solomon.

Shulamite. Gaze not upon me because I am swarthy,
Because the sun scanned me:
My mother's sons were angry with me,
They set me as keeper of the vineyards;
My vineyard, which is my own, have I not kept.
O tell me, thou whom my soul loveth:
Where feedest thou thy flock?
Where dost thou let them couch at noon?
Why should I be as one straying
After the flocks of thy companions?

Chorus. If thou knowest not of thyself, thou fairest among women,
Go forth for thyself at the heels of the flock,
And feed thy kids at the tabernacles of the shepherds.

SCENE III

Solomon. To my mare in the choice chariot of Pharaoh I liken thee, my friend,
Lovely are thy cheeks in rows (of coin), thy neck in thy necklace!
Rows of gold we will make thee, with chains of silver.

Shulamite. While the king was in his divan, my nard gave its scent.
A bundle of myrrh, is my beloved to me, that lodgeth between my breasts;
A cluster of henna, is my beloved to me, in the vineyards of En Geddi.

Solomon. Lo thou art lovely, my friend,
Lo thine eyes are doves.

Shulamite. Lo thou art lovely, my beloved,
Yea sweet, yea our arbor is green.

Solomon. The timbers of our houses are cedar,
Our wainscoting cypress.

Shulamite. I am the flower of Sharon,
The anemone of the valleys.

Solomon. As the anemone among the thorns,
So is my friend among the daughters.

Shulamite. As the apricot among the trees of the wood,
So is my beloved among the sons.
In its shadow I delighted to sit,

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And its fruit was sweet to my taste.
O that he had brought me to the vineyard,
His banner over me being love —
Sustain me with raisin-cakes, support me with apricots;
For I am love sick —
His left hand would be under my head,
His right hand would embrace me.

I adjure you, daughters of Jerusalem, by the gazelles,
Or by the hinds of the field that ye arouse not,
And that ye stir not up love till it please.

V. The Poetry of Wisdom

There are many fine pieces of composite poetry in Hebrew Wisdom. I shall give as an example the finest piece of ethics in the Old Testament,[1] where the strophes vary with the theme:

1. A covenant have I concluded with my eyes;
How then should I consider a maiden?
Else what portion of Eloah from above,
Or inheritance of Shadday from on high?
Is there not destruction for the evil doer;
And calamity for the worker of iniquity?
Is He not seeing my ways;
And all my steps counting?

2. If I have walked with falsehood,
And my foot has made haste unto deceit;
Let Him weigh me in righteous balances,
That Eloah may know my integrity!
If my step used to incline from the way,
And after my eyes my heart did walk,
And to my palms a spot did cleave,
Let me sow and let another eat,
And as for my crops, let them be rooted out.

3. If my heart hath been seduced unto a woman,
And at the door of my neighbour I have lurked,
Let my wife grind the mill for another,
And over her let others bend;
For that were infamy;
And that were an iniquity for the judges;
For it is a fire that devoureth unto Abaddon,
And in all my increase it rooteth up.

4. If I used to refuse the right of my slave,
Or my maid servant, when they plead with me;
What could I do when God should rise up,

[1] Job 31.

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And when He would investigate, what could I respond to Him ?
Did not, in the womb, my Maker make him,
And One Being form us in the belly ?

5. If I used to keep back the weak from his desire,
And caused the eye of the widow to fail,
And ate my portion alone,
And the orphan did nót eat of it : —
Nay — from my youth did he grow up unto me as a father ;
And from the womb of my mother I was accustomed to guide her.

6. If I could see a man ready to perish without clothing
And the poor having no covering —
Surely his loins blessed me,
And from the fleece of my sheep he warmed himself.
If I lifted up my hand over the orphan,
When I saw my help in the gate —
My shoulder — let it fall from its blade,
And my arm — let it be broken from its bone !
For there was fear unto me of calamity from God,
And because of His majesty I could not.

7. If I have made gold my confidence,
And unto fine gold said, thou art my trust ;
If I used to rejoice that my wealth was great,
And that my hand had found vast resources ;
If I used to see the light that it was shining brightly,
And the moon moving in splendour,
So that my heart was enticed in secret,
And my hand kissed my mouth : —
This also were an iniquity for judges,
For I had denied El on high.

8. If I was accustomed to rejoice in the calamity of the one hating me,
Or was excited with joy when evil overtook him ; —
Nay ! I did not give my palate to sinning,
In asking with a curse his life.
Verily the men of my tent say :
Who can shew us one not filled with his meat ?
Without the stranger used not to lodge,
My doors to the caravan I used to open.

9. If against me my land crieth,
And together its furrows weep ;
If its strength I have eaten without silver,
And the life of its lord I have caused to expire ;
Instead of wheat let thorns come forth,
And evil weeds instead of barley.[1]

10. If I have covered as man my transgression,
Hiding in my bosom my iniquity ;

[1] This strophe has been misplaced in the Hebrew text. It does not come appropriately at the close of the piece. I have accordingly transposed strophes 9 and 10.

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Because I feared the great multitude,
And the contempt of the clans made me afraid;
And so was silent, would not go out to the gate: —
O that I had one to hear me —
Behold my mark! — Let Shadday answer me!
O that I had the bill (of accusation) my adversary has written!
Surely I would lift it up on my shoulder,
I would bind it as a crown of glory upon me,
The number of my steps would I declare to him,
As a prince I would approach him.

VI. Prophetic Poetry

I shall finally present a specimen of prophetic poetry from the great unknown prophet of the exile, and, indeed, the most sublime piece in the Old Testament, as well as one of the most artistic,[1] consisting of five gradually increasing strophes.

1. Behold my servant shall prosper,
He shall be lifted up and exalted and be very high.
According as many were astonished at thee —
So disfigured more than a man was his appearance,
And his form than the sons of men; —
So shall he startle many nations;
Because of him kings will stop their mouths;
For what had not been told them they shall see,
And what they had not heard they shall attentively consider.

2. Who believed our message,
And the arm of Yahweh, unto whom was it revealed?
When he grew up as a suckling plant before us,
And as a root out of a dry ground;
He had no form and no majesty that we should see him,
And no appearance that we should take pleasure in him;
Despised and forsaken of men!
A man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief!
And as one before whom there is a hiding of the face!
Despised, and we regarded him not!

3. Verily our griefs *he* bore
And our sorrows — *he* carried them.
Yet *we* regarded him as stricken,
Smitten of God, and humbled.
But *he* was one pierced because of our transgressions,
Crushed because of our iniquities;
The chastisement for our peace was upon him;
And by his stripes there is healing for us.
We all like sheep strayed away;
Each one turned to his own way.
While Yahweh caused to light on him the iniquity of us all.

[1] Is. 52^{13}–53.

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4. He was harassed while he was humbling himself,
And he opens not his mouth;
Like a sheep that is being led to the slaughter
And as an ewe that before her shearers is dumb;—
And he opens not his mouth.
From oppression and from judgment he was taken away,
And among his cotemporaries who was considering,
That he was cut off from the land of the living,
Because of the transgression of my people, one smitten for them?
With the wicked his grave was assigned,
But he was with the rich in his martyr death;
Because that he had done no violence,
And there was no deceit in his mouth.

5. But Yahweh was pleased to crush him with grief!
When he himself offers a trespass offering,
He shall see a seed, he shall prolong days;
And the pleasure of Yahweh will prosper in his hands:
On account of his own travail he shall see;
He shall be satisfied with his knowledge:
My righteous servant shall justify many,
And their iniquities *he* shall carry.
Therefore will I give him a portion consisting of the many,
And with the strong shall he divide spoil;
Because that he exposed himself to death,
And he was numbered with transgressors,
And *he* did bear the sin of many,
And for transgressors was interposing.

In such pieces as these we find the climax of Hebrew poetic art, where the dramatic and heroic elements combine to produce in a larger whole, ethical and religious results with wonderful power. While these do not present us epic or dramatic or pastoral poems in the classic sense, they yet use the epic, dramatic, and pastoral elements in perfect freedom, combining them in a simple and comprehensive manner for the highest and grandest purposes of the prophet and sage inspired of God, giving us productions of poetic art that are unique in the world's literature. The dramatic, epic, and pastoral elements are means used freely and fully, but not ends. These forms of beauty and grace do not retard the imagination in admiration of themselves, but direct it to the grandest themes and images of piety and devotion. The wise men of Israel present us in the ideals of the Shulamite, Job, and Koheleth, types of noble character, moral heroism, and purity that transcend the heroic types of the *Iliad* or *Æneid*, wrestling as they do with foes to

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their souls far more terrible than the spears and javelins and warring gods of Greek or Trojan, advancing step by step, through scene after scene and act after act, to holy victory in the fear of God; victories that will serve in all time for the support and comfort of the human race, which has ever to meet the same inconsistencies of evil, the same assaults on virtue, the same struggle with doubt and error, therein so vividly and faithfully portrayed to us. The prophets of Israel play upon the great heart of the Hebrew people as upon a thousand-stringed lyre, striking the tones with divinely guided touch, so that from the dirge of rapidly succeeding disaster and ruin, they rise through penitence and petition to faith, assurance, exultation, and hallelujah; laying hold of the deep thoughts and everlasting faithfulness of God; binding the past and present as by a chain of light to the impending Messianic future; seeing and rejoicing in the glory of God, which, though now for a season shrouded behind the clouds of disaster, is soon to burst forth in a unique day.[1]

[1] Zech. 14[6 sqq.].

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CHAPTER XVIII

THE HISTORY OF THE INTERPRETATION OF HOLY SCRIPTURE

THE Word of God came to man at first orally, in connection with theophanies. These theophanies are divine manifestations in forms of time and space. From them, as centres, went forth divine influences in word of revelation and deed of miracle. These theophanies attained their culmination in Jesus Christ, the incarnate, risen, and glorified Saviour. The Word of God, issuing from these theophanic centres, was appropriated more and more by holy men, upon whom the Divine Spirit came, taking possession of them, influencing and directing them in the exercise of prophetic ministry. An important part of this ministry was the oral delivery of the Divine Word to the people of God in ascending stages of revelation. This Word was gradually committed to writing, and assumed the literary forms that are presented to us in the Canon of Scripture.

The Word of God, as written, is to be appropriated by man through reading it, meditating upon it, and putting it in practice. Reading is an appropriation through the eye and ear and sense perception, of letters, words, and sentences as signs of thought. Meditation is the use of the faculties of the mind in the apprehension of the substance of thought and emotion contained in these signs, the association of it with other things, and the application of it to other conditions and circumstances. This appropriation must be in accordance with the laws of the apprehending human soul, with the principles of the composition of written documents, and also with the nature of the things contained in and expressed by the sensible signs. Biblical interpretation is a section of general interpretation, and it differs from other special branches in accordance with the internal character of the contents of the Bible. Interpretation is usually

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regarded as a section of applied logic.[1] Schleiermacher defines it as the art of correctly understanding an author;[2] Klausen[3] as "the scientific establishment and development of the fundamental principles and rules for the understanding of a given discourse." I am constrained to think that this is too narrow a definition. I agree with most interpreters in the opinion that it embraces not only the art of understanding an author, but also the art of exposition or explanation of an author to others.[4] I am also compelled to go still further and include as a part of interpretation the practical application of the substance of the writing to other appropriate conditions and circumstances. The older interpreters, especially among the Puritans, regarded this latter as the chief feature. The interpreter needs, according to the older writers, *oratio*, *meditatio*, *et tentatio*. This *tentatio*, trial, experience, is the most important of all. This was urged by Jesus: "If any man willeth to do His will, he shall know of the teaching, whether it be of God, or whether I speak from myself."[5] Bernard says: "He rightly reads Scripture who turns words into deeds." Francis Roberts says: "The mightiest man in practice, will in the end prove the mightiest man in Scripture. Theory is the guide of practice, practice the life of theory; where Scripture, contemplation, and experience meet together in the same persons, true Scripture understanding must needs be heightened and doubled."[6]

Biblical interpretation is the central department of Biblical Study whence all other departments derive their material. In this field the strifes and struggles of centuries have taken place. There is no department of study where there have been so many differences, and where there still remains so much confusion. The Bible has human features and divine features. To under-

[1] See Carpzov, *Primæ Lineæ Herm.*, Helmstadii, 1790, p. 5; Sir William Hamilton, *Logic*, p. 474; Klausen, *Hermeneutik des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig, 1841, p. 7.

[2] *Hermeneutik und Kritik*, Berlin, 1838, p. 3.

[3] In *l.c.*, p. 1.

[4] Ernesti, *Institutio Interp. N. T.*, 1761, § 10; *Principles of Interpretation*, ed. Moses Stuart, Andover, 4th ed., 1842, pp. 14 *seq.*; Morus, *Hermeneutica N. T.*, ed. Eichstädt, Lips., 1797, I. pp. 3 *seq.*; Immer, *Hermeneutics*, Andover edition, 1877, p. 10.

[5] John 7^{17}.

[6] *Clavis Bibliorum*, 4th ed., London, 1675, p. 11; see, also, Rambach, *Institutiones Hermeneuticæ*, Jena, 1723, 8th ed., 1764, pp. 2 *seq.*

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stand them in their harmonious combination is the secret of interpretation. This secret is the philosopher's stone after which multitudes of interpreters have been seeking through the Christian centuries. As Lange appropriately says:[1]

> "As Christ has overcome the world by his cross, as the blood of the martyrs has become the seed of the Church, so also the misconceptions and abuse of the Bible have been obliged to more and more redound to its glorification. The battle of Biblical Criticism in the first four centuries brought about the collection and establishment of a purified canon; the arbitrariness of copyists occasioned the collection of codices and the criticism of the text; the exegesis of the allegorical method, called into life the vindication of the historical sense of Scripture; the fourfold enchaining of the Bible by exegetical tradition, hierarchical guardianship, ecclesiastical decisions, the Latin language, raised the Bible in the Protestant world almost above the dignity of a historical revelation of God; the humanistic exposition, as well as the naturalistic explanation of miracles, called into life along with the New Testament Grammar, also the understanding of the New Testament idiom, over against its customary depreciation in comparison with the classic models; and finally the pantheistic criticism occasioned the revival and rich unfolding of evangelical history."

We shall first consider the history of biblical interpretation, then on the basis of its history state its principles and methods.

I. Rabbinical Interpretation

The Jewish Rabbinical schools from the most ancient times recognized, alongside of the written Word of God, another oral or traditional Word of much greater extent and authority delivered to the ancient teachers, and handed down from generation to generation in the esoteric teaching of the faithful scribes, as the official interpretation of the written Word. This was not only the view of the Pharisees, who subsequently committed this tradition to writing in the Mishnas and Talmuds,[2] but also of the Zealots and Essenes. It was claimed that this oral Divine Word had been faithfully handed down from Ezra,[3] who received it by divine inspiration as esoteric wisdom for the

[1] *Grundriss der biblischen Hermeneutik*, Heidelberg, 1878, p. xxi.

[2] Weber, *System d. Altsynagogalen Palestinischen Theologie*, 1880, Leipzig, pp. 92 *seq.*

[3] See p. 257.

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initiated disciples. Others claimed a still higher antiquity for it, going back to Joshua and the elders, and even in part to the twelve patriarchs, Enoch, and Adam: hence the large number of pseudepigraphs in which this wisdom is contained, as well as in the Talmuds.

This traditional interpretation was of two kinds, *Halacha* and *Haggada*. The *Halacha* was legal, containing an immense number of casuistic distinctions, making fences about the Law in wider and wider sweep till the Law itself became for the people of God as inaccessible as the temple of Ezekiel, into which none but the priests of the line of Zadok might enter. The *Haggada* was illustrative and practical, embracing a wealth of legend and allegory that so coloured and enlarged biblical history that it became as obscure as the New Testament history upon the *palimpsests* under the legends of the monks that were written over it.

From the older *Halacha* and *Haggada* methods of interpretation were subsequently separated the *Peshat* and the *Sodh*. The *Peshat* is the determination of the literal sense, and is really a branch of the *Halacha*. The *Sodh* is the determination of the mystical or allegorical sense, and is a species of the *Haggada*.[1]

The rules of Rabbinical interpretation gradually increased in extent. Seven rules of the Halacha are ascribed to Hillel in the Siphra.[2] These are enlarged in the *Baraitha* of R. Ismaell to thirteen.[3]

These rules are: (1) That which is true of the easier or less is true of the greater or more difficult, and the reverse; (2) two similar passages supplement one another; (3) that which is clearly established in one part of Scripture is to be presumed in interpreting others; (4–11) eight rules with reference to the relation of the genus to the species, by inclusion, exclusion, contrast, and their relation to a third term, in the forms of

[1] Wogue in *l.c.*, pp. 134, 164 *seq.*

[2] These are given by Schürer, *N. T. Zeitgeschichte*, 1874, p. 447, and Hausrath, *Zeit Jesu*, Heidelberg, p. 96.

[3] Chiarini in *l.c.*, I. pp. 66 *seq.*; Weber in *l.c.*, pp. 106 *seq.* The best statement of them, with ample illustrations, is given by Waehner, *Antiquitates Ebræorum*, Gottingæ, 1743, pp. 422 *seq.*

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Rabbinical logic; (12) the word is determined by the context, and the sentence by the scope of the passage; (13) when two verses contradict, we must wait for a third to explain them. Some of these rules are excellent, and so far as the practical logic of the times went, cannot be disputed. The fault of Rabbinical exegesis was less in the rules than in their application, although latent fallacies are not difficult to discover in them, and they do not sufficiently guard against slips of argument.[1]

The *Haggada* method was elaborated by R. Eliezar into thirty-two rules.[2]

The principles of the two methods are admirably summed up by Wogue:

> "These forty-five rules may all be reduced to two fundamental considerations. (1) Nothing is fortuitous, arbitrary, or indifferent in the Word of God. Pleonasm, ellipsis, grammatical anomaly, transposition of words or facts, everything is calculated, everything has its end and would teach us something. The casual, the approximate, the insignificant and inconsequential flower of rhetoric, all that belongs to the setting in human language, are strange to the severe precision of Biblical language. (2) As the image of its author, who is one by Himself and manifold in His manifestations, the Bible often conceals in a single word a crowd of thoughts; many a phrase, which appears to express a simple and single idea, is susceptible of diverse senses and numberless interpretations independent of the fundamental difference between literal exegesis and free exegesis, in short, as the Talmud says, after the Bible itself, the divine word is like fire which divides itself into a thousand sparks, or a rock which breaks into numberless fragments under the hammer that attacks it. These two points of view, I repeat, are the soul of the Midrash in general; the latter above all serves as the common basis of the *Halacha* and *Haggada*, and it explains, better than any other theory, the long domination of the midrash exegesis in the synagogue."[3]

This admirable statement shows the radical errors of the Rabbinical idea of the Scriptures: (1) everything must be in-

[1] A very useful illustration of all these rules is given in Mielziner, *Introduction to the Talmud*, 1897, pp. 117–187. He concludes by saying: "This system of artificial interpretation was mainly calculated to offer the means of ingrafting the tradition on the stem of Scripture, or harmonizing the *oral* with the *written* law."

[2] Selections of these are given by Chiarini in *l.c.*, I. p. 81. A full statement, with ample illustrations, is given by Waehner in *l.c.*, I. pp. 396 *seq.*

[3] Wogue in *l.c.*, p. 169.

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terpreted in accordance with that *severe precision*, which alone is worthy of God; (2) the Scriptures are altogether divine and have the same attributes of *unity and infinity* that God Himself has.

The *Sodh* was used in the most ancient times by the Essenes and Zealots and found expression in the numerous apocalypses and pseudepigraphs of the four centuries in the midst of which the Messiah appeared. It attained its culmination in the Cabalistic system of the thirteenth century.[1] These mystics regarded every letter of the Bible as so highly important that it contained a secret sense for the initiated. The book of Sohar[2] describes the system in the following parable:

> "Like a beautiful woman, concealed in the interior of her palace, who when her friend and beloved passes by, opens for a moment a secret window and is seen by him alone, and then withdraws herself immediately and disappears for a long time, so the doctrine only shows herself to the chosen, (*i.e.*, to him who is devoted to her body and soul); and even to him not always in the same manner. At first she simply beckons at the passer-by with her hand, and it generally depends upon his understanding this gentle hint. This is the interpretation known by the name רמז. Afterwards she approaches him a little closer, lisps him a few words, but her form is still covered with a thick veil which his looks cannot penetrate. This is the so-called דרוש. She then converses with him with her face covered by a thin veil; this is the enigmatical language of הגדה. After having thus become accustomed to her society, she at last shows herself face to face and entrusts him with the innermost secrets of her heart. This is the secret of the law סוד."[3]

There are three principles of Cabalistic interpretations: (1) *Notariqon* — to reconstruct a word by using the initials of many, or a sentence by using all the letters of a single word for initial letters of other words; (2) *Ghematria* — the use of the numerical values of the letters of a word for purposes of comparison with other words which yield the same or similar combinations of numbers; (3) *Temura* — the permutation of letters

[1] Ginsburg, *Kabbalah*, London, 1865. [2] II. 99.

[3] I give the translation of Ginsburg in *l.c.*, p. 130; comp. Siegfried, *Philo von Alexandria als Ausleger des Alt. Test.*, 1875, Jena, p. 291.

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by the three Cabalistic alphabets, called *'Atbach*, *'Albam*, and *'Athbash*.[1]

The *Peshat*, or literal interpretation, is used in the Targum of Onkelos, and the Greek version of Aquila, with reference to the Law, but found little representation among the ancient Jews. The Qarites were the first to emphasize it in the eighth century. Before this time there is no trace of Hebrew grammar, or Hebrew dictionary. The Qarites threw off the yoke of Rabbinical Halacha, and devoted themselves to the literal sense and became extreme literalists. Influenced by them, Saadia introduced the literal method into the Rabbinical schools, and used it as the most potent weapon to overcome the Qarites. He became the father of Jewish exegesis in the Middle Ages, and was followed by a large number of distinguished scholars, who have left monuments of Jewish learning.[2] Wogue attributes this rise of the literal method to the influence of Arabic learning at Bagdad, Bassora, and Cairo. But the Arabs and the Persians received their impulses from the Nestorian schools of Edessa and Nisibis, which mediated the transition of Greek learning to the Orient, which also from the times of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Lucius of Samosata, had been chiefly characterized by their historic method of exegesis.[3]

Thus in Judaism there grew up three great parties which struggled with one another during the Middle Ages. The sacred Scriptures of the Old Testament were buried under a mass of tradition that was heaped upon them more and more for centuries, until it became necessary for the interpreter who would understand the holy word itself to force his way through this mass, as at the present day one who would find the ancient Jerusalem must dig through eighteen centuries of débris under which it has been buried in the strifes of nations.

There is doubtless truth at the bottom of all these systems. There is a certain propriety in distinguishing the fourfold sense. The literal sense will not apply except to the plainest matter-of-

[1] See Ginsburg, *The Kabbalah*, London, 1865, pp. 131 *seq.*; Wogue in *l.c.*, pp. 274 *seq.*; Chiarini in *l.c.*, pp. 95 *seq.*; Siegfried in *l.c.*, pp. 290 *seq.*; Etheridge, *Jerusalem and Tiberias, Sora and Cordova*, 1856, pp. 354 *seq.*

[2] Wogue in *l.c.*, pp. 208 *seq.*; Etheridge, *l.c.*, p. 226.

[3] P. 193.

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fact passages; the Haggada method is necessary in the rhetorical parts of Scripture. The Halacha method is necessary for the determination of the principles embedded in the Scriptures. The Sodh method is necessary in the interpretation of prophetic symbolism, and the esoteric instruction of the Bible. If each of these four methods had been restricted to its own appropriate sphere in the Bible, they would have coöperated with great advantage; but where these methods are applied at the same time to the same passages with the view that the Scripture has a *manifold* sense; where again these methods are applied arbitrarily to *all* passages; where they are used to remove difficulties and to maintain traditional opinions; or where any one method is made to usurp the functions of all, — there can only result — as there did result in fact — the utmost arbitrariness and confusion. The Bible was no longer interpreted; it was used as the slave of traditional systems and sectarian prejudices.

II. Hellenistic Interpretation

The Hellenistic Jews were largely under the influence of the Platonic philosophy, which they sought to reconcile with the Old Testament Scriptures. The chief of the Hellenistic Jews is Philo of Alexandria. Philo was not a Hebrew scholar, but was acquainted with the Aramaic of Palestine, and probably also with the ancient Hebrew.[1] He does not use the Hebrew text, but bases himself entirely on the Greek version, and uses tradition in its two forms of Halacha and Haggada, but especially the latter, which he elaborates in the direction of the Sodh or allegorical method. He distinguishes between the literal sense and the allegorical as between the body and the soul.[2] The sense like a fluid pervades the letter. The allegory is a wise architect who builds on the ground of the Scriptures an architectural structure.[3]

The allegorical method of Philo is so well stated by Siegfried, that I shall build upon him in detail, while I pursue my own method in a more general arrangement. There are three rules to determine when the literal sense is excluded: (1) when anything

[1] Siegfried in *l.c.*, pp. 141 *seq.* [2] *De migr. Abraham*, xvi.
[3] *De Somn.*, II. 2.

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is said unworthy of God ; (2) when it presents an insoluble difficulty ; (3) when the expression is allegorical. The last rule alone is sound, the others are *a priori*, and result in the imposition on the Scriptures of the preconceptions and prejudices of the interpreter. The rules of Philo's allegorical method given by Siegfried are twenty-three in number.[1] I shall arrange them under four heads in a somewhat different order.

I. *Grammatical allegory.* An allegory is indicated in the use of certain particles ; in the modifications of words by prefixes or affixes ; in stress upon number of noun and tense of verb ; in gender of words ; in the use or absence of the article. Here grammatical exegesis is insufficient ; there are mysterious hidden meanings to be found in these grammatical peculiarities.

II. *Rhetorical allegory* is found : in the repetition of words ; in redundancy of style ; in reiteration of statement ; in changes of expression ; in synonyms ; in play upon words ; in striking expressions ; in position of words ; in unusual connections of verses ; in the omission of what would be expected ; in the unexpected use of terms. Here rhetorical exegesis is insufficient ; there must be a hidden sense in any departure from the plain prosaic form.

III. *Allegory by means of new combinations* is gained : by changing the punctuation ; by giving a word all its possible meanings ; by internal modifications of the word ; by new combinations of words. This method was more fully wrought out by the Cabalists[2] and is the most abnormal of all forms of allegory.

IV. *Symbolism* is of three kinds : of numbers, of things, and of names. This method is the most appropriate of the forms of allegory ; its propriety is recognized by modern exegesis when used within due bounds.

To Philo and his school the inner sense attained by allegory was the real sense designed by God. The method of Philo was doubtless used to a great extent among the Essenes and the Zealots. There are traces of it in the pseudepigraphs and apocryphal books that were composed in the time of Philo. Josephus was also influenced by Philo, and was inclined to the

[1] In *l.c.*, pp. 165 *seq.*

[2] See p. 432.

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use of allegory, as we see from his treatment of the tabernacle.[1] There is truth at the bottom of the allegorical method, namely, that human language is inadequate to convey the thoughts of God to man. At the best it can only be a sign and external representation. We must go back of the sign to the thing signified. The mistake of the allegorical method is in extending it beyond its legitimate bounds, and making every word and syllable and letter of Scripture an allegory of some kind, and in using it to escape difficulties of philosophy and theology, and in order to maintain peculiar religious views.

III. The Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New Testament

The writings of New Testament Scripture use and interpret Old Testament Scripture. It is important for us to determine the nature and principles of this interpretation, and its relation to the Rabbinical and Hellenistic methods.

In the Old Testament prior to the exile, the prophets use earlier writings by way of citation rather than interpretation. This use is in the nature of free reproduction and application rather than an exposition of their sense. During the periods of oral revelation and prophecy, the interpretation of ancient Scripture was of little importance. It was only when prophecy ceased, and oral revelations were discontinued, that it was necessary to ascertain the divine will by the interpretation of ancient written documents.

After the exile, Ezra introduced the more systematic study of the Scripture, and established the *midrash* method, in seeking for the meaning of ancient Scriptures and their application to the present. The people were assembled, and Ezra and the Levites "read in the book in the law of God distinctly, and gave the sense, and they understood in the reading."[2] The aim of Ezra and his associates was to make the law of God so plain that the people generally could understand it.

The New Testament writers constantly use the Old Testament. Do they employ the methods in use by the Palestinian

[1] *Antiq.*, III. 7, 7; Siegfried in *l.c.*, pp. 278 *seq.* [2] Neh. 8[8].

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and Hellenistic Jews of their time? Different answers have been given to this question from partisan points of view. It is important to ascertain the real facts of the case. The most important use of the Scripture is ever the last and the highest in the process of interpretation, namely, practical interpretation or application; for the divine revelation has in view, above all, human conduct. This is most frequently employed in the New Testament by Jesus and His apostles. The most familiar example is in the temptation of Jesus, when He overcomes Satan by the application of the words of the law: "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God;" "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God;" "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve."[1] These will suffice, also, as specimens of the *literal* interpretation as used by Jesus.

In conflict with the Pharisees He usually employs the *Halacha* method as most appropriate to controversy with them, defeating them with their own weapons. Thus He employed Ps. 82^{6}, arguing from the greater to the less.

> "Is it not written in your law, I said, Ye are gods? If He called them gods, unto whom the word of God came (and the Scripture cannot be broken), say ye of him, whom the Father sanctified and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest; because I said, I am the Son of God?"[2]

He used the Halacha method of arguing from the inner contrast of general and particular in Ps. 110^{1}.

> "How then doth David in the Spirit call him Lord, saying: The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I put thine enemies underneath thy feet? If David then calleth him Lord, how is he his son?"[3]

Again in the interpretation of the Sabbath law Matthew let Jesus quote from 1 Sam. 21^{1-6}; Num. 28^{9-10}; Hos. 6^{6}; on the principle that Scripture passages may be used to supplement one another.

> "Have ye not read what David did, when he was an hungered, and they that were with him; how he entered into the house of

[1] Mt. 4^{4-10}. [2] John 10^{34-36}. [3] Mt. 22^{43-45}. See p. 264.

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God, and did eat the shew-bread, which it was not lawful for him to eat, neither for them that were with him, but only for the priests? [Or have ye not read in the law, how that on the Sabbath day the priests in the temple profane the Sabbath, and are guiltless? But I say unto you, that one greater than the temple is here. But if ye had known what this meaneth, I desire mercy, and not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned the guiltless.] For the son of man is lord of the Sabbath."[1]

In these and similar instances Jesus interprets Scripture, as a Jewish rabbin, after the Halacha method, with which the Pharisees were familiar, and to which they were accustomed in discussion and argument.

Jesus also employs the *Haggada* method. This indeed is His own favourite method of teaching, inasmuch as His discourses were in the main addressed to the people. His method of illustration and enforcement of truth is perfect in its kind, as only a divine master could fashion it. If we take the series of parables in Lk. 15 as an example, what could be more simple, appropriate, beautiful, and impressive? They have been the gospel of redemption to millions of our race. A few examples may be given of this method of interpretation. In reply to the bald literalism of the ruler of the synagogue.

"There are six days in which men ought to work: in them therefore come and be healed, and not on the day of the Sabbath;" Jesus says: "Ye hypocrites, doth not each one of you on the Sabbath loose his ox or his ass from the stall, and lead him away to the watering? And ought not this woman, being a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan had bound, lo, eighteen years, to have been loosed from this bond on the day of the Sabbath?"[2]

In the interpretation of prophecy and history Jesus comes into connection with the *allegorical* method of interpretation, and it has been claimed that He applies it with the freedom of a Hellenist. In His first discourse in the synagogue of Nazareth[3] He interprets the prophecy Is. 61 as applying to Himself. This prophecy is in its nature figurative, as it presents

[1] Mt. 12^{4-8}. But Mk. 2^{25-28} and Lk. 6^{3-5} omit the bracketed clause. It is evident that Matthew is responsible for this heaping-up of citations from the Old Testament. Jesus, according to Mark, uses here the argument from the general to the particular, when he says, "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath." [2] Lk. 13^{14} *seq.* [3] Lk. 4^{16-22}.

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the servant of Yahweh in his faithful preaching to the people. Jesus correctly sees the inner sense of the passage and finds His own likeness depicted there. Jesus interprets the corner-stone of Ps. 118[22-23] as referring to Himself and His kingdom.[1] This is not a prophecy in the original passage, but a symbolical representation of the reëstablishment of the kingdom of God. The work of Jesus was preëminently such a work. Hence the inner sense affords the connection that makes the use of the symbol appropriate. A touching example of the historical allegory is the caution of Jesus,[2] "Remember Lot's wife,"[3] in connection with His prediction of the judgment upon Jerusalem and the nations.

I shall now examine some of the most striking passages, in which certain distinguishing features of our Saviour's interpretation appear.

The Sadducees came to Him with a difficult case under a general law.[4]

"Moses wrote unto us,[5] If a man's brother die, and leave a wife behind him, and leave no child, that his brother should take his wife, and raise up seed unto his brother."

The case is: "There were seven brethren: and the first took a wife, and dying left no seed; and the second took her, and died, leaving no seed behind him; and the third likewise: and the seven left no seed. Last of all the woman also died. In the resurrection whose wife shall she be of them? For the seven had her to wife."

Jesus does not determine this case by an appeal to Holy Scripture, but on His own authority delivers a doctrine which settles it: "For when they rise from the dead they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as angels in heaven." He takes occasion, however, to overcome the Sadducean denial of a resurrection by an appeal to the Law:[6] "Have ye not read that which was spoken unto you by God, saying, 'I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob?' God is not the God of the dead, but of the living." It is clear that our Saviour takes the passage out of its context

[1] Mt. 21[42-44] = Mk. 12[10-11] = Lk. 20[17-18]. [2] Lk. 17[32]. [3] Gen. 19[26].
[4] Mk. 12[18-27] = Mt. 22[23-32] = Lk. 20[27-38]. [5] Deut. 25[5]. [6] Ex. 3[6].

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and gives it a meaning which is not explicitly there. Where, then, is the justification for His interpretation, and what is the method of it? He derives from the statement of the covenant relation between God and the patriarchs, the principle that God being a living God, the relation is a vital relation, and therefore those who are in this relation are living ones as possessors of the life they have received from God, the fountain of life.

The continuation in life of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob after they died to this life implies that they as well as their seed will eventually enjoy all the blessings God promised them. These they cannot enjoy unless they take part in the resurrection. All this is implicitly contained in the words cited; but it cannot be inferred except by the stress on the living God and His power, which Jesus added to the original passage. A similar argument was used by an ancient rabbi from another passage of the Law.[1]

"Go in and possess the land which Yahweh sware unto your fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, to give unto them and to their seed after them." The rabbi called the attention of his hearers to the fact that Yahweh sware to give the land to *them*, and not to give it to *you*.

Jesus uses the laws of the Tables,[2] and contrasts His own interpretation of them with the traditional interpretation. The latter looked at the external letter and warped this into accordance with traditional theory and practice. The former enters into the internal spirit. Jesus goes in His interpretation beyond any human propriety, and interprets them from the point of view of the divine Lawgiver Himself. No human interpreter would be justified in following the Master thither. It is His sovereign prerogative so to interpret.

Jesus recognizes the principle of accommodation in the use of the Old Testament.[3] The law of divorce was granted by Moses, owing to the hardness of the hearts of the people of his time. That law was, however, inconsistent with the original divine ideal at the creation. And here again Jesus interprets from the mind of God in the Halacha method, the words:

[1] Deut. 1^{8}. [2] Mt. 5^{21} *seq.*. [3] Mt. 19^{8} *seq.*.

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"For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife; and the twain shall become one flesh."[1] This He interprets by laying hold of the great thought: "*one flesh.*" "So that they are no more twain, but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder."[2] No one would ever have thought of this interpretation but Jesus, who interpreted the mind of God, the creator of man and the author of marriage.

Jesus after His resurrection said:

> "These are my words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, how that all things must needs be fulfilled, which are written in the law of Moses, and the prophets, and the psalms, concerning me. Then opened he their mind, that they might understand the Scriptures; and he said unto them, Thus it is written, that the Messiah should suffer, and rise again from the dead the third day; and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name unto all nations, beginning from Jerusalem."[3]

Here our Saviour grasps the entire Old Testament revelation in its unity, and represents Himself and His kingdom as its central theme. The same is the case in the institution of the Lord's Supper, where He represents the feast as the new covenant feast over against the old covenant sacrifice.

Jesus Christ, in His method of interpretation, thus laid down the distinctive principles of scriptural interpretation which enabled His apostles to understand the Old Testament, and delivered them from the perils of the allegorical and legal methods of His times. He uses the four kinds of biblical interpretation, in accordance with the usage of the various classes of men in His times, in those ways that were familiar to the Rabbinical school, the synagogue instruction, the popular audience, and the esoteric training of the disciple. He uses all that was appropriate in these methods: but never employs any of the casuistry or hair-splitting Halacha of the scribes; or any of the idle tales and absurd legends of the Haggada; or any of the strange combinations and fanciful reconstructions of the Sodh of the Alexandrians. His use of Scripture is simple, beautiful, profound, and sublime. One sees through the Divine Master

[1] Gen. 2^{24}. [2] See pp. 87 *seq.* [3] Lk. 24^{44} *seq.*

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that the written Word is the mirror of the mind of God; and the eternal Word interprets the former from the latter. The rabbins interpreted the Scriptures to accord with the traditions of the elders; Jesus interpreted them to accord with the mind of God their author. Hence the characteristic authority with which He spake; the freedom with which He added to the ancient Scriptures, and substituted a higher revelation for the lower, wherever it was found necessary. As Dorner appropriately says:

> "This is the wondrous charm of His words, their unfathomable, mysterious depth, despite all their simplicity, that they are ever uttered, so to speak, from the heart of the question; for the harmony which binds together and comprehends in one *view* the opposite ends of things, is lovingly and consciously present to Him, since everything is related to His kingdom. Other words of men, this or that man might have spoken; nay, most that is spoken or done by us is merely a continuation of others through us; we are simply therein points of transmission for tradition. But the words which He drew from within — these precious gems, which attest the presence of the Son of Man, who is the Son of God — have an originality of an unique order; they are His, because taken from that which is present in Him. In this sense, His prophetic activity is simply manifestation. Certainly, where in the accommodation of love He condescends to men in figurative speech, or in simple talk, intelligible even to children, or avails Himself of ordinary, especially Old Testament ideas, He there suppresses the rays of His originality. But when He does this, it is in order to fill the Old Testament husk or the types and forms taken from nature with the highest, the true contents."[1]

Jesus does not lay down any principles of interpretation. But we may venture from the synthesis of His exegesis to state the three following principles: (1) He recognized that the words of Scripture are *living* words of God to man, bearing upon human conduct. They are to be interpreted by entering into living communion with the living God and from internal personal relations to their author, and not by roundabout methods of traditional definition and illustrative legend. (2) The divine revelation was made on the principle of accommodation to the weakness, ignorance, and sinfulness of man, requiring no

[1] *System of Christian Doctrine*, Vol. III. p. 389.

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more than he was able to bear. The temporary provisions are to be eliminated from the eternal principles and the divine ideals. (3) The Scriptures are an organic whole, the Gospel of the Messiah is the fulfilment of the Old Testament, the Messiah and His kingdom the key to the whole. These were fruitful principles and ought to have guided the Church in all time and preserved it from manifold errors.

The apostles and their disciples in the New Testament use the methods of the Lord Jesus rather than those of the men of their time. The New Testament writers differ among themselves in the tendencies of their thought. St. Peter, St. James, St. Jude, St. Matthew, and St. Mark incline to use the Haggada method; St. Stephen, St. Paul, and St. Luke to the more learned Halacha method; St. John and the Epistle to the Hebrews to the Sodh or allegorical method; but in them all, the methods of the Lord Jesus prevail over the other methods and ennoble them.

1. The *Haggada* is used by St. Peter when he cites Scripture[1] with reference to the case of Judas. The propriety is in the *parallelism* of the cases of the doom of the traitor and persecutor. The Gospel[2] of Matthew makes similar uses of Holy Scripture and applies it to the situation of Jesus.[3] There is here a parallelism of circumstances, in which the ancient prophecies illustrate the descent of Jesus into Egypt and the lamentation at Bethlehem, by the descent of Israel into Egypt and the wars that desolated Judea. There is no prediction in these prophecies, or interpretation of them by the evangelist as prediction; but the association of the passages with Jesus has its propriety in that He is conceived to be the Messiah, in whom the fortunes of Israel are involved. "Here is incorrectness of form with truth of thought."[4]

The Epistle of St. James[5] uses by preference what has been called the moral Haggada. To maintain his proposition that faith without works is dead, he cites the examples of Abraham and Rahab.[6] So he refers to the patience of Job and the fervent

[1] Cf. Acts 1^{20}; Ps. 69^{25}, 109^{8}. [2] Mt. 3^{13-18}. [3] Hos. 11^{1}; Jer. 31^{15}.
[4] Tholuck, *Alt. Test. in N. T.*, 6te Aufl., Gotha, 1868, p. 44.
[5] Jas. $2^{21\ seq.}$. [6] Gen. 22; Jos. 2.

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prayers of Elijah.[1] St. Paul also uses the Haggada in his citation of Ps. 19[4], to illustrate the going forth of the gospel to the ends of the earth,[2] and of Deut. 30[11 seq.], to illustrate the truth that the word of the gospel was nigh in the preaching of the apostles, in the faith of the heart, and in the confession of the mouth.[3] The Epistle to the Hebrews uses it especially in calling the roll of the heroes of faith.[4] There are also a few examples in the New Testament of the use of legends and fables[5] for purposes of illustration, which do not commit the authors to their historical truthfulness.

2. The *Halacha* method is used by St. Paul arguing from the less to the greater;[6] from analogy;[7] from general to particular;[8] from the combination of passages to prove the corruption of sin.[9]

The Halacha method is also used by St. James to prove his point that whoso transgresseth one of the laws is guilty of all,[10] by citing the general law,[11] and the special commands.[12]

3. *The allegorical method* is used by St. Paul, where Hagar and Sara are taken to represent the Pharisee and the Christian,[13] and where he uses the water from the rock as an allegory of Christ.[14] Here the apostle sees a principle clothed in the history. He uses it to illustrate and enforce an analogous case where the principle applies. As Tholuck says, "The apostle is like one who has seen a finished picture and then afterwards sees in the sketch of it more than we do who have only the sketch."[15] Is it not rather with the sunlight of prophetic insight he sees into the essential features of the ancient histories, whereas to us they are in the obscurities of candlelight? He tells us more about them than we can see even with his guidance. It is in the Epistle to the Hebrews that the allegorical method has its greatest display in the New Testament. St. Paul uses it occasionally, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews constantly. As Tholuck says, "The literary character of Paul is Talmudic

[1] Jas. 5[11. 17]. [2] Rom. 10[18]. [3] Rom. 10[6-10].
[4] Heb. 11. [5] 2 Pet. 2[4 seq.]; Jude 9 *seq.*; 2 Tim. 3[8]. See p. 348.
[6] 1 Cor. 9[9 seq.]; Deut. 25[4]. [7] 2 Cor. 3[7]; Ex. 24[17], 34[29-35].
[8] Rom. 4[3 seq.] from Gen. 15[6], Ps. 32[1-2]; 1 Cor. 14[21 seq.] from Is. 28[11-12].
[9] Rom. 3[9-18] from Ps. 14[1-3], 5[9], 140[3], 10[7]; Is. 59[7. 8]; Ps. 36[1]. [10] Jas. 2[8-13].
[11] Lev. 19[18]. [12] Ex. 20[13-14]. [13] Gal. 4[24 seq.]. [14] 1 Cor. 10[4]. [15] In *l.c.*, p. 37.

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and dialectic, the Epistle to the Hebrews is Hellenistic and rhetorical."[1] Thus the Sabbath of the Old Testament is used to allegorize the Sabbath rest[2] at the end of the world. The person and office of Melchizedek are used to allegorize the Messianic high-priest, and there is an allegory in the etymology of the names Salem and Melchizedek.[3] Here, according to Riehm, the author "leaves out of consideration the historical meaning of Old Testament passages, and only sees the higher prophetic meaning which belongs to them on account of their ideal contents."[4]

The Apocalypse uses the allegorical method of symbolism in the number of the beast, 666,[5] the sun-clad woman,[6] the river Euphrates,[7] the city of Babylon,[8] the place Harmageddon,[9] the prophetic numbers of Daniel[10] and the recombination of ancient prophecies,[11] and the descriptions of Paradise.[12]

There are many who in our times seek to explain away the allegorical interpretation, as used in the New Testament, as unbecoming to Jesus and His apostles. These forget that it was just this allegorical method, with all its abuses, that has been chiefly employed in the Synagogue and in the Church for ages by the ablest and most pious of her interpreters. Thus Bishop Lightfoot reproves such persons:[13]

> "We need not fear to allow that Saint Paul's mode of teaching here is colored by his early education in the rabbinical schools. It were as unreasonable to stake the apostle's inspiration on the turn of a metaphor or the character of an illustration or the form of an argument, as on purity of diction. No one now thinks of maintaining that the language of the inspired writers reaches the classical standard of correctness and elegance, though at one time it was held almost a heresy to deny this. 'A treasure contained in earthen vessels,' 'strength made perfect in weakness,' 'rudeness in speech, yet not in knowledge,' such is the far nobler conception of inspired teaching, which we may gather from the apostle's own language. And this language we should do well to bear in mind. But, on the other hand, it were sheer dogmatism to set up the

[1] In *l.c.*, p. 52. [2] Heb. 4. [3] Heb. 7.
[4] *Lehrb. Hebräerbriefes*, Neue Ausg., 1867, p. 204. [5] Rev. 13^{18}.
[6] Rev. $12^{1\,seq.}$. [7] Rev. 16^{12}. [8] Rev. 17^{5}, 18^{2}. [9] Rev. 16^{16}.
[10] Rev. 12^{6}, 13^{5}. [11] Rev. 21, 22; Ezek. 33–38; Dan. $7^{9\,seq.}$, 12; Is. 25^{8}, $65^{17\,seq.}$.
[12] Gen. $2^{8\,seq.}$. [13] *Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*, Andover, 1870, p. 370.

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intellectual standard of our own age or country as an infallible rule. The power of allegory has been differently felt in different ages, as it is differently felt at any one time by diverse nations. Analogy, allegory, metaphor — by what boundaries are these separated, the one from the other? What is true or false, correct or incorrect, as an analogy, or an allegory? What argumentative force must be assigned to either? We should at least be prepared with an answer to these questions, before we venture to sit in judgment on any individual case."

4. The apostles were taught by Jesus to consider the old covenant as a whole; to see it as a shadow, type, and preparatory dispensation with reference to the new covenant; to regard the substance and disregard the form. Hence under the further guidance of the Holy Spirit they eliminated the temporal, local, and circumstantial forms of the old covenant, and gained the universal, eternal, and essential substance; and this they applied to the circumstances of the new covenant, of which they were called to be the expounders. They interpreted in accordance with the mind of the reigning Christ as Jesus had interpreted in accordance with the mind of His Father.

Thus St. Peter on the day of Pentecost[1] grasps the situation and sees in the outpouring of the Holy Spirit the inauguration of the new dispensation described by the prophet Joel.[2] In his epistle[3] he applies the Sinaitic covenant[4] to the new covenant relations. This was from the sense of the unity of both covenants in Christ, and the fulfilment of the earlier in the later. So St. Paul goes back of the law of Sinai to the Abrahamic covenant and finds that all believers are the true children of Abraham.[5] He represents the ancient institutions as "a shadow of the things to come; but the body is Christ's."[6] And so the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews finds the entire system of Levitical priesthood, purification, and offerings fulfilled in Christ and His ministry, so that the form is thrown off now that the "very image" of these things has been made manifest.[7] The author of the Apocalypse gathers up the substance of unfulfilled prophecy and attaches it to the second advent of Jesus Christ.

[1] Acts $2^{16\,seq.}$. [2] Joel $3^{1\,seq.}$ ($2^{28\,seq.}$). [3] 1 Pet. $2^{9\,seq.}$. [4] Ex. 19.
[5] Rom. 4. [6] Col. 2^{17}. [7] Heb. $10^{1\,seq.}$.

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This organic living method of interpretation of Jesus and His apostles is the true Christian method. The errors in the history of exegesis have sprung up to the right and the left of it.

IV. Interpretation of the Fathers and Schoolmen

In the ancient Church the methods of exegesis[1] of the Palestinian and Hellenistic Jews, as well as those of Jesus and His apostles, were reproduced. The strife of the various elements that entered into the apostolic Church is clearly to be seen in the New Testament itself.[2]

The Palestinian methods were represented in the Ebionites and the Jewish-Christian tendency that passed over into the Church. Thus Papias, in his naïve way, appeals to the elders, Aristion, the Presbyter John, and others, rather than to the New Testament, to establish his premillenarianism.[3] The Clementine pseudepigraph represents the apostle Peter in conflict with Simon Magus, as the embodiment of Church authority over against Gnosticism. St. Peter, speaking of the prophetic writings, is made to say :

> "Which things were indeed plainly spoken, but are not plainly written; so much so that when they are read they cannot be understood without an expounder, on account of the sin which has grown up with men."[4]

Tertullian also says :

> "Our appeal, therefore, must not be made to the Scriptures; nor must controversy be admitted on points in which victory will either be impossible, or uncertain, or not certain enough. . . . The natural order of things would require that this point should be first proposed, which is now the only one which we must discuss: 'With whom lies that very faith to which the Scriptures belong? From what, and through whom, and when, and to whom, has been handed down that rule, by which men become Christians?' For wherever it shall be manifest that the true Christian rule and

[1] For the history of exegesis in the Christian Church, see Rosenmüller, *Historia interpretationis librorum sacrorum in Ecclesia Christiana*, 5 Tom., Hildburghusæ, 1795–1814, but especially Klausen, *Hermeneutik des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig, 1841, and Samuel Davidson, *Sacred Hermeneutics*, Edin., 1843; M. S. Terry, *Biblical Hermeneutics*, 2d ed., 1885.

[2] Acts 15 ; 1 Cor. 3 ; Gal. 2 ; 1 Tim. 1 ; Jas. 2 ; Rev. 2.

[3] Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, III. 39.

[4] *Recognitions*, I. Chap. XXI.

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faith shall be, there will likewise be the true Scriptures and expositions thereof, and all the Christian traditions."[1]

Irenæus[2] and Cyprian[3] laid stress upon the literal method of exegesis and the authority of tradition, and exercised an unfortunate influence upon the early Latin Church.

The Hellenistic methods found the greatest representation in the early Church. The New Testament writers employed the Greek language and the Septuagint version. It is probable that the great majority of the earliest Christians were Hellenists. Naturally the influence of Philo and the allegorical method became very great. We see that influence already in the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Johannine writings. We find it in the epistles of Clement of Rome and Barnabas, of the apostolic Fathers; in Justin and the apologists generally.[4] Clement of Alexandria gave it more definite shape when he distinguished between the body and soul of Scripture and called attention to its fourfold use. He compares it to engrafting: (1) The way in which we instruct plain people belonging to the Gentiles, who receive the word superficially; (2) the instruction of those who have studied philosophy, cutting through the Greek dogmas and opening up the Hebrew Scriptures; (3) overcoming the rustics and heretics by the force of the truth; (4) the gnostic teaching, which is capable of looking into the things themselves.[5] He makes the remark:

"The truth is not to be found by changing the meanings, but in the consideration of what perfectly belongs to and becomes the sovereign God, and in establishing each one of the points demonstrated in the Scriptures from similar Scriptures."[6]

Klausen well says:

"By the assertion and vindication of this principle of interpretation the Alexandrian teachers have been the preservers of the pure Christian doctrine, when the crass literal interpretation in many parts of the Latin church, especially the African provinces, worked to justify from the sacred Scriptures the grossest ideas of the being of God, the nature of the soul, and the future life."[7]

[1] *Adv. Hær.*, Chap. XIX.
[2] *Adv. Hær.*, I. Chap. IX. 4; Chap. X. 1.
[3] *Epist.* 74.
[4] Klausen in *l.c.*, pp. 97 *seq.*
[5] *Stromata*, VI. 15.
[6] *Stromata*, VII. 16.
[7] In *l.c.*, p. 103.

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Origen carried out the principles of interpretation still further and became the father of the allegorical method in the Church. He distinguishes a threefold sense: body, soul, and spirit.[1] He uses thirteen of Philo's rules.[2] He lays stress on the allegory and often uses it to get rid of anthropomorphisms, and turns a good deal of ancient Jewish history into allegory; but he does not neglect the literal sense. He uses the three senses, but ranges them in the order of ascent from lowest to highest, and finds in the spiritual sense the one chiefly desirable.

Eucherius of Lyons in the first half of the fifth century[3] divides the mystical sense into two kinds, — the allegorical, what is to be believed in now; the anagogical, what is predicted.[4] In Hilary and Ambrose the allegorical method became dominant in the Latin Church. Ambrose says:

> "As the Church has two eyes with which it contemplates Christ; namely, a moral and a mystic, of which the former is sharper, the latter milder, so the entire divine Scripture is either natural, or moral or mystic."[5]

Tychonius belonged to this school, and laid down seven rules of interpretation: (1) Of the Lord and His body; (2) the twofold division of the Lord's body; (3) promises and law; (4) relation of species and genus; (5) the times; (6) recapitulation; (7) the devil and his body. These rules have more to do with the doctrinal substance of the Scriptures, the relation of the Church to Christ, the Law to the Gospel, and the like. They have been of service in the history of the Church and are mentioned with approval by Augustine, although he shows their insufficiency.[6] Augustine gave the allegorical method a better shaping in the Latin Church. He distinguishes four kinds of exegesis: (1) historical, (2) ætiological,[7] (3) analogical, (4) allegorical,[8] and lays down the principle that what-

[1] *Hom. V. in Lev.* [2] Siegfried in *l.c.*, pp. 353 *seq.*

[3] *Liber formularum spiritualis intelligentiæ*, Migne edition, Tom. 50, p. 727. See Reuss, *Gesch. d. Heil. Schrift. N. T.*, 4te Ausg., Braunschweig, 1864, p. 543.

[4] Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia und Junilius Africanus als Exegeten*, Freib., 1880, p. 30.

[5] *Exposit. in Ps.* 118, *Serm.* ii., n. 7; *ibid.*, 36, *Præf.*

[6] *De doctrina*, III. 30. [7] An inquiry into the causes. [8] *De util. cred.*, Chap. V.

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ever cannot be referred to good conduct or truth of faith must be regarded as figurative.[1] Klausen gives a careful summary of the exegetical principles of Augustine. These are reproduced by Davidson, from whom I quote[2] in a more condensed form:

> "(1) The object of all interpretation is to express as accurately as possible the thoughts and meaning of an author. . . . (2) In the case of the Holy Scriptures, this is not attained by strictly insisting on each single expression by itself. . . . (3) On the contrary, we should endeavor to clear up the obscurity of such passages, and to remove their ambiguity — first, by close attention to the connexion before and after; next, by comparison with kindred places where the sense is more clearly and definitely given; and lastly, by a reference to the essential contents of Christian doctrine. (4) The interpreter of Holy Scripture must bring with him a Christian reverence for the divine word, and an humble disposition which subordinates preconceived opinions to whatever it perceives to be contained in the Word of God. . . . (5) Where the interpretation is insecure, notwithstanding the preceding measures, it must be assumed, that the matter lies beyond the circle of the essential truths belonging to the Christian faith. (6) It is irrational and dangerous for any one, whilst trusting in faith, and in the promises respecting the operations of the Holy Spirit on the mind, to despise the guidance and aid of science in the interpretation of Scripture."

The spirit that should actuate the interpreter is beautifully stated by Augustine:

> "The man who fears God seeks diligently in Holy Scripture for a knowledge of His will. And when he has become meek through piety, so as to have no love of strife, when furnished also with a knowledge of language so as not to be stopped by unknown words and forms of speech, and with the knowledge of certain necessary objects, so as not to be ignorant of the force and nature of those which are used figuratively; and assisted, besides, by accuracy in the texts, which has been secured by skill and care in the matter of correction; — when thus prepared, let him proceed to the examination and solution of the ambiguities of Scripture."[3]

I think on the whole that Klausen is justified, so far as the Latin Church is concerned, in his statement that:

[1] *De doctrina*, III. 15.
[2] Klausen in *l.c.*, pp. 162 *seq.*; Davidson in *l.c.*, pp. 133 *seq.*
[3] *De doctrina*, III. 1.

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"None of the rest of the fathers, earlier or later, came near Augustine in the conception and statement of the essential character and conditions of the interpretation of Scripture. The truths which the Reformation in the sixteenth century again invoked into fruitful life, namely, of the relation of the sacred Scriptures to Christian doctrine, and of the scientific interpretation of the Scriptures, and which have become subsequently the foundations for the erection of evangelical dogmatics, may all be shown in the writings of Augustine, expressed in his clear, strong language."[1]

This should, however, be qualified with the remark that Augustine's practice did not altogether accord with his precepts. He was dominated by the rule of faith[2] and the authority of the Church, as Irenæus and Tertullian had been.[3] Augustine, in his practice, used too much of the allegory; and the Latin Fathers followed his example rather than his precepts, and more and more gave themselves up to this method. Gregory the Great went to the greatest lengths in allegory.

Toward the close of the third century Lucius of Samosata established at Antioch a new exegetical school, which soon rose to a great power and influence, and produced the greatest exegetes of the ancient Church. Its fundamental principles are well stated by Kihn.[4] (1) Every passage has its literal meaning, and only one meaning. We must, however, distinguish between plain and figurative language, and interpret each passage in accordance with its nature. (2) Alongside of the literal sense is the typical sense, which arises out of the relation of the old covenant to the new. It is based upon the literal sense which it presupposes. These are sound principles and are in accord with the usage of the New Testament.

"The Antiochans mediated between the two contrasted positions: a coarse, childish, literal sense, and an arbitrary allegorical interpretation; between the extremes of the Judaizers and Anthropomorphites on the one hand, and the Hellenistic Gnostics and Origenists on the other; and they paved the way for a sound

[1] In *l.c.*, p. 165.

[2] Diestel, *Gesch. d. Alt. Test. in d. Christ. Kirche*, Jena, 1869, p. 85; A. Dorner, *Augustinus sein theologisches System*, Berlin, 1873, pp. 240 *seq.*

[3] He did not apprehend the essential Protestant principle of interpretation, namely, the analogy of faith *in* the Scriptures themselves.

[4] *L.c.*, p. 29.

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biblical exegesis which remained influential for all coming time, if indeed not always prevalent."[1]

The Antiochan school produced scholars of different tendencies. Some of them, like Theodore of Mopsuestia, Diodorus of Tarsus, and Nestorius, pressed historical and grammatical exegesis too far, to the neglect of the higher typical and mystical; but in Chrysostom, Theodoret, and Ephraem the Syrian, the principles of the school find expression in the noblest products of Christian exegesis, which served as the reservoir of supply for the feeble traditionalists of the Middle Ages, and are valued more and more in our own times.[2]

With the decline of the school of Antioch, its principles were maintained at Edessa and Nisibis, and thence gave an impulse to the Arabs and the Jewish exegesis of the Middle Ages; and thus in a roundabout way again influenced the Church of the West at the Reformation. But an earlier influence may be traced in the reproduction of the work of Paul of Nisibis by Junilius Africanus in his *Institutes*.[3] The rules of Junilius are brief but excellent:

"(*Disciple.*) What are those things which we ought to guard in the understanding of the sacred Scriptures? (*Master.*) That those things which are said may agree with Him who says them; that they should not be discrepant with the reasons for which they were said; that they should accord with their times, places, order, and intention. (*Disciple.*) How may we learn the intention of the divine doctrine? (*Master*). As the Lord Himself says, that we should love God with all our hearts and with all our souls, and our neighbors as ourselves. But corruption of doctrine is, on the contrary, not to love God or the neighbor."[4]

The school of Nisibis influenced the Occident also through Cassiodorus, who wished to establish a corresponding theological school at Rome, but failed on account of the warlike times.[5] If this had been accomplished, the history of the Middle Ages might have been very different. He introduced the methods of the school of Nisibis in his *Institutions*. This was an important text-book in the Middle Ages and exerted a healthful influ-

[1] *L.c.*, p. 29.
[2] Diestel in *l.c.*, pp. 135, 138.
[3] *Instituta Regularia Divinæ Legis.*
[4] Kihn in *l.c.*, p. 526.
[5] Kihn in *l.c.*, p. 210.

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ence. He urges the use of the Fathers as a Jacob's ladder by which to rise to the Scriptures themselves. He insists upon the comparison of Scripture with Scriptures, and points out that frequent and intense meditation is the way to a true understanding of them.[1]

Jerome seems to have occupied an intermediate and not altogether consistent position. He strives for historical and grammatical exposition, yet it is easy to see that at the bottom he is more inclined to the allegorical method. He lays down no principles of exegesis, but scattered through his writings one finds numerous wise remarks :

> "The sacred Scripture cannot contradict itself."[2] "Whoever interprets the gospel in a different spirit from that in which it was written, confuses the faithful and distorts the gospel of Christ."[3] "The gospel consists not in the words of Scripture but in the sense, not in the surface but in the marrow, not in the leaves of the words but in the roots of the thought."[4]

Thus there grew up in the ancient Church three great exegetical tendencies : the literal and traditional, the allegorical and mystical, the historical and ethical, and these three struggled with one another and became more and more interwoven, in the best of the Fathers, but took on all sorts of abnormal forms of exegesis in others.

In the Middle Ages the vital Christian spirit was more and more suppressed, and ecclesiastical authority assumed the place of learning. The traditional principle of exegesis became more and more dominant, and alongside of this the allegorical method was found to be the most convenient for reconciling Scripture with tradition. The literal and the historical sense was almost entirely ignored. The fourfold sense became fixed, as expressed in the saying : the literal sense teaches what has been done, the allegorical what to believe, the moral what to do, the anagogical whither we are tending.[5]

In the Middle Ages exegesis consisted chiefly in the reproduc-

[1] Kihn in *l.c.*, pp. 211, 212 ; *Præf. de Instit. div. litt.*, Migne, Tom. 70, p. 1105 *seq.*

[2] *Epist. ad Marcellam.* [3] *Epist. ad Gal.*, i. 6. [4] *Epist. ad Gal.*, i. 11.

[5] *Litera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria, moralis quid agas, quo tendas Anagogia.*

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tion of the expositions of the Fathers, in collections and compilations, called epitomes, glosses, postilles, chains. In the Oriental Church the chief of these compilers were: Oecumenius (†999), Theophylact (†1007), and Euthymius Zigabenus (†1118). These give chiefly the exegesis of Chrysostom, Theodoret, and the Antiochan school. In the Occidental Church, there is more independence and greater use of the allegory. The chief Latin expositors of the Middle Ages are Beda (†735): Alcuin (†804), Walafrid Strabo (†849), Rhabanus Maurus (†856), Peter Lombard (†1164), Thomas Aquinas (†1274),[1] Hugo de St. Caro (†1260). The only exegete of the Middle Ages who shows any acquaintance with the Hebrew text of the Old Testament is the converted Jew, Nicolaus de Lyra (†1340). He seems to have apprehended better than any previous writer the proper exegetical method, but could only partly put it in practice. He was doubtless influenced greatly by the grammatical exegesis of the Jews of the Middle Ages, from Saadia's school, and especially by Rashi.[2] He wrote postilles on the entire Bible. He mentions the four senses of Scripture, and then says:

> "All of them presuppose the literal sense as the foundation. As a building, declining from the foundation, is likely to fall, so the mystic exposition, which deviates from the literal sense, must be reckoned unbecoming and unsuitable."

And yet he adds:

> "I protest, I intend to say nothing either in the way of assertion or determination, except in relation to such things as have been clearly settled by Holy Scripture on the authority of the Church. All besides must be taken as spoken scholastically and by way of exercise; for which reason, I submit all I have said, and aim to say, to the correction of our holy mother the Church."[3]

It is astonishing that he accomplished so much while working in such limits. He exerted a healthful, reviving influ-

[1] His *Catena Aurea* on the Gospels have been translated by Pusey, Keble, and Newman, 6 vols., Oxford, 1870, and may be consulted as the most accessible specimen of the interpretation of the Middle Ages.

[2] See Siegfried, "Raschi's Einfluss auf Nicolaus von Lira und Luther in der Anslegung der Genesis," in Merx, *Archiv*, I. pp. 428 *seq.*; II. pp. 39 *seq.*

[3] *Postillæ perpetuæ, seu brevia commentaria in Universa Biblia*, prol. ii.; Davidson in *l.c.*, pp. 175 *seq.*

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ence in biblical study and in a measure prepared for the Reformation. There is truth in the saying, "If Lyra had not piped, Luther would not have danced."[1] Luther thought highly of Lyra, and yet Luther really started from a principle entirely different from the literal sense. For this he was rather prepared by Wicklif and Huss. Wicklif was a contemporary of Lyra, and opposed the abuse of the allegorical method from the spiritual side, and in contrast with Lyra recognized the authority of the Scriptures as above the authority of the Church. He makes the all-important statement, which was not allowed to die, but became the Puritan watchword in subsequent times: "The Holy Spirit teaches us the sense of Scripture as Christ opened the Scriptures to His apostles."[2] Huss and Jerome of Prague followed Wicklif in this respect.[3]

With reference to the interpretation of the Middle Ages as a whole, the remarks of Immer are appropriate:[4]

> "It lacks the most essential qualification to scriptural interpretation, linguistic knowledge, and historical perception. . . . This defect inheres in the mediæval period in general. Hence there could be no advance in interpretation. But what it could do it did: it collected and preserved; and what was thus preserved waited for new fructifying elements, which were to be introduced in the second half of the fifteenth century."

The mediæval exegesis reached its culmination at the Council of Trent, where Roman Catholic interpretation was limited by the four rules: that it must be conformed to the rule of faith, the mind of the Church, the consent of the Fathers, and the decisions of the councils. But the seeds of a new exegesis had been planted by Lyra and Wicklif, which burst forth into fruitful life in the Protestant Reformation.

[1] *Si Lyra non lyrasset, Lutherus non saltasset.*

[2] Lechler, Johann von Wiclif, Leipzig, 1873, I. pp. 483 *seq.*; Lorimer's edition, London, 1878, II. pp. 29 *seq.*

[3] Gillett, *Life and Times of John Huss*, Boston, 1864, 2d ed., I. pp. 295 *seq.*

[4] Immer, *l.c.*, p. 37.

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V. The Interpretation of the Reformers and their Successors

The Reformation was accompanied by a great revival of biblical study in all directions, but especially in the interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures. The Humanists were influenced, by their studies of the Greek and Hebrew languages and literatures, to apply this new learning to the study of the Bible. Erasmus is the acknowledged chief of interpreters of this class. He insisted that the interpretation of the Scriptures should be in accordance with the original Greek and Hebrew texts, and urged the giving of the grammatical and literal sense over against the allegorical sense, which had been the ally of tradition.[1] The Humanists, however, did not go to the root of the evil; they were too deferential to ecclesiastical authorities, and sought to correct the errors in exegesis by purely scholarly methods. The Reformers, however, revived the principle of Wicklif and Huss, strengthened it, and made it invincible. They urged the one literal sense against the fourfold sense, but they still more insisted that Scripture should be its own interpreter, and that it was not to be interpreted by tradition or external ecclesiastical authority. Thus, Luther says:

> "Every word should be allowed to stand in its natural meaning and that should not be abandoned unless faith forces us to it.[2] . . . It is the attribute of Holy Scripture that it interprets itself by passages and places which belong together, and can only be understood by the rule of faith."[3]

Tyndale says:

> "Thou shalt understand, therefore, that the Scripture hath but one sense, which is the literal sense. And that literal sense is the root and ground of all, and the anchor that never faileth, whereunto if thou cleave, thou canst never err or go out of the way. And if thou leave the literal sense, thou canst not but go out of the way. Neverthelater, the Scripture useth proverbs, similitudes, riddles, or allegories, as all other speeches do; but that which the proverb, similitude, riddle, or allegory signifieth, is ever the literal

[1] Klausen in *l.c.*, p. 227. [2] Walch edition, XIX. p. 1601.
[3] Walch, III. p. 2042.

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sense, which thou must seek out diligently: as in the English we borrow words and sentences of one thing, and apply them unto another, and give them new significations. . . . Beyond all this, when we have found out the literal sense of the Scripture by the process of the text, or by a like text of another place, then go we; and as the Scripture borroweth similitudes of worldly things, even so we again borrow similitudes or allegories of the Scripture, and apply them to our purposes; which allegories are no sense of the Scripture, but free things besides the Scripture, and altogether in the liberty of the Spirit. . . . Finally, all God's words are spiritual, if thou have eyes of God, to see the right meaning of the text, and whereunto the Scripture pertaineth, and the final end and cause thereof."[1]

The view of the Reformed Churches is expressed in the 2d Helvetic Confession:[2]

"We acknowledge that interpretation of Scripture for authentical and proper, which being taken from the Scriptures themselves (that is, from the phrase of that tongue in which they were written, they being also wayed according to the circumstances and expounded according to the proportion of places, either like or unlike, or of more and plainer), accordeth with the rule of faith and charity, and maketh notably for God's glory and man's salvation."[3]

The Protestant Reformers by the use of these principles produced masterpieces of exegesis and set the Bible in a new light before the world. Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin were great exegetes;[4] Bullinger (†1575), Oecolampadius (†1531), Melanchthon (†1560), Musculus (†1563), were worthy to stand by their side. Their immediate successors had somewhat of their spirit, although the sectarian element already influenced them in the maintenance of the peculiarities of the different national Churches. The Hermeneutical principles of the Lutherans are well stated by Matthias Flacius,[5] those of the Reformed by André Rivetus.[6] The weakness of the Protestant principle was in the

[1] *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, 1528; Parker edition, *Doctrinal Treatises*, pp. 307 *seq.*

[2] 2[1].

[3] I give the English version from the *Harmony of the Confessions*, London, 1643, on account of its historical relations.

[4] Klausen in *l.c.*, p. 223; also, p. 112.

[5] *Clavis Scripturæ Sacræ*, Antwerp, 1567; Basileæ, 1609. Best edition, ed. Musäeus, 1675.

[6] *Isagoge*, 1627.

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lack of clear definition of what was meant by the analogy or rule of faith. It is clear that the Protestant Reformers set the rule of faith in the Scriptures themselves, — in the substance of doctrine apprehended by faith. But when it came to define what that substance was, there was difficulty. Hence, so soon as the faith of the Church was expressed in symbols, these were at first unconsciously, and at last avowedly, identified with the rule of faith in Holy Scripture itself. The Lutheran scholastic, Gerhard, says :

> "From these plain passages of Scripture the rule of faith is collected, which is the sum of the celestial doctrine collected from the most evident passages of Scripture. Its parts are two — the former concerning faith, whose chief precepts are expressed in the apostles' creed; the latter concerning love, the sum of which the decalogue explains."[1]

Hollazius[2] defines the analogy of faith as "the fundamental articles of faith, or the principal chapters of the Christian faith, collected from the clearest testimonies of the Scriptures." Carpzov[3] makes it "the system of Scripture doctrine in its order and connection."

If this system of doctrine had been that found in the Scriptures themselves, in accordance with the modern discipline of Biblical Theology,[4] there would have been some propriety in the definition ; but inasmuch as the scholastic theologians proposed to express that system of doctrine in their theological commonplaces, in other methods and forms than those presented in the Scriptures, the rule of analogy of faith became practically these theological systems ; and so an external rule was substituted for the internal rule of the Scriptures themselves, the Reformation principle was more and more abandoned, and the Jewish Halacha and the mediæval scholasticism reëntered and took possession of Protestant exegesis.[5]

The Reformed Church was slower in attaining this result than the Lutheran Church, owing to the exegetical spirit that had come down from Oecolampadius, Calvin, and Zwingli ; but

[1] Gerhard, *Loci*, Tubingæ, 1767, Tom. I. p. 53.
[2] *Exam. Theologici Acroamatici*, 1741, Holmiæ, p. 1777.
[3] *Primæ Linæ Herm.*, Helmstad., 1790, p. 28.
[4] See Chap. XXIII.
[5] Volck, in Zöckler, *Handb. Theo. Wiss.*, p. 657 ; Klausen in *l.c.*, p. 254.

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already Beza leads off in the wrong direction; and, notwithstanding the great stress laid upon literal and grammatical exegesis by Cappellus and the school of Saumur in France, by Drusius, De Dieu, and Daniel Heinsius in Holland, the drift was in the scholastic direction, and when the Swiss churches arrayed themselves against the French exegetes, and the churches of Holland were divided by the Arminian controversy, and the historical and literal exegesis came to characterize the latter, the scholastic divines more and more employed the dogmatic method, and urged to interpret in accordance with the external rule of faith.

VI. The Interpretation of the Puritans and the Arminians

British Puritanism remained true to the Protestant principle of interpretation till the close of the seventeenth century. The views of Tyndale and the Puritans went deeper into the essence of the matter than those of the continental Reformers. This was doubtless owing to the fact of their conflict against ecclesiastical authority and the prelatical party, and their protests against "the obtrusion of Popish ceremonies" on the Christians of England. They urged more and more the principle of the Scripture *alone* as the rule of the Church, and insisted on the *jus divinum*, the Divine authority of Holy Scripture as the supreme appeal. Thus Thomas Cartwright:

> "Scripture alone being able and sufficient to make us wise to salvation, we need no unwritten verities, no traditions of men, no canons of councels, or sentences of fathers, much less decrees of popes, to supply any supposed defect of the written word, or to give us a more perfect direction in the way of life, then is already set down expressly in the canonicall Scriptures. . . . They are of divine authority. They are the rule, the line, the squyre and light, whereby to examine and trie all judgements and sayings of men, and of angels, whether they be such as God approveth, yea or no; and they are not to be judged or sentenced by any."[1]

Especially noteworthy is the statement that no external rule is to be used to supply any supposed defects of the written

[1] *Treatise of Christian Religion*, 1616, p. 78.

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word, and that plain direction is given by what is set down expressly in the Scripture. John Ball gives an admirable statement of the Puritan position :

> "The expounding of the Scriptures is commanded by God, and practiced by the godly, profitable both for the unfolding of obscure places, and applying of plaine texts. It stands in two things. (1) In giving the right sense. (2) In a fit application of the same. Of one place of Scripture, there is but one proper and naturall sense, though sometimes things are so expressed, as that the things themselves doe signifie other things, according to the Lord's ordinance: Gal. 4^{22-24}; Ex. 12^{46}, with John 19^{36}; Ps. 2^{1}, with Acts 4^{24-26}. We are not tyed to the expositions of the Fathers or councels for the finding out the sense of the Scripture, the Holy Ghost speaking in the Scripture, is the only faithful interpreter of the Scripture. The meanes to find out the true meaning of the Scripture, are conference of one place of Scripture with another, diligent consideration of the scope and circumstances of the place, as the occasions, and coherence of that which went before, with that which followeth after; the matter whereof it doth intreat, and circumstances of persons, times and places, and consideration, whether the words are spoken figuratively or simply; for in figurative speeches, not the outward shew of words, but the sense is to be taken, and knowledge of the arts and tongues wherein the Scriptures were originally written. But alwayes it is to bee observed, that obscure places are not to bee expounded contrary to the rule of faith set downe in plainer places of the Scripture."[1]

The analogy or rule of faith is expressly defined by him as "set downe in plainer places of the Scripture," and it is maintained that "the Holy Ghost speaking in the Scripture is the only faithful interpreter of the Scripture." This improvement of the Protestant principle, by lifting it to the person of the Holy Spirit speaking in the word to the believer, prevents any substitution of an external symbol or system of theology for the rule of faith of the Scriptures themselves. Archbishop Usher takes the same position as Ball :

> "The Spirit of God alone is the certain interpreter of His word written by His Spirit. For no man knoweth the things pertaining to God, but the Spirit of God (1 Cor. 2^{11}). . . . The interpretation therefore must be of the same Spirit by which the Scripture was

[1] *Short Treatise containing all the principall Grounds of Christian Religion*, Tenth Impression. London, 1635, p. 39.

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written; of which Spirit we have no certainty upon any man's credit, but onely so far forth as his saying may be confirmed by the Holy Scriptures. . . . *How then is the Scripture to be interpreted by Scripture?* According to the analogy of faith (Rom. 12[6]), and the scope and circumstance of the present place, and conference of other plain and evident places, by which all such as are obscure and hard to be understood ought to be interpreted, for there is no matter necessary to eternal life, which is not plainly, and sufficiently set forth in many places of Scripture."[1]

These extracts from the Puritan Fathers, who chiefly influenced the Westminster divines, will enable us to understand the principles of interpretation laid down in the Westminster Confession, which are in advance of all the symbols of the Reformation in this particular:

"The infallible rule of interpretation of Scripture is the Scripture itself; and therefore, when there is a question about the true and full sense of any Scripture (which is not manifold, but one), it must be searched and known by other places that speak more clearly."

"The supreme judge, by which all controversies of religion are to be determined, and all decrees of councils, opinions of ancient writers, doctrines of men, and private spirits are to be examined, and in whose sentence we are to rest, can be no other but the Holy Spirit, speaking in the Scripture."[2]

These principles of interpretation give the death-blow to the manifold sense, and also to any external analogy of faith for the interpretation of Scripture. It has been made contra-confessional in those churches which adopt the Westminster symbols to believe and teach any but the *one* true and full sense of any Scripture, or to appeal to "doctrines of men," or any external rule or analogy of faith, or to make any other but the Holy Spirit Himself the supreme interpreter of Scripture to the believer and the Church. It was not without good and sufficient reasons that the Westminster divines substituted the "Holy Spirit speaking in the Scripture" for the analogy of faith which had been so much abused, and which was to be still more abused by the descendants of the Puritans, after they

[1] *Body of Divinitie*, London, 1645; 4th ed., London, 1653, pp. 24, 25.
[2] 1[9-10].

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had forgotten their Puritan Fathers, and resorted to the Swiss and Dutch scholastics for theological instruction.

Edward Leigh clearly states the Puritan position in his chapter on the Interpretation of Scripture:

> "The Holy Ghost is the judge, and the Scripture is the sentence or definite decree. We acknowledge no publick judge except the Scripture, and the Holy Ghost teaching us in the Scripture, He that made the law should interpret the same. . . . The Papist says that the Scripture ought to be expounded by the rule of faith, and therefore not by Scripture only. But the rule of faith and Scripture is all one. As the Scriptures are not of man, but of the Spirit, so this interpretation is not by man, but of the Spirit likewise."[1]

I shall call attention to some other features of the interpretation of the seventeenth century in England, because it has been neglected by British and American scholars, and consequently also by German critics and historians, upon whom most of our modern Anglo-Saxon interpreters depend.

Henry Ainsworth says:

> "I have chiefly laboured in these annotations upon Moses, to explain his words and speech by conference with himself, and other prophets and apostles, all which are commenters upon his lawes, and do open unto us the mysteries which were covered under his veile; for by a true and sound literall explication, the spiritual meaning may be the better discerned. And the exquisite scanning of words and phrases, which to some may seeme needlesse, will be found (as painful to the writer) profitable to the reader."[2]

Francis Taylor, a Westminster divine, a great Hebrew scholar and Talmudist, author of many commentaries and other practical and theological works, says:

> "The method used by me is new, and never formerly exactly followed in every verse, by any writer, Protestant or Papist, that

[1] *Systeme or Body of Divinity*, London, 1654, pp. 107, 119. Leigh was a lawyer and a member of the Long Parliament, and is said to have been a lay member of the Westminster Assembly. Thomas Watson, in his *Body of Practical Divinity*, in exposition of the Westminster Shorter Catechism, London, 1692, p. 16, takes the same position: "The Scripture is to be its own interpreter, or rather the Spirit speaking in it; nothing can cut the diamond but the diamond; nothing can interpret Scripture but Scripture; the sun best discovers itself by its own beams."

[2] *Pentateuch*, Preface, 1626.

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ever I read. (1) Ye have the grammatical sense in the various significations of every Hebrew word used throughout the Old Testament, which gives light to many other texts; (2) Ye have the rhetorical sense, in the tropes and figures; (3) The logicall, in the several arguments; (4) The theological in divine observations."[1]

This is an exact and admirable method, which would have delighted Ernesti in the next century, if he had known of it, with the exception of the last point in which the Puritan practical interpretation comes in play. Edward Leigh[2] also lays down excellent principles:

"The word is interpreted aright, by declaring (1) the order, (2) the summe or scope, (3) the sense of the words, which is done by framing a rhetorical and logical analysis of the text. In giving the sense, three rules are of principal use and necessity to be observed. (1) The literal and largest sense of any words in Scripture must not be embraced further when our cleaving thereto would breed some disagreement and contrariety between the present Scripture and some other text or place, else shall we change the Scripture into a nose of wax. (2) In case of such appearing disagreement, the Holy Ghost leads us by the hand to seek out some distinction, restriction, limitation or signe for the reconcilement thereof, and one of these will always fit the purpose; for God's word must always bring perfect truth, it cannot fight against itself. (3) Such figurative sense, limitation, restriction or distinction must be sought out, as the word of God affordeth either in the present place or some other; and chiefly those that seem to differ with the present text, being duly compared together."

I do not know where a more careful statement of this delicate problem of harmonizing Scripture with Scripture can be found.[3]

[1] Epist. dedicatory to the *Exposition of the Proverbs*, London, 1655.

[2] In *l.c.*, p. 119.

[3] This same Edward Leigh was one of the best biblical scholars of the seventeenth century. He published *Annotations upon all the New Testament*, philogicall and theologicall wherein the emphasis and elegance of the Greeke is observed, some imperfections in our translation are discovered, divers Jewish rites and customes tending to illustrate the text are mentioned, many antilogies and seeming contradictions reconciled, severall darke and obscure places opened, sundry passages vindicated from the false glosses of Papists and Heretics, London, 1650, folio. The title is descriptive of a sound method. He also published *Critica Sacra on the Hebrew of the Old Testament*, 4to, London, 1639; *Critica Sacra on the Greek of the New Testament*, 4to, London, 1646. These were

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The Puritan interpreters laid stress upon the practical interpretation or application of Scripture. The best statement is given by Francis Roberts.[1]

"That the Holy Scriptures may be more profitably and clearly understood, certain rules or directions are to be observed and followed:

"I. Some more *special and peculiar*, more particularly concerning scholars. As (1) The competent understanding of the original languages. . . . (2) The prudent use of Logick. . . . (3) The subservient help of other arts, as Rhetoric, Natural Philosophy, etc. . . . (4) The benefit of humane histories to illustrate and clear the theme. (5) The conferring of ancient translations with the originals. . . . (6) The prudent use of the most orthodox, learned, and judicious Commentators. (7) Constant caution that all tongues, arts, histories, translations, and comments be duly ranked in their proper places in subserviency under, not in regency or predominancy over the Holy Scriptures which are to controle them all.

"II. Some more general and common directions, which may be of use to all sorts of Christians learned and unlearned. . . . (1) Beg wisdom of the onely wise God, who gives liberally and upbraids not. . . . (2) Labour sincerely after a truly gracious spirit, then thou shalt be peculiarly able to penetrate into the internal marrow and mysteries of the holy Scriptures. . . . (3) Peruse the Scripture with an humble self-denying heart. . . . (4) Familiarize the Scripture to thyself by constant and methodical exercise therein. . . . (5) Understand Scripture according to the theological analogy, or certain rule of faith and love. . . . (6) Be well acquainted with the order, titles, times, penman, occasion, scope, and principal parts of the books, both of the Old and New Testament. (7) Heedfully and judiciously observe the accurate concord and harmony of the Holy Scriptures. (8) Learn the excellent art of explaining and understanding the Scriptures, by the Scriptures. (9) Endeavor sincerely to practice Scripture, and you shall solidly understand Scripture."

I have given these rules at length, both on account of their intrinsic excellence and also to call attention to a work of great

combined in a folio, 1662. They were translated into Latin by Henry Middoch and published at Amsterdam, 1679, and then at Leipzig, 1696, with preface by John Meyer, a Hebrew professor there, and in this way exerted a great influence on the continent until the close of the century.

[1] *Key of the Bible*, 4th ed., London, 1675, pp. 5 *seq.*

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value which has been lost sight of for a long time in the history of interpretation.

The same Francis Roberts[1] is the author of a massive work in two folio volumes, which construct a system of theology on the doctrine of the covenants.[2]

In his epistolary introduction he says: "I began my weekly lectures, to treat of God's Covenants, on Sept. 2, 1651, and have persisted therein till the very publication of this book, in May, 1657."

In the same introduction he describes his treatise as —

> "A Work of vast extent, comprising in it: all the methods of divine dispensations to the Church in all ages; all the conditions of the Church under those dispensations; all the greatest and precious promises, of the life that now is, and of that which is to come; all sorts of blessings promised by God to man; all sorts of duties repromised by man to God; all the gradual discoveries of Jesus Christ, the only Mediator and Saviour of sinners; the whole mystery of all true religion from the beginning to the end of the world; and which as a continued thred of gold runs through the whole series of all the Holy Scriptures, . . . because I have set my heart exceedingly to the Covenants of my God, which (in my judgment) are an universal basis or foundation of all true religion and happiness, I have shunned no diligence, industry, or endeavor that to me seemed requisite for the profitable unveiling of them."

Francis Roberts in this work carries out a plan devised and partially executed by John Ball.[3] According to Thomas Blake,[4] "his purpose was to speak on this subject of the covenant, all that he had to say in all the whole body of divinity. That which he hath left behind gives us a taste of it." In this, Ball anticipated Cocceius and the Dutch Federal theology, as indeed

[1] He was a Presbyterian minister in London during the Commonwealth period, but at the Restoration remained in the Church of England.

[2] *The Mysterie and Marrow of the Bible:* viz., *God's Covenants with man, in the first Adam, before the Fall; and in the last Adam, Jesus Christ, after the Fall; from the Beginning to the End of the World; Unfolded and Illustrated in positive Aphorisms and their Explanations.* 2 vols., London, 1657.

[3] *Treatise of the Covenant of Grace*, London, 1645, 4to, published after his death by his friend Simeon Ashe, and with commendatory notices by five other Westminster divines.

[4] *Treatise of the Covenant of God entered with mankinde in the several kindes and degrees of it.* Preface, London, 1653.

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his system of the covenants is of a purer type, having all the advantages of the historical method of the Dutch Federal school without its far-fetched typologies. Indeed the theology of the covenants had been embedded in Puritan theology since Thomas Cartwright.[1] The covenant principle is also in Usher's Body of Divinity, and the Westminster symbols. In truth, the historical principle that characterizes the covenant theology is better wrought out by John Ball and Francis Roberts than by Cocceius. It will be found that the doctrine of the covenants passed over from England with the Puritan spirit into the Federal school of Holland, and thence into Spener and the German Pietists. The essential mystic spirit is common to these three great movements, which were the historic successors of one another in the order, England, Holland, Germany, although each assumed a form adapted to its peculiar circumstances and conditions.[2]

The Federal school in Holland was characterized by a tendency to allegorize, which was foreign to the best Puritan type, although Thomas Brightman, in his commentaries on Revelation, Song of Songs, and Daniel, reintroduced the allegorical method into the Protestant Church and carried it to great lengths. He had not a few followers in Great Britain, and on the continent, where his works were republished.

This element is united with the principle of the covenant in the Federal theology, and proved its greatest weakness. The Federal theology, however, exerted a wholesome influence in preserving the mystic spirit of interpretation over against the purely external historical method of the Arminians, and in maintaining the historic method of divine revelation over against the external and mechanical systematizing of the Dutch scholastics. Spener and the German Pietists also represented the mystic spirit of interpretation and adopted many of the chief features of Puritanism. They laid stress upon personal relations to

[1] In his *Treatise of Christian Religion*, 1616, he treats first of the doctrine of God and then of man; next of the Word of God, and this he divides into two parts: the doctrine of the Covenant of Works, called the Law, the Covenant of Grace, the Gospel; and treats of Christology and Soteriology under the latter.

[2] Cocceius was a pupil of Ames, the British Puritan. See Mitchell, *Westminster Assembly*, London, 1883, pp. 344 *seq.*

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God and experimental piety in order to the interpretation of Scripture. This was accompanied among the best of them with true scholarship. The Pietistic interpretation may be found stated by Franke,[1] but especially by Rambach,[2] whose work was fruitful for many generations and still retains its value. The best exegete in this direction is the celebrated Bengel, whose interpretation is a model of piety and accuracy.[3] His principle of interpretation is briefly stated: "It is the especial office of every interpretation to exhibit adequately the force and significance of the words which the text contains, so as to express everything which the author intended, and to introduce nothing which he did not intend."[4]

The principles of interpretation of the Puritans worked mightily during the seventeenth century in Great Britain, and produced exegetical works that ought to be the pride of the Anglo-Saxon churches in all time. Thomas Cartwright, Henry Ainsworth, John Reynolds, John Fox, Nicholas Byfield, Paul Bayne, Hugh Broughton, J. Davenant, Francis Taylor, William Gouge, John Lightfoot, Edward Leigh, William Attersol, Thomas Gataker, Joseph Caryl, Samuel Clapp, John Trapp, William Greenhill, Francis Roberts, and numerous others have opened up the meaning of the Word of God for all generations. Among the last of the Puritan works on the more learned side was the masterpiece[5] of Matthew Poole; but the more practical side of interpretation continued to advance, until it attained its highest mark in Matthew Henry.[6] Other practical commentaries have been of great service to the churches, such as those of Philip Doddridge[7] and Thomas Scott,[8] but the Puritan interpretation soon lost its strength by the neglect of the nonconformists to give their young men a thoroughly English Puritan theological education. Excluded from the English

[1] *Manducatio ad lectionem, S.S.*, 1693; *Prælectiones Hermeneut.*, 1717.

[2] *Institutiones Hermeneuticæ*, 1723, 8th ed., Jenæ, 1764, ed. Buddeus.

[3] *Gnomon N. T.*, Tübingen, 1742, English edition by T. Carlton Lewis and Marvin R. Vincent, Philadelphia, 1860–1862.

[4] Preface, xiv.

[5] *Synopsis Criticorum*, 5 vols. folio, 1669.

[6] *Expositions of the Old and New Testaments*, London, 1704–1706.

[7] *Family Expositor*, 6 vols. 4to, London, 1760–1762.

[8] *Family Bible, with notes*, 4 vols. 4to, 1796.

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universities by their religious principles, the nonconformists were unable to organize educational institutions of their own that were at all adequate, and hence the ministry fell back upon dogmatizing or spiritualizing, equally perilous, without an exact knowledge of the biblical text.[1]

In the meanwhile, the Humanistic spirit had maintained itself in the Church of England, and it found expression among the Arminians of Holland. The chief interpreter of the seventeenth century was Hugo Grotius, who revived the spirit of Erasmus. He laid stress upon historical interpretation.[2] He was followed by the Arminians generally, especially Clericus. In Great Britain Henry Hammond had the same spirit and methods.[3] Edward Pocock[4] seeks as the main thing "to settle the genuine and literal meaning of the text." Daniel Whitby[5] also represents this tendency; and still later Bishop Lowth[6] and John Taylor of Norwich.[7] The latter says:

> "To understand the sense of the Spirit in the New, 'tis essentially necessary that we understand its sense in the Old Testament. But the sense of the Spirit cannot be understood unless we understand the language in which that sense is conveyed. For which purpose the Hebrew Concordance is the best Expositor. For there you have in one view presented all the places of the sacred code where any words are used; and by carefully collating those places, may judge what sense it will, or will not bear, which being once settled there lies no appeal to any other writing in the world: because there are no other books in all the world in the

[1] It is the merit of C. H. Spurgeon that he has recently called attention to the neglected Puritan commentators and expressed his great obligations to them. See his *Commenting and Commentaries*, N.Y., 1876, and also *Treasury of David*, London, 6 vols., 1870 *seq.*, which contains copious extracts from the Puritan commentaries.

[2] *Annotations in lib. evang.*, Amst., 1641; *Annot. in Vet. Test.*, Paris, 1664.

[3] *Paraphrase and Annotations upon all the Books of the New Testament*, 1653, 8vo, 3d ed., folio, London, 1671. In a postscript concerning new light or divine illumination, over against the Quakers, he insisted upon the plain, literal, and historical sense.

[4] *Com. on Micah*, 1677, *Hosea*, 1685, *Joel*, 1691.

[5] *Pharaphrase and Commentary on the New Testament*, 2 vols., 1703–1709, folio.

[6] See p. 227.

[7] *Hebrew Concordance*, 2 vols. folio, London, 1754.

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pure original Hebrew, but the books of the Old Testament. A judgment therefore duly founded upon them must be absolutely decisive."[1]

Taylor acknowledges his great indebtedness to the philosopher Locke,[2] and shows the influence of that philosophy in his exegesis. Toward the close of the century biblical interpretation more and more declined in Great Britain, and one must go to the continent, and especially to Germany, for the exegesis as well as for the Higher and Lower Criticism of modern times.[3]

VII. Biblical Interpretation of Modern Times

We have seen in our studies of biblical literature that there was a great revival of biblical studies, especially in Germany, toward the close of the eighteenth century, which extended to all departments. For biblical interpretation Ernesti was the chief of the new era. Ernesti was essentially a philologist rather than a theologian, and he applied to the Bible the principles which he had employed in the interpretation of the ancient classics. He began at the foundation of interpretation, grammatical exegesis, and placed it in such a position before the world that it has ever since maintained its fundamental importance. He published his principles of interpretation in 1761.[4] Ernesti was followed by Zacharia,[5] Morus,[6] C. D. Beck,[7] and others. Moses Stuart translated Ernesti with the notes of Morus abridged.[8]

About the same time as Ernesti, Semler urged the importance

[1] Preface of *Hebrew Concordance*. See also his *Paraphrase with notes on the Epistle to the Romans*, London, 1745, pp. 114, 127, 146.

[2] In *l.c.*, p. 149.

[3] See pp. 227, 281.

[4] *Institutio Interpretis N. T.*, 1761, 3te Aufl., 1774; 5te Aufl., ed. Ammon, 1809. It was translated into English and edited by Bishop Terrot in 1809 from Ammon's edition, for the *Biblical Cabinet*, I. and IV., Edinburgh.

[5] *Einleit. in d. Auslegekunst*, 1778.

[6] *Acroases. acad. super Herm.*, N. T., 1797 and 1802, ed. by Eichstädt.

[7] *Monogram. hermeneutices librorum N. Foed.*, Lips., 1803.

[8] *Elementary Principles of Interpretation*, translated from the Latin of J. A. Ernesti, accompanied by notes, with an appendix containing extracts from Morus, Beck, Keil, and Henderson, 4th ed., Andover, 1842. The earlier edition was republished in England with additional observations by Dr. Henderson, London, 1827, which were used in Stuart's fourth edition.

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of historical interpretation.[1] Semler was an open-minded, devout scholar, and appropriated freely the material wherever he could find it, and reproduced it in forms fashioned by his own genius. He was greatly influenced by foreign interpreters, and was the channel through whom the historical interpretation, still lingering in Reformed lands, made its way into Lutheran Germany. Among those who influenced Semler may be mentioned: J. A. Turretine, who had introduced the Swiss revolt against scholasticism,[2] John Taylor of Norwich and Daniel Whitby,[3] and L. Meyer, the Spinozist.[4] Semler was followed by J. G. Gabler, G. L. Baur, K. C. Bretschneider, and others. These elements of interpretation were combined in the grammatico-historical method of C. A. G. Keil.[5] The grammatico-historical method was introduced into the United States of America chiefly by Moses Stuart and his school.[6]

The defects of the grammatico-historical method were discovered, and attacks were made upon it from both sides. Kant and his school urged rational and moral exegesis, to which the historical must yield as of vastly less importance. There was truth in this rising to the moral sense, but as it was stated and used by the Kantians it resulted in binding the Bible in the fetters of a philosophical system that was far more oppressive than the theological system had been. Stäudlein,[6] Stern,[7] Stark,[8] and Kaiser,[9] and above all Germar,[10] rendered great service by urging that the interpreter should enter into sympathy with the spirit of the biblical authors.

On the other side the little band of Pietists of the older Tübingen school urged the inadequacy of the grammatico-historical method, and insisted upon faith and piety in the inter-

[1] *Vorbereit. zur theol. Herm.*, 1760–1769; *Apparatus ad liberalem, N. T. Interp.*, 1767.

[2] *De S. S. interp. tractatus bipartitus*, 1728. This was an unauthorized and defective edition, and it was repudiated by the author. A better edition was edited by Teller in 1776.

[3] See Tholuck, *Vermischte Schriften*, Hamburg, 1839, pp. 30, 40.

[4] Author of an anonymous treatise: *Philosophiæ Script. interpres.*, 1666.

[5] *Lehr. d. Herm.*, 1810. [6] *De interp. N. T.*, 1807.

[7] *Ueber den Begriff und obersten Grundsatz d. hist. interp. d. N. T.*, 1815.

[8] *Beitr. z. Herm.*, 1817. [9] *System Herm.*, 1817.

[10] *Beitrag zur allgemein. Hermeneutik*, Altona, 1828.

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preter.[1] The chief of these were Storr,[2] Flatt and Steudel of Tübingen, Knapp of Halle, and Seiler of Erlangen.[3]

This conflict of principles worked more and more confusion. If the older exegesis was at fault in neglecting the human element and the variety of features of the Bible on the human side, the newer interpreters of the grammatico-historical school were still more at fault in neglecting the divine element and the unity of the Bible.

A healthful method of interpretation had been introduced from England in the translation of the works of Bishop Lowth, which urged literary interpretation. Herder, Eichhorn, and others exerted their influence in the same direction. Schleiermacher deserves the credit for combining all that had thus far been gained into a higher unity, by his organic method of interpretation.[4]

Schleiermacher lays down his principles in a series of theses:

> "In the application (of Hermeneutics) to the New Testament the philological view, which isolates every writing of every author, stands over against the dogmatic view, which regards the New Testament as the work of one author. Both approach one another when one considers that, in the view of the religious contents, the identity of the school comes in, and in view of the details, the identity of language. . . . The philological view lags behind its own principle when it rejects the general dependence for the sake of the individual culture. The dogmatic view transcends its needs when it rejects individual culture for the sake of dependence, and so destroys itself. The only question that remains is which of the two is to be placed above the other; and this must be decided by the philological view itself in favor of its own dependence. When the philological view ignores this it annihilates Christianity. When the dogmatic view extends the canon of the analogy of faith beyond these limits it annihilates Scripture."[5]

[1] Reuss, *Gesch. d. H. S. N. T.*, 4te Aufl., 1864, p. 582 *seq.*

[2] *De sensu historico*, 1778.

[3] *Bib. Herm.*, 1830, edited in Holland by Heringa, and translated from the Holland edition and edited with additions by Wm. Wright, London, 1835.

[4] His *Hermeneutik und Kritik* is a posthumous work by his pupil, F. Lücke, published in Berlin, 1838, but the influence of his method was felt at an earlier date, and expressed by his disciples.

[5] In *l.c.*, pp. 79–81.

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Lücke, of Schleiermacher's school, well states the principle when he says that we must

> "so construct the general principles of Hermeneutics as that the proper theological element may be united with them in a really organic manner, and likewise so fashion and carry on the theological element that the general principles of interpretation may maintain their full value."[1]

He also insisted upon love for the Word of God, as the indispensable requisite for the interpreter.[2]

The vast importance of this organic method is seen in the exegetical works of De Wette, Neander, Klausen, Bleek, Lutz, Meyer, and most of the chief interpreters of modern Germany.

The greatest defect of interpretation at this time was in the lack of apprehension of the true relation of the New Testament to the Old Testament. The Old Testament was neglected by Schleiermacher and many of his school. It was necessary for the discipline of Biblical Theology to come into the field ere this defect could be overcome. The unfolding of the discipline of Biblical Theology in the school of Neander established the organic unity of the New Testament in the combination of a number of historical types. The organic unity of the Old Testament was also especially urged by Oehler in the spirit of Neander, together with some of the features of the older Tübingen school. The organic unity of the whole Bible has been especially insisted upon by Hofmann of Erlangen, Delitzsch, and others of their school. This is a further unfolding of the organic principle of Schleiermacher, and the revival in another form of the Puritan principle wrapt up in the covenant theology, and which has worked through the schools of Cocceius and the Pietists, to attach itself to the scientific principles of exegesis that have thus far been developed. The school of Hofmann claim the principle of the history of redemption[3] as the highest attainment of Hermeneutics. This insisting above all upon interpreting Scripture as one divine book giving the history of redemption is the

[1] *Studien und Krit.*, 1830, p. 421; see also his *Grundriss d. N. T. Herm.*, 1817.

[2] See Klausen in *l.c.*, p. 311; Immer in *l.c.*, p. 66; Reuss in *l.c.*, p. 605.

[3] See Volck, in Zöckler, *Handb.*, p. 661 *seq.*; Hofmann, *Bib. Herm.*, Nord. 1880.

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restatement of the Puritan principle of the gradual revelation of the covenants of grace. The variety of the Bible is better understood in relation to its unity, and when the genesis of its revelation of redemption is made more prominent.

Francis Roberts already states the principle admirably:

"Still remember how Jesus Christ is revealed in Scripture, gradually in promises and covenants, till the noon-day of the gospel shined most clearly. . . . For (1) God is a God of order; and He makes known His gracious contrivances orderly. (2) Christ, and salvation by Him are treasures too high and precious to be disclosed all at once to the church. (3) The state of the church is various; she hath her infancy, her youth, and all the degrees of her minority, as also her riper age; and therefore God revealed Christ, not according to his own *ability of revealing*, but according to the churches *capacity of receiving*. (4) This gradual revealing of Christ suits well with our condition in this world, which is not perfect, but growing into perfection, fully attainable in heaven only. Now this gradual unveiling of the covenant and promises in Christ, is to be much considered throughout the whole Scripture; that we may see the wisdom of God's dispensations, the imperfections of the churches condition here, especially in her minority; and the usefulness of comparing the more dark and imperfect with the more clear and complete manifestation of the mysteries of God's grace in Christ."[2]

[1] *l.c.*, p. 10.

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CHAPTER XIX

THE PRACTICE OF INTERPRETATION OF HOLY SCRIPTURE

HOLY SCRIPTURE is composed of a great number of different kinds of literature. As such it is a part of the literature of the world, having features in common with all other literatures, and also features peculiar to itself. From these circumstances arise the fundamental principles of interpretation. Biblical interpretation is a section of general interpretation. Here all students of the Bible are on common ground. Rationalistic, evangelical, scholastical, and mystical, — they should all alike begin here. This is the broad base on which the pyramid of exegesis is to rise to its apex. It is the merit of Schleiermacher that he clearly and definitely established this fundamental relation. From general interpretation arises:

I. GRAMMATICAL INTERPRETATION

Holy Scripture is written in human languages. These languages contain the scripture which is to be studied. There is no other way than to master them, and thoroughly understand their grammar.[1]

> "Only the philologist can be an interpreter. It is true that the office of interpretation requires more than mere philology, or an acquaintance with language; but all those other qualifications that may belong to it are useless without this acquaintance, whilst on the contrary, in very many cases nothing more than this is necessary for correct interpretation."[2]

Others than philologists may become interpreters of Scripture by depending upon the labours of philologists in the trans-

[1] See Chap. III.

[2] Planck, *Introduction to Sacred Philology and Interpretation*, trans. and edited by S. H. Turner, Edin., 1834, pp. 140–141.

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lations and expositions that they produce — but without these the originals of Scripture would be as inaccessible as the Hamathite inscriptions, which still defy the efforts of scholars to decipher them.

The great defect of ancient and mediæval interpretation was in the neglect of the grammar of the Bible, and in the dependence upon defective texts of the Septuagint and Vulgate versions.[1] Hence the multitude of errors that came into the traditional exegesis through the Fathers and schoolmen, and became rooted in the history of doctrine and the customs of the Church as evil weeds, so that it has taken generations of grammatical study to eradicate them. It is the merit of Ernesti in modern times that he so insisted upon grammatical exegesis as to induce exegetes of all classes to begin their work here at the foundation. Grammatical exegesis is, however, dependent upon the progress of linguistic studies. There has been great progress in the knowledge of the New Testament Greek: in the study of the dialects, in the comparison of the Greek with its cognates of the Indo-Germanic family of languages, in the science of etymology of words, and still more in the history of the use of words in Greek literature. In the study of the Hebrew language there has been still greater progress. When one traces the history of its study in modern times, and rises from Levita and Reuchlin, through Buxtorf and Castell, Schultens and John Taylor, to Gesenius, Rödiger, and Ewald, Kautzsch, Stade, König, Buhl, Driver, and Francis Brown, one feels that he is climbing to greater and greater heights. The older interpreters, who knew nothing of comparative Shemitic philology, who did not understand the position of the Hebrew language in the development of the Shemitic family, who were ignorant of its rich and varied syntax, who relied on traditional meanings of words, and had not learned their etymologies and their historic growth, lived almost in another world. The modern Hebrew scholars are working in far more extended relations, and upon vastly deeper principles, and we should not be surprised at new and almost revolutionary results.

[1] See pp. 219, 456.

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II. Logical and Rhetorical Interpretations

The second stage of our pyramid of exegesis is logical and rhetorical interpretation. Here also there are general features in common with other literatures, and also features peculiar to Biblical Literature.

(*a*) The laws of thought are derived from the human mind itself. These enable us to determine the value of all thought, to discriminate the true, close, exact reasoning from the inexact and fallacious. It is assumed by some that the Bible is divine in such a sense that it corresponds with these laws of thought exactly and is faultless in its logic. If this be so, it is astonishing that we find so little that is technical, or in the form of logical propositions, in the Bible. Here was the fault of the Jewish Halacha, and the mediæval dialectic, and the modern scholastic use of proof texts. The Bible has been interpreted by the formulas of Aristotle in the Middle Age, and then by the logical methods of the different philosophies in the modern age. These scholastic and philosophical logicians overlook the fact that pure logic is one thing, applied logic another, and the history of its application a third. There are differences in logic as in other things. Human logic is far from infallible. Our modern logic has not remained in the state of innocence, nor has it reached the state of perfection. Certainly there are few, if any, dogmatic divines and philosophers who do not violate its principles and neglect its methods as stated in our logical manuals. Every race has, indeed, its own methods of reasoning. The German and the French minds move in somewhat different grooves. Still more is this the case when we consider the Hebrew and the Greek and the Anglo-Saxon. The biblical writers wrote for the men of their own time and used the forms of thought of the men of their time. It is not sufficient, therefore, to apply logical analysis to the text of the Scripture, as is so often done.[1] The proper use of logical interpretation is to seek for the method of reasoning of the biblical author, — his plan, his scope, his course of argument, and the relation of his methods to those of his contemporaries.

[1] Lange, *Hermeneutik*, p. 43.

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"The Scripture doth not explaine the will of God by universal and scientific rules, but by narrations, examples, precepts, exhortations, admonitions, and promises; because that manner doth make most for the common use of all kinde of men, and also most to affect the will, and stirre up godly motions, which is the chief scope of divinity."[1]

"Language is not the invention of metaphysicians or convocations of the wise and learned. It is the common blessing of mankind, framed for their mutual advantage in their intercourse with each other. Its laws therefore are popular, not philosophical, being founded on the general laws of thought which govern the whole mass in the community. . . . Scarcely will we hear in a long and serious conversation between the best speakers, a sentence which does not need some modification or limitation in order that we may not attribute to it more or less that was intended. Nor is the operation at all difficult. We make the correction instantly, with so little cost of thought that we would be tempted to call it instinct did we not know that many of our perceptions which seem intuitive are the results of habit and education. It would be an exceedingly strange thing, if the Bible, the most popular of all books, composed by men, for the most part taken from the multitude, addressed to all, and on subjects interesting to all, were found written in language to be interpreted on different principles. But, in point of fact, it is not. Its style is eminently, and to a remarkable degree, that which we would expect to find in a volume designed by its gracious Author to be the *people's* book — abounding in all those kinds of inaccuracy which are sprinkled through ordinary discourse; hyperboles, analogies, and loose catachrestical expressions, whose meaning no one mistakes, though their deviation from *plumb*, occasionally makes the small critic sad."[2]

Again, it is an abuse of logical interpretation to regard the biblical writers as all alike logical. Those who take the logical methods of St. Paul as the key to the New Testament, and interpret, by the apostle to the Gentiles, the practical St. Peter and St. James and the mystic St. John, and above all our blessed Lord Jesus Himself, the Son of man, embracing in Himself all the types of humanity for the redemption of all, — do violence to these other writers, rend the seamless robe of the gospel, and do not aid the proper understanding of St. Paul himself. Those

[1] Ames, *Marrow of Sacred Divinity*, London, 1643.

[2] McClelland, *Manual of Sacred Interpretation*, N.Y., 1842, pp. 61–63.

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who would find the key of the Old Testament in the Wisdom Literature, would commit a most unpardonable blunder. How much greater is the sin of those who first insist upon interpreting the epistles of St. Paul in accordance with the analytical principles of modern logic, and then of interpreting all the rest of the New Testament by this interpretation of St. Paul, and then the whole body of the Hebrew Old Testament by this interpretation of the New Testament. In view of such a method, one might inquire, why take all this trouble to *impose* meanings upon such a vast body of ancient literature? It would be far easier and more honest to construct the dogmatic system by logical principles, and leave the Bible to itself. We are not surprised that when and where such methods have prevailed, biblical studies have been neglected and despised.

(*b*) *Rhetorical* interpretation is closely connected with logical. There are common features of rhetoric that belong to all discourse, and there are special features which are peculiar to the Biblical Literature. The Bible has been tested and interpreted too often, after Greek, German, French, and English models. We have to discriminate in the Bible the more logical parts from the more rhetorical parts. The fault of the Halacha and scholastic methods was in their overlooking the rhetorical features of the Bible. The fault of the Haggada and allegorical methods was in overlooking the logical. In rhetorical exegesis it is essential to discriminate poetry from prose, the different kinds of poetry and prose from each other, the style of each author, as well as the literary peculiarities of the people and race which produced the Bible. Here is a field of study which promises still greater rewards to those who will pursue it,[1] and it will prove of especial richness to the homilist and catechist.

III. Historical Interpretation

Thus far all parties work in common. As we rise to the higher stage of historical interpretation there arise differences between the rationalistic and supernaturalistic interpreters, owing to certain presuppositions with which they approach the

[1] See Chap. XIII.

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Bible. There are different conceptions of history. The supernaturalistic interpreters recognize the supernatural element as the determining factor; the rationalistic interpreters endeavour to explain everything by purely natural laws. Among believers in the supernatural there is also a difference, in that some are ever resorting to the supernatural to explain the history, while other more judicious interpreters explain by the natural element until they are compelled by overpowering evidence to resort to the supernatural. Semler has the credit in modern times of laying great stress on the historic interpretation. In historical exegesis we have to recognize that the biblical writers were men of their times and yet men above their times. They were influenced by inspiration to introduce new divine revelations, and to revive old truths and set them in new lights; they were reformers, and so came into conflict with the conservatives of their time. Many errors spring up here. The Pharisees interpreted the Old Testament by tradition. The scholastics pursue the same course with reference to the New Testament. The rationalists interpret Scripture altogether by history and natural forces. Here the scholastic and rationalistic interpreters of our times lock horns. They are both alike in error. Tradition is the bastard of history and should be resorted to only when we have no history, and then with caution and suspicion as to its origin. History is to help, not rule; for in the history of redemption the supernatural force shapes and controls history. The true method is to rise from the natural to the supernatural. History has been impregnated with the supernatural. We must not expect to find the supernatural everywhere on the surface. The supernatural comes into play only when the natural is incapable of accomplishing the divine purpose; so it is to be sought when it alone is capable of affording explanation of the phenomena. Then the supernatural displays itself with convincing, assuring force.

Lutz has some admirable remarks here: [1]

"The historico-grammatical method of interpretation has brought out truths which cannot be valued too highly. No book needs more than the Holy Scriptures to be understood in accordance

[1] *Bib. Herm.*, Pforzheim, 1861, 2te Ausg., p. 168.

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with the times in which they were first read. . . . But it is just as true that such an exposition in its one-sidedness limiting itself to grammar and history, entirely loses sight of the peculiar features of the Bible, and would bring about a complete separation between church and exegesis. Thereby the church would be deprived of its light, and exegesis would dig its own grave."

IV. Comparative Interpretation

In rising to comparative interpretation we have to distinguish still further the attitude of interpreters toward the Bible. Supernaturalists come to the Bible as a sacred Canon, an organic whole. Rationalists come to the Bible as a collection of merely human writings. It is the merit of the Puritans, of the Federalists of Holland, and in recent times of the schools of Schleiermacher and Hofmann, that they urged the organic unity of Scripture. It is presumed that writers are consistent, and that writers of the same school are in substantial accord. This is a general presumption derived from the study of all literature. But we must go further and insist that as all the writers of the Bible are of the school of the Holy Spirit and all conspired to give us the complete organism of the Canon, there is a unity and concord that extends throughout the Bible. There is error here on the right and the left. The rationalists regard the Bible as a bundle of miscellaneous and heterogeneous writings. The scholastics regard them as a homogeneous mass. As Lange says:

"We should read the Bible as a *human* book, but not as a *heathen* book; as a divino-human book according to the fact that there is a distinction between elect men of God who walk on the heights of humanity and the populace in the low plains of humanity; as the documents of revelation, which participate throughout in the revelation, the *unicum* among all religious writings."[1]

The rationalists sink the unity in the variety; the scholastics destroy the variety for the sake of the unity. The true position is, that the Bible is a vast organism in which the unity springs from an amazing variety. The unity is not that of a mass of rocks or a pool of water. It is the unity that one finds

[1] *Grundriss d. bib. Hermeneutik*, Heidelberg, 1878, p. 68.

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in the best works of God. It is the unity of the ocean, where every wave has its individuality of life and movement. It is the unity of the continent, in which mountains and rivers, valleys and uplands, flowers and trees, birds and insects, animal and human life combine to distinguish it as a magnificent whole from other continents. It is the unity of the heaven, where star differs from star in form, colour, order, movement, size, and importance, but all declare the glory of God.

V. The Literature of Interpretation

The fifth stage of exegesis is the use of the literature of interpretation. The Bible is the Canon of the Christian Church. What relation does it sustain to the Church? We are separated from the originals by ages. Multitudes of students have studied the Bible, and their labour has not been in vain. As a prince of modern preachers says:

> "In order to be able to expound the Scriptures, and as an aid to your pulpit studies, you will need to be familiar with the commentators: a glorious army, let me tell you, whose acquaintance will be your delight and profit. Of course, you are not such wiseacres as to think or say that you can expound Scripture without assistance from the works of divines and learned men, who have labored before you in the field of exposition. . . . It seems odd, that certain men who talk so much of what the Holy Spirit reveals to themselves, should think so little of what he has revealed to others." [1]

But the question presses itself upon the exegete, how far he is to go in allowing himself to be influenced by the history of exegesis. The Roman Catholic Church makes the literature of the Church itself, the consent of the Fathers, the decision of councils, and the official utterances of the Popes the authoritative expositors of Holy Scripture, to which all other exposition is to be conformed. We have learned from the history of exegesis how cautious we should be with the expositions of the Fathers.[2] We have found the best interpreters using false methods and following false principles. The literature of exegesis is an invaluable help, but this help is negative as well

[1] Spurgeon, *Commenting and Commentaries*, p. 11.

[2] See pp. 447 *seq.*

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as positive. It exhibits a vast multitude of errors that have been exposed, and so prevents us from stumbling into them. It shows us a great number of positions so plainly established and fortified, that it were folly to question them. But at the same time it presents a number of positions so weakly supported that they excite suspicion of their validity; and others, where contests have not resulted in settlement. The literature of exegesis enables us to understand the real state of the questions that have to be determined by the interpreter of the Scriptures. It prevents us from wasting our energies in doing what others have done before us, or in working in barren or unprofitable fields; and it directs us to the fruitful soil of the Bible, the mines to be worked, and the problems to be solved. If it is suicidal for interpretation to limit itself to the exegesis of the Fathers and the schoolmen, it is just as perilous to implicitly follow the Reformers and theologians of the Protestant churches. It would result in our forsaking the interpretation of the Scriptures, and devoting ourselves to the interpretation of the interpreters. In some respects Protestants have been in greater bondage here than Roman Catholics, for Roman Catholics have been held in check only by the authoritative decisions of the Church and the consent of the Fathers, whereas Protestant interpreters have very generally followed the private opinions of Luther, or Calvin, or Knox, or Wesley, or some other. If there is to be a limitation it is safer that such limits should be found in a consensus or official decision than that they should be found in any individual, however great he may be.

Francis Roberts happily says:

> "There must be constant caution that all tongues, arts, histories, translations, and comments be duly ranked in their proper place, in a subserviency under, not a regency or predominancy over the Holy Scriptures, which are to controule them all. For when Hagar shall once usurp over her mistress, it's high time to cast her out of doors till she submit herself." [1]

[1] In *l.c.*, p. 5.

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VI. Doctrinal Interpretation

In rising a stage higher in our pyramid to doctrinal interpretation, we must part company with the Protestant scholastics, for which we have been prepared, as were Abraham and Lot, by previous minor contentions. The Bible contains a divine revelation. The Bible gives the rule of faith. It is to be interpreted in accordance with the analogy of faith. This analogy is the substance of Scripture doctrine found in the plainest passages of Scripture. This was the view of the Reformers. But the scholastics substituted for this internal rule of faith an external rule of faith, — first in the Apostles' Creed, then in the symbols of the churches, and finally in the Reformed or Lutheran, or some other sectarian system of doctrine. And thus the Sacred Scripture became the slave of dogmatic systems. The modern exegete finds a Biblical Theology in the Bible itself which he has learned to carefully distinguish from Dogmatic Theology. He has found that Saint Peter and Saint John and Saint James and Saint Paul were all disciples of Jesus Christ, and have in Him their centre and life; that no one of them can be relied on in the writings attributed to him for a complete statement of Christian doctrine and Christian life, that all have to be comprehended in a large synthesis for a complete understanding of Christianity. The modern interpreter has learned that the Old Testament is an organic whole, in which priests and prophets, sages and poets find their centre and life in the theophanies of God. He has learned that Yahweh and Jesus are one, and that in the Messiah of prophecy and history the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments become an organic whole. With this bringing forth of the internal substance of the Scriptures in its unity and variety, theological exposition finds its satisfaction and delight, and the analogy of faith is harmonized with the principles of interpretation which have prepared the way for its advance and achievements.[1] Francis Roberts saw this in part and stated it fairly well in the seventeenth century.[2]

[1] See Chap. XXIII. [2] *l.c.*, p. 10.

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"Now that we may more successfully and clearly understand Scripture by Scripture, these ensueing particulars are to be observed: (1) *That Jesus Christ our mediator and the salvation of sinners by Him is the very substance, marrow, soul, and scope of the whole Scriptures.* What are the whole Scriptures, but as it were the spiritual swadling cloathes of the Holy child Jesus. (1) Christ is the truth and substance of all the types and shadows. (2) Christ is the matter and substance of the Covenant of Grace under all administrations thereof; under the Old Testament Christ is *veyled*, under the New Covenant *revealed*. (3) Christ is the centre and meeting-place of all the promises, for in him all the promises of God are yea, and they are Amen. (4) Christ is the thing signified, sealed, and exhibited in all the sacraments of Old and New Testaments, whether ordinary or extraordinary. (5) Scripture genealogies are to lead us on to the true line of Christ. (6) Scripture chronologies are to discover to us the times and seasons of Christ. (7) Scripture laws are our schoolmaster to bring us to Christ; the moral by correcting, the ceremonial by directing. And (8) Scripture gospel is Christ's *light*, whereby we know him; Christ's voice, whereby we hear and follow him; Christ's cords of love, whereby we are drawn into sweet union and communion with him; yea it is the power of God unto salvation unto all them that believe in Christ Jesus. Keep therefore still Jesus Christ in your eye, in the perusal of the Scripture, as the end, scope, and substance thereof. For as the sun gives light to all the heavenly bodies, so Jesus Christ the sun of righteousness gives light to all the Holy Scriptures."

VII. Practical Interpretation

In rising now to the highest stage of interpretation — practical interpretation — we part company with the mystics as well as the scholastics. The Bible is a book of life, a people's book, a book of conduct. It came from the living God. It tends to the living God. Here is the apex of the pyramid of interpretation. He who has not reached this stage has stopped on the way and will not understand the Bible. The Bible brings the interpreter to God. We can understand the Bible only by mastering it. We need the master key. No one but the Master Himself can give it to us. It is necessary to know God and His Christ in order to know the Bible. The Scriptures cannot be understood from the outside by grammar, logic, rhetoric,

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and history alone. The Bible cannot be understood when involved in the labyrinth of its doctrines. The Bible is to be understood from its centre — its heart — its Christ. Jesus Christ does not reveal Himself ordinarily aside from the Bible, by new revelations outside of it casting new light upon it from the exterior, as the mystics suppose. But the Messiah is the light-centre of the Scriptures themselves. He is enthroned in them as His Holy of Holies, as was Yahweh in the ancient temple. Through the avenues of the Scriptures we go to find Christ — in their centre we find our Saviour. It is this personal relation of the author of the entire Scripture to the interpreter that enables him truly to understand the divine things of the Scripture. Jesus Christ knew the Old Testament and interpreted it as one who knew the mind of God.[1] He needed no helps to climb the pyramid of interpretation. He ever lived at the summit. The apostles interpreted the Sacred Scriptures from the mind of Christ, read by the Spirit He had given them.[2] We have no such divine help. These who claim such help are mistaken. They mistake the ordinary guidance of the Divine Spirit, always given to the devout Christian, for His extraordinary guidance given to the founders of the Church. They are presumptuous in assuming to rank with the founders of the Church. We cannot use their *a priori* methods, but we may climb toward them. We may have all the enthusiasm of the quest — all the joy of discovery.

It is not necessary for us to complete our studies of the lower stages of exegesis ere we climb higher. The exegete is not building the pyramid. He is climbing it. Every passage tends toward the summit. Some interpreters remain forever in the lowest stages. Others spring hastily to the higher stages and fall back crippled and are flung down to the lowest. The patient, faithful, honest exegete climbs steadily and laboriously to the summit.

The doctrine that the Holy Spirit is the supreme interpreter of Scripture is the highest attainment of interpretation. The greatest leaders of the Church in all ages have acted on this principle, however defective their apprehension of it may have

[1] See p. 442. [2] See p. 443.

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been, and however little they may have consciously used it in the interpretation of the Holy Scripture. It was this consciousness of knowing the mind of the Spirit and having the truth of God that made them invincible. It was Athanasius against the world. With the Divine Truth of the blessed Trinity he was mightier than the world. It was Luther against pope and emperor. He could do no other. The Word of God in his hands and in his heart assured him of forgiveness of sin and justification by faith; and poor, weak man though he was, he was mightier than Church and State combined.

It is this principle "that the supreme judge, by which all controversies of religion are to be determined, and all decrees of councils, opinions of ancient writers, doctrines of men, and private spirits, are to be examined, and in whose sentence we are to rest, can be no other but the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scripture," [1] that made the Puritan faith and life invincible.

Let us cling to it as the most precious achievement of British Christianity; let us raise it on our banners, and advance with it into the conflicts of the day; let us plant it on every hill and in every valley throughout the world; let us not only give the Bible into the hands of men and translate it into their tongues, but let us put it into their hearts, and translate it into their lives. Then will biblical interpretation reach its culmination in practical interpretation, in the experience and life of mankind.

[1] *Westminster Confession*, I. 10.

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CHAPTER XX

HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF BIBLICAL HISTORY

THE historical material contained in Holy Scripture must be tested and verified just the same as all other historical material. Until this historical criticism has done its work, faithfully, thoroughly, and well, the material may have religious value for all who are willing to accept it on the testimony of the Church or because of its religious influence upon themselves or others, but it cannot have any scientific value; it cannot be used as a reliable part of human knowledge.

The historical criticism of biblical history has the same methods and principles as those employed by historical criticism in all other departments. In the study of Holy Scripture these principles and methods should be used reverently, because of the holy character of the material, but with all the more scrupulous thoroughness and accuracy.

The historical material contained in Holy Scripture has been used for many centuries by Jew and Christian, and employed not only for religious purposes but also for historical purposes. But it is only in quite recent times that any serious attempt has been made to study biblical history in a scientific spirit and by the use of historical criticism.

I. THE USE OF BIBLICAL HISTORY PRIOR TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Josephus is the father of Biblical History outside the Bible. In his *Antiquities* (20 books), and *Jewish War* (7 books), he endeavours, as an advocate of the Jewish people, to set forth their history in the most favourable light before the Greek and Roman world of his time. He was an excellent and, indeed,

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brilliant writer and story-teller, but he had no conscience for historical accuracy, and had little interest in the discrimination of truth from error, or fact from fiction. Philo wrote a life of Moses, but it has no historical value; it is altogether allegorical and didactic in its purpose.

Subsequent to Josephus there seems to have been no interest in biblical history among the Jews. Their whole life was in the study and practice of the Law, and the only use the rabbins made of history was to illustrate and enforce the Law. For this purpose they did not hesitate to embellish history and transform it into historic fiction. This method goes back into the Old Testament Canon itself, into the stories of Daniel and Esther, Ruth and Jonah, and even into the Chronicler and the Deuteronomic writers, who idealized the past in order to enforce the historic lessons they would teach.[1] The only historical works used by the Jews until modern times were the *Sedar olam rabba* and *Sedar olam zutta*,[2] which were again and again interpolated in the course of the centuries.

Among Christians the earliest historical efforts were naturally upon the life of Christ and the acts of the apostles. A large number of apocryphal books of this kind were produced, none of which gained extensive recognition. They were full of mythical and legendary material, and were all eventually pushed aside and crowded into oblivion by the canonical Gospels and book of Acts. The orthodox limited themselves to the construction of harmonies and poetical representations of various kinds. The Harmony of Tatian was extensively used in the Eastern Church, and among the Syrians crowded the four Gospels out of use for several generations. The earliest Christian efforts to present biblical history in a more systematic way were those of Hegesippus and Julius Africanus. Hegesippus,[3] in the latter part of the second century, wrote five books of memoirs, the result of his historical investigations at Rome and elsewhere. But only fragments have been preserved. Julius Africanus, of the first half of the third century, wrote five volumes of chronology, which were extant in

[1] See p. 341 *seq.*

[2] See p. 235.

[3] Eusebius, *Church History*, McGiffert's ed., II. 23; IV. 22, pp. 125, 198.

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Jerome's time,[1] but which have perished with the exception of fragments. Eusebius in the fourth century was the chief historian of the ancient Church, the father of Church history. He wrote a chronicle giving the history of the world up to his own times and chronological tables.[2] He takes up into his ecclesiastical history all that was deemed valuable in the earlier writings, and in geographical work laid the foundation for biblical geography.[3]

In the Latin Church the first and chief writer upon biblical history was Sulpicius Severus (*c.* 400 B.C.). He wrote a sacred history in two books. The first book extends from the creation of the world until the exile, in 54 chapters; the second book, from the exile until the martyrdom of Priscillian, in 51 chapters. The story of Christ is told in a single chapter, 27, and the story of the apostles in two chapters, 28–29. There is no discrimination between historic fact and fiction. Judith and Esther and the tales of the Maccabees take their place in the history on the same level as the most important events of the Old and New Testaments. Augustine, in his *de civitate dei*, uses biblical history merely in the interests of Christian doctrine.

In the Middle Ages biblical history was studied for dogmatic or devotional purposes. Many poetical representations were made for the instruction of the people, and ancient harmonies were reproduced and devotional studies were given. The greatest work upon biblical history in all this period was the *Life of Christ*, by Rudolf of Saxony, 1470, which went through many editions. It is innocent of any historic sense, and knows no difference between fact and fable.

II. The Study of Biblical History in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

The Reformation was not a revival of historical studies so much as of literary and dogmatic studies. There were several efforts to study the Gospels and the Pentateuch in a

[1] Jerome. *De viris illustribus*, 63.

[2] χρονικοὶ κανόνες, see McGiffert's Eusebius, 31.

[3] περὶ τῶν τοπικῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν ἐν τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ, translated in the *Onomasticon* of Jerome.

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harmonistic way. The most important works of this kind were the *Gospel Harmonies* of Osiander, 1537, and Chemnitz, 1593; and especially the *Harmony of the Pentateuch* and the *Harmony of the Gospels* by Calvin.

It was not until the middle of the seventeenth century that Biblical History became of interest, and then chiefly from an archæological point of view, because of the increased attention to the study of the Hebrew and Greek languages and antiquities. A great collection of writings of archæological writers from this period was subsequently made by Ugolino.[1]

Scaliger laid the foundations for chronology[2] and Usher[3] wrote an invaluable work upon the chronology of the Old and New Testaments, which has been the basis of all chronological studies until recent times. But other scholars, such as Goodwin,[4] Lightfoot,[5] Selden,[6] Buxtorf,[7] Bochart,[8] and Vitringa,[9] made special investigations in various departments and enlarged the field of historical knowledge. They did not critically sift their material, but they gathered it and arranged it for subsequent sifting by historical criticism.

III. The Study of Biblical History in the Eighteenth Century

In the eighteenth century the conflict between Christianity and Deism, Atheism, and Rationalism, led to a re-investigation of the entire field of biblical history, in which England, France, Holland, Switzerland, and Germany shared. On the one side every effort was put forth to discredit the supernatural in

[1] *Thesaurus antiquitatt. sacra*, 34 vols. folio, Venice, 1744–1769.

[2] *Thesaurus temporum Eusebii*, 1606.

[3] *Annales Vet. et N. Test.*, 2 vols., 1650–1654.

[4] *Moses et Aaron*, 1616.

[5] *Harmony of the Gospels*, 1644–1650; Erubim, 1629; *Acts of the Apostles*, 1645; *Harmony, chronicles, and order of the Old Testament*, 1647; *Harmony, chronicle, and order of the New Testament*, 1655; and especially *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ*, 1658–1664.

[6] *De jure naturali et gentium juxta disciplinam Hebræorum*, 1640; *De successione in pontificatum Hebræorum*, 1638; *De Synedriis*, 1650.

[7] *Synagoga Judaica*, 1604.

[8] *Geographia sacra seu Phaleg et Canaan*, 1646; *Hierozoicon*, 1663.

[9] *Hypotyposes historiæ et chronologiæ Sacræ*, 1698.

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biblical history and to put it in the category of all other ancient histories, and even to depreciate it as a mass of legends and fables. On the other side, every effort was made to defend the supernatural, and even to exaggerate it. A middle course was pursued by a few. These strove to conserve all that was true and real in the history, and to let all that was untrue perish. A terrible sifting went on, and all the material gathered with so much industry in the previous century had to pass through the fire. In England the principal writers of solid merit were Prideaux,[1] Schuckford,[2] Stackhouse,[3] Paley;[4] in France, Basnage,[5] Calmet;[6] in Holland, Reland[7] and Spanheim;[8] in Germany, Buddeus,[9] Waehner,[10] Bengel,[11] Rous,[12] Hess,[13] and Michaelis.[14]

IV. Biblical Historical Criticism in the Nineteenth Century

Toward the close of the eighteenth century, Herder,[15] and especially Eichhorn,[16] laid the foundations for a more historical study of Holy Scripture, and began to use the historical material in the Bible with a genuine historical spirit. They endeavoured to put the biblical writings in the midst of the scenery of the ancient world, and to interpret them with a true understanding of their literary characteristics. They saw the many sources and variety of colours of the historical material;

[1] *The Old and New Testaments Connected*, 1716–1718.
[2] *Sacred and Profane History of the World*, 1728.
[3] *New History of the Holy Bible*, 2 vols., 1732. [4] *Horæ Paulinæ*, 1790.
[5] *Histoire des Juifs depuis Jésus-Christ jusqu'a présent*, 1706.
[6] *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, 1722.
[7] *Antiquitates Sacræ*, 1708; *Palestina ex monumentis*, 1704.
[8] *Opera quatenus complectantur geographiam, chronologiam et historiam sacram*, 1701–1703.
[9] *Hist. eccl. Vet. Test.*, 2 Bde., 1715.
[10] *Antiquitates Hebræorum*, 2 vols., 1701–1703.
[11] *Ordo temporum*, 1741. [12] *Einleitung in d. Bib. Gesch.*, 1770.
[13] *Gesch. d. 3 letzten Lebensjahre Jesu*, 1768; *Apostelgeschichte*, 3 Bde., 1775; *Gesch. der Israeliten*, 12 Bde., 1776–1788.
[14] *Spicilegium geographiae Heb.*, 1769; *Mosaisches Recht*, 6 Bde., 1770–1775.
[15] *Älteste Urkunde des Menschengeschlechts*, 1774.
[16] Eichhorn, *Urgeschichte*, first published in the *Repertorium*, 1779, and afterwards edited by Gabler, 1791, 1793.

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they knew how to appreciate the mythical and legendary material in Holy Scripture, and they endeavoured to reconcile these historical features with their holy character and religious use.

The recognition, by such a preëminent biblical scholar as Eichhorn, of the mythical, legendary, and poetic material in the Holy Scriptures and their use of more ancient documents, gave a new impulse to the study of Biblical History. The study of Biblical History had thus far been unscientific and capricious, both on the side of the Supernaturalists and their Deistic, Atheistic, and Rationalistic opponents. The Supernaturalists were loath to recognize anything like legend and myth, and they were reluctant to admit even poetry and original documents. Their opponents were more concerned to discredit the materials of biblical history than to test their true characteristics.

Thomas Payne may be taken as a representative of the views of the Deists at the close of the century. A few sentences from his famous book may suffice. "It is not the antiquity of a tale that is any evidence of its truth; on the contrary, it is a symptom of its being fabulous; for the more ancient any history pretends to be, the more it has the resemblance of a fable. The origin of every nation is buried in fabulous tradition, and that of the Jews is as much to be suspected as any other."[1] "Speaking for myself, if I had no other evidence that the Bible is fabulous than the sacrifice I must make to believe it to be true, that alone would be sufficient to determine my choice."[2]

Speaking of the immaculate conception he says, "This story is, upon the face of it, the same kind of story as that of Jupiter and Leda, or Jupiter and Europa, or any of the amorous adventures of Jupiter, and shews, as is already stated in the former part of the *Age of Reason*, that the Christian faith is built upon the heathen Mythology."[3]

Speaking of the resurrection he says, "The story of the appearance of Jesus Christ is told with that strange mixture of the natural and impossible that distinguishes legendary tale from fact."[4]

It is evident that Payne, like all his associates and predecessors of the Deistic school of writers, plays fast and loose with tales, legends, and myths, and is destitute of any real scientific or historic interest.

[1] *Age of Reason*, Conway's edition, N.Y., 1896, p. 90.
[2] *l.c.*, p. 90. [3] *l.c.*, p. 153. [4] *l.c.*, p. 169.

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V. The Mythical Hypothesis

Through the influence of Eichhorn a scientific and historic interest began to prevail, and scholars set themselves to work to ascertain how much poetry, fiction, legend, and myth was contained in the Bible, and how the real facts and truths of history could be eliminated therefrom. Many scholars took part in the investigation, but the most comprehensive work was done by De Wette[1] and G. L. Baur.[2] De Wette recognized the poetic, mythical, and legendary material in biblical history, not only in the early history of Israel, but also in the life of Jesus. G. L. Baur was, however, the first to apply the theory of the myth in a thorough-going manner to the explanation of Biblical History. But he, and all others, were outdone by Strauss, who in 1835 used the mythical theory in a most drastic manner for the interpretation of the life of Jesus.

The situation is well described by A. M. Fairbairn:

"Strauss elaborated his hypothesis with extraordinary ingenuity. The air was full of mythological theories. Wolf's *Prolegomena* had started many questions — critical, mythical, religious — as to the Homeric poems and primitive Greece. Niebuhr had carried a new light into the history of ancient Rome. Heyne had enunciated the principle, *A mythis omnis priscorum hominum cum historia tum philosophia procedit;* and he and Hermann had, though under specific differences, resolved mythology into a consciously invented and elaborately concealed science of nature and man. Creuzer had made it a religious symbolism, under which was hidden an earlier and purer faith. Ottfried Müller, in a finer and more scientific spirit, had explained myths as created by the reciprocal action of two factors, the real and ideal, and had traced in certain cases their rise even in the historical period. The same tendence had existed in scriptural as in classical studies. Mythical interpretations had been applied long before to certain sections of the Old Testament. Eichhorn and Baur, Vater and De Wette, had employed it with greater or less freedom and thoroughness. It had even been carried into the New Testament, and made to explain the earlier and later events

[1] *Kritik d. israelitischer Geschichte*, 1806; see also article De Wette in Herzog, *R.E.*, Bd. 17, *s.* 12 *seq.*

[2] *Geschichte der Heb. Nation*, 2 Bde., 1800; *Hebraische Mythologie*, 2 Bde., 1820.

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in the life of Jesus, those prior to the Temptation, and those subsequent to the Crucifixion. Strauss thus only universalized a method which had been in partial operation before; made the myth, instead of a portal to enter and leave the Gospels, a comprehensive name for the whole. In doing so it was not enough to build on old foundations. The enormous extension of the structure needed a corresponding extension of the base. The man could not but fail at the end whose work at the beginning was not simply ill done, but not done at all."[1]

The position of Strauss is thus stated by himself:

"The precise sense in which we use the expression *mythus*, applied to certain parts of the gospel history, is evident from all that has already been said; at the same time the different kinds and gradations of the mythi which we shall meet with in this history may here by way of anticipation be pointed out. We distinguish by the name *evangelical mythus* a narrative relating directly or indirectly to Jesus, which may be considered, not as the expression of a fact, but as the product of an idea of his earliest followers: such a narrative being mythical in proportion as it exhibits this character. The mythus in this sense of the term meets us, in the Gospel as elsewhere, sometimes in its pure form, constituting the substance of the narrative, and sometimes as an accidental adjunct to the actual history. *The pure mythus* in the Gospel will be found to have two sources, which in most cases contributed simultaneously, though in different proportions, to form the mythus. The one source is, as already stated, the Messianic ideas and expectations existing according to their several forms in the Jewish mind before Jesus, and independently of him; the other is that particular impression which was left by the personal character, actions, and fate of Jesus, and which served to modify the Messianic idea in the minds of his people. The account of the Transfiguration, for example, is derived almost exclusively from the former source; the only amplification taken from the latter source being that they who appeared with Jesus on the mount spake of his decease. On the other hand, the narrative of the rending of the veil of the temple at the death of Jesus seems to have had its origin in the hostile position which Jesus, and his Church after him, sustained in relation to the Jewish temple worship. Here already we have something historical, though consisting merely of certain general features of character, position, etc.; we are thus at once brought upon the

[1] A. M. Fairbairn, *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology*, 1893, pp. 241-242.

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ground of the historical mythus. *The historical mythus* has for its groundwork a definite individual fact, which has been seized upon by religious enthusiasm and twined around with mythical conceptions culled from the idea of Christ. This fact is perhaps a saying of Jesus, such as that concerning 'fishers of men' or the barren fig-tree, which now appear in the Gospels transmuted into marvellous histories; or, it is perhaps a real transaction or event taken from his life; for instance, the mythical traits in the account of the baptism were built upon such a reality. Certain of the miraculous histories may likewise have had some foundation in natural occurrences, which the narrative has either exhibited in a supernatural light or enriched with miraculous incidents. All the species of imagery here enumerated may justly be designated as mythi, even according to the modern and precise definition of George, inasmuch as the unhistorical which they embody — whether formed gradually by tradition or created by an individual author — is in each case the product of an *idea.* But for those parts of the history which are characterized by indefiniteness and want of connection, by misconstruction and transformation, by strange combinations and confusion — the natural results of a long course of oral transmission; or which, on the contrary, are distinguished by highly coloured and pictorial representations, which also seem to point to a traditionary origin, — for these parts the term *legendary* is certainly the more appropriate. Lastly. It is requisite to distinguish equally from the mythus and the legend that which, as it serves not to clothe an idea on the one hand, and admits not of being referred to tradition on the other, must be regarded as *the addition of the author,* as purely individual, and designed merely to give clearness, connection, and climax to the representation. It is to the various forms of the unhistorical in the Gospels that this enumeration exclusively refers; it does not involve the renunciation of the *historical* which they may likewise contain." [1]

Strauss recognizes Ullmann [2] as his chief opponent, although many others from all sides attacked him. He was correct in his judgment. Ullmann states that the only thing new in Strauss was that he carried out in detail, more completely and strenuously, the mythical hypothesis which had long been held by others, in general or in some particulars.[3] He shows that Strauss does not sufficiently distinguish between the canonical

[1] Strauss, *The Life of Jesus*, Eng. trans., Vol. I. pp. 85–87.
[2] *Historisch oder Mythisch?* 1838. [3] *l.c.*, *s.* 52.

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and the apocryphal gospels, when he makes the former the first stage of mythical production, and the latter the second stage.[1] He urges that there is a middle way between the denial of the poetic, the legendary, and mythical elements altogether, and the extreme assertion of them by Strauss.[2] He claims that the symbolic is a necessary clothing of the historical in the Christian as in all other religions; that the history of the origin of the Christian religion must, in the very nature of the case, have a different character from that of other ordinary history; that it was a new spiritual creation, in which the extraordinary and even the inexplicable occurs, and that it is accompanied with the religious enthusiasm of its adherents; that the ideal of the divine and perfect everywhere prevails; that there is a rich fulness of new ideas, a new life which clothes itself in the symbolical, the allegorical, and the highest poetry; and that, from this point of view, the life of Jesus is a religious epic of the most glorious character.[3] With a full recognition of all these elements, Ullmann shows that there is no real myth in the life of Jesus as given us in the four Gospels.

> "This real historical point of unity of God and man, this complete presentation of the true life in a perfector of faith, must be given, if, in fact, a kingdom of God was to be founded and mankind won for it. The Church must have a living head and a human exemplar; it could be founded only, if an individual, who bore in himself the creative fulness of the divine life, was really there first of all, as the kernel and the root of the mighty growth which then spread itself out over all peoples."[4]

The result of the contest as to the life of Christ introduced by Strauss was to show that, while there are poetical and symbolical elements in the canonical Gospels, there are no myths whatever. The New Testament uses the mythical element for illustration in the imagery of the apocalypse and in the exhortations of the Epistles.[5] There are no real myths in the New Testament history, but only mythical germs which have been preserved and are used for illustrative purposes.

[1] *l.c.*, *s.* 54. [2] *l.c.*, *s.* 60. [3] *l.c.*, *s.* 73–76.
[4] *l.c.*, *s.* 85. [5] See pp. 333, 348.

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VI. The Legendary Hypothesis

In the discussions of the previous century it had been recognized by the Deistic, Atheistic, and Rationalistic assailants of the Bible that there was a large amount of legendary material in biblical history. Eichhorn, De Wette, and their pupils had also recognized it with sobriety and moderation; but Renan, in 1863, was the first to apply the legendary theory rigorously for an explanation of the life of Jesus as recorded in the Gospels.

Renan states his position thus:

"The historic value which I attribute to the Gospels is now, I think, quite understood. They are neither biographies, after the manner of Suetonius, nor fictitious legends like those of Philostratus; they are legendary biographies. I would compare them with the legends of the Saints, the Lives of Plotinus, Proclus, Isidorus, and other works of the same kind, in which historic truth and the intention of presenting models of virtue are combined in different degrees. Inaccuracy, which is one of the peculiarities of all popular compositions, is especially perceptible in them. Suppose that ten or twelve years ago, three or four old soldiers of the empire had each sat down to write the life of Napoleon from memory. It is clear that their relations would present numerous errors and great discrepancies. One of them would put Wagram before Marengo; another would write without hesitation that Napoleon drove the government of Robespierre from the Tuileries; a third would omit expeditions of the highest importance. But one thing would certainly be realized with a good degree of truth from these artless relations, — the character of the hero, the impression which he made upon those about him. In this view, such popular histories are better than formal, authoritative history. The same thing may be said of the Gospels. Intent solely on setting prominently forth the excellence of the Master, his miracles and his teachings, the evangelists exhibit complete indifference to everything which is not the very spirit of Jesus. Contradictions as to times, places, persons, were regarded as insignificant; for, the higher the degree of inspiration attributed to the words of Jesus, the farther they were from according this inspiration to the narrators. These were looked upon simply as scribes, and had but one rule: to omit nothing that they knew." [1]

[1] Renan, *The Life of Jesus*, Eng. trans., N.Y., 1873, pp. 38, 39.

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Renan made the life of Jesus into a religious romance: and thereby reduced the legendary theory to an absurdity. His own book is the very best reply to his theory. The best historical critics recognize now as they did before, that there is legendary material in biblical history, in the New Testament as well as in the Old Testament; but the legendary theory will not account for biblical history or any important part of it.

The books of Strauss and Renan by the drastic application of their theories to the most sacred of all histories, the life of the Messiah and Saviour of men, did immense service to the cause of Historical Criticism; not only by drawing the attention of Christian scholars to the greatest of all persons and themes, but also by testing the mythical and legendary theories so fully as to lead to the verification by historical criticism of all the essential facts of the life of Jesus, and so establishing a basis for the testing in like manner of the entire field of biblical history. The work of Keim[1] summed up all that was valuable in previous critical investigation. He took an intermediate position, such as had been suggested by Ullmann. He was full of ardour for truth and right, and shows a genuine historical and scientific spirit. The more recent works of Weiss,[2] Beyschlag,[3] and Wendt[4] are built on his foundation. Many lives of Jesus have been published in Great Britain, America, and other countries which have been able, valuable, and useful; but none of them has any independent scientific value when compared with the works above mentioned.

VII. The Development Hypothesis

More permanent contributions to the study of biblical history were made for the New Testament by the greatest of all modern Church historians, Ferdinand Christian Baur, who became the

[1] *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, 3 Bde., 1867–1872.
[2] *Das Leben Jesu*, 2 Bde., 1882. [3] *Das Leben Jesu*, 2 Bde., 1885–1886.
[4] *Die Lehre Jesu*, 2 Bde., 1886–1890.

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founder and leader of the Tübingen School; and for the Old Testament by Wilhelm Vatke, who founded no school and left no disciples, and who received due recognition only shortly before his death. Both of these scholars simultaneously in 1835 applied the doctrine of development of the Hegelian philosophy to the study of biblical history.

Baur took the position that the Pastoral Epistles represented the advocacy of the traditional doctrine and polity of the Church against Gnostics of the second century; and he thus gained a foothold for tracing the origin of Christianity in the conflict of the two chief apostles, Saint Peter and Saint Paul, in the New Testament times, and in the ultimate reconciliation of their disciples. His more developed theory appears in his later works.[1] All study of New Testament history and, indeed, of Church History since that date has depended upon the work of Baur. The chief opponent of Baur was Neander, who recognized several types of apostolic teaching reconciled in a higher unity.[2] About these two great historians most scholars rallied in all subsequent historical investigations. The chief pupils of Baur were Edward Zeller,[3] Albert Schwegler,[4] and Karl Köstlin.[5] The more recent representatives of the school, such as Hilgenfeld,[6] Volkmar,[7] Holsten,[8] and more especially Weizsäcker[9] and Pfleiderer,[10] have learned from the master, but pursue independent and fruitful investigations. The mediating school of Neander was represented by Dorner,[11] Lechler,[12]

[1] *Die sogenannten Pastoralbriefe*, 1835; *Paulus*, 1845; *Lehrbuch d. christlichen Dogmengeschichte*, 1847; *Das Christenthum u. die christliche Kirche in den 3 ersten Jahrhunderten*, 1853.

[2] See p. 578. [3] *Die Apostelgeschichte nach ihrem Inhalt und Ursprung*, 1854.

[4] *Das nachapostolische Zeitalter*, 1846.

[5] Essays in *Theo. Jahrbücher*, 1847–1850.

[6] *Das Urchristenthums in den Hauptwendepunkten seines Entwickelungsganges*, 1855.

[7] *Die Religion Jesu und ihre Entwickelung*, 1857; *Jesus Nazarenus und die erste christliche Zeit*, 1882.

[8] *Zum Evangelium d. Paulus u. d. Petrus*, 1867; *Das Evangelium des Paulus*, 1880.

[9] *Das apostolische Zeitalter*, 1886. [10] *Das Urchristenthum*, 1887.

[11] *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Lehre von der Person Christi von den ältesten Zeiten*, 1839, 2te Aufl., 1845–1856; transl. in English, 1861–1863.

[12] *Das apostolische und das nachapostolische Zeitalter*, 1851, 3te Aufl., 1885.

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Schaff,[1] Fisher,[2] Weiss,[3] Beyschlag,[4] and many others who strove to use all the results of historical science and to construct a biblical history which should be alike altogether Christian and scientific.

An intermediate and independent position was maintained by Hase, whose *Life of Jesus* and *History of the Church* preceded the works of Strauss and Baur. He learned from both and all others, but did not move from his own foundation.

Ritschl was an early adherent of the school of Baur, but he eventually broke with that school and advanced a new theory of apostolic history. In 1850 he came into conflict with Schwegler of the school of Baur in his interpretation of apostolic history, but it was not until 1857 that he broke with the master himself.[5]

The thesis of Ritschl was that Catholic Christianity is a definite stage of the religious idea within the Gentile-Christian sphere, independent of the conditions of Jewish-Christian life and in contrast to the fundamental principles of Jewish Christianity. Yet it is not merely dependent on the authority of Saint Paul, but bases itself on the authority of all the apostles, represented by Saint Peter and Saint Paul, as well as of the Old Testament and the discourses of Christ.[6]

This thesis is an improvement upon Baur, as is recognized by most recent scholars,[7] however much they may differ from the dogmatic principles of Ritschl and his school.

Weizsäcker, Pfleiderer, Harnack, and McGiffert are the chief writers upon apostolic history in recent times. They all build on Baur or Ritschl, or both.

Harnack says: "Only one Gentile Christian, Marcion, understood Paul, and he misunderstood him. The others did not go beyond the appropriation of some particular Pauline teach-

[1] *History of the Apostolic Church*, 1851 (German); 1853 (English); embodied in *History of the Christian Church*, Vol. I. 1882.

[2] *The Beginnings of Christianity*, 1877; *History of Christian Doctrine*, 1896.

[3] *Lehrbuch der bib. Theologie des N. T.*, 1868; *Einleitung in das N. T.*, 1886.

[4] *Die Christologie des Neuen Testaments*, 1866; *Die christliche Gemeindeverfassung im Zeitalter der N. T.*, 1874; *Neutestamentliche Theologie*, 1891.

[5] *Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche*, 1st Aufl., 1850; 2te Aufl., 1857.

[6] *Albrecht Ritschl's Leben*, Bd. I., 1892, *s.* 290.

[7] Pfleiderer, *Die Entwicklung der Prot. Theologie*, 1891, *s.* 284.

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ings, and showed no understanding for the theology of the apostle, so far as there is shown in it the universalism of Christianity as a religion without recourse to moralism, and without explaining away the Old Testament religion." He holds that there are four chief tendencies in the apostolic times and not merely two, the Jewish-Christian and Gentile-Christian, namely: (1) The strictly Jewish, in which the Law must be scrupulously obeyed — Practical Particularism and Nomism. (2) The milder Jewish-Christian, in which the Jewish Christians are required to fulfil the law, the Gentile Christians not, but the two have to be kept apart — Practical Particularism; Universalism in principle. (3) Neither Jew nor Gentile is any longer obligated to the Law. It has been done away with in Christ. Paulinism, Universalism in principle and practice, and Antinominanism. (4) Neither Jew nor Gentile is obligated to the ceremonial Laws, because these are only the shell of the spiritual and moral laws which have been fulfilled in the Gospel — Universalism in principle and practice, spiritualization, and limitation of the Law.[1]

This is logical; but no sufficient evidence is given that it is historical. There is little doubt that there were four parties in the Apostolic Church, but there is no sufficient evidence that they were in such sharp antagonism as this scheme would imply.[2]

Harnack asserts that the Catholic Church of the second century cannot be explained as a development out of the theology of Paul or as a compromise between original apostolic conceptions, and that it is necessary to call in the Hellenistic spirit, which began to stream into the Church before the close of the first century.[3]

Pfleiderer[4] criticises this view of Harnack as a reaction to the view of the older Protestant theologians, who regarded the ancient Church doctrine as a falling away from the apostolic.[5]

[1] *Dogmengeschichte*, 1886, I., *s.* 63–65; *History of Dogma*, transl. from 3d German edition, 1895, I. p. 90.

[2] See pp. 586 *seq.*

[3] *Dogmengeschichte*, I., *s.* 41–42.

[4] *Urchristenthum*, 1887, *s.* iv.

[5] "*Wäre also die hellenistische Denkweise als solche schon eine Verkehrung der christlichen Wahrheit, wie jene Theologen voraszusetzen scheinen, so würde man zu dem seltsamen Schluss kommen müssen, dass die christliche Theologie*

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It was the merit of Bruno Baur,[1] Hatch,[2] and Havet[3] to have called attention to the importance of the Greek element for the explanation of the rise of Christianity; but to Harnack, more than to any one else, is due the working out of the theory. It may be questioned, however, whether he has not exaggerated it, and whether Pfleiderer does not more truly estimate the Greek influence when he represents that the Gentile Christians had already been prepared by the Greek spirit in Hellenistic Judaism for the reception of the teaching of Paul, and that the combination of Paulinism with it was natural and not of the nature of an apostasy or decline from original Christianity.

If this representation of Harnack and his school is a true representation, then there is a discrepancy between the faith and life of the Apostolic Church and the major part of the writings of the New Testament. According to these historians, the New Testament in the main represents the views of Saint Paul and his disciples; for even the writings attributed by tradition to Saint John and Saint Peter are assigned by them to the school of Saint Paul. This being so, few of the New Testament writings, and those the ones least used in the Church, represent the real faith and life of the apostolic age. Where, then, are we to find the teaching of the Twelve, who were trained by the Master Himself, and commissioned by Him, before He ascended to heaven, to be His witnesses, and to be the twelve foundations of the Christian Church? If we have not the teachings of Saint Peter and Saint James and Saint John — the pillars of the Church — in the New Testament, where are we to find them apart from the traditions of the apostolic Sees and the results of their teaching in the faith and life of the local churches which they founded and taught? But if this be so, the New Testament can no longer be regarded as the sole authoritative norm for the Christian Church. It gives us for the most part only the norm of Pauline Christianity, which, as Harnack claims, the Church never

bereits in ihren neutestamentlichen Anfängen von der christlichen Wahrheit abgefallen sei. Mit der unmöglichkeit dieses Schlusses hebt sich jene Theorie von selbst auf." — *l.c.*, *s.* iv.–v.

[1] *Christus und die Cäsaren*, 1877.

[2] *The Organization of the Early Christian Church*, 1881.

[3] *Le Christianisme*, 1884.

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in fact followed, and which was only understood by Marcion, and by him misunderstood. The normal Christianity of the Twelve Apostles is not in the New Testament. If this position is the true one, Protestantism must lay aside the formal principle of the Protestant Reformation and make a still more radical reformation under the guidance of the new interpretation of Saint Paul's Gospel, or else acknowledge that the Roman tradition bears in it the true teaching of Saint Peter and the Twelve, by which even the New Testament and Saint Paul himself must be tested and explained. This theory of apostolic history is in some respects an improvement upon its predecessors, in that it recognizes the real character of Catholic Christianity in the apostolic age, and makes it plain that Saint Paul did not dominate the faith and life of the apostolic age, as has been commonly supposed among Protestants.[1]

But the theory is defective in its interpretation of the Gospel of Saint Paul. He is not the antinomian that they represent him to be. They greatly exaggerate the Epistle to the Galatians as the norm of the theology of Saint Paul. This is all the more unreasonable in connection with the tendency at present to regard this epistle as the earliest of the epistles. The theory is also defective in its neglect of the elements of Saint Peter, Saint James, and Saint John in the New Testament. In fact there are four types of New Testament doctrine, all represented in the New Testament; and Catholic Christianity is a result of the harmonious combination of these types.[2] Hellenistic Judaism, Palestinian Judaism, the Greek and the Roman world, each in its measure contributed elements of influence for the constitution of the doctrine and life of the Apostolic Church; but there is no sufficient evidence that any of them or all of them were able to impair the genuine apostolic types of teaching.

[1] "In dieser Beziehung hat das quantitative Verhältniss der paulin. Literatur zum Ganzen unseres neutest. Kanon irreführend gewirkt, indem man die längste Zeit über auch den Beitrag, welchen der paulin. Lehrbegriff zum Glaubenstand der alten Kirche geliefert haben sollte, nach demselben Maasstabe abschätzte. Und doch ein kirchl. Gemeindebewusstsein, durch und durch angefüllt mit der Gedankenwelt der Pls, zumal, am Anfange der gesammten Enwickelung, eine reine Unmöglichkeit." — H. J. Holzmann, *Lehrb. d. N. T. Theologie*, 1897, I., *s.* 490, 491.

[2] See pp. 538 *seq.*

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It is a common fault of all these later expositions of apostolic history that they exaggerate certain doctrines of Paul which they consider normal, and depreciate the importance of all others, and that they neglect to a large extent the events and facts of apostolic history as recorded in the New Testament. They reverse the relative proportions of doctrine and life as found in the Gospels and book of Acts.

The new impulse to the study of the Old Testament history given by Vatke produced little effect at the time. The school of Hengstenberg was zealous for traditional views of the history, and Vatke's position was too theoretical and too little grounded in genuine literary or historical criticism to be convincing. The school of Hengstenberg reached its goal and end in Keil. Ewald,[1] in his massive work on Biblical History, organized the discipline in a scientific form and with extraordinary richness of material, gathered from the treasures of a lifetime of study. Ewald recognized, with the insight of genius, the documentary, poetic, legendary, and even mythical sources in biblical history; but he also saw the facts and events and truth that were involved in them. He hesitates, however, to use the term "myth" because, as he says, the Greek name "mythus" is inseparably connected with the entire nature of heathenism, and is not "*Gottessage*," but "*Göttersage*." He prefers to use for the mythical element "*heiliger* oder besser *Gottessage*." All subsequent work on the Old Testament history is built on Ewald. The school of Ewald was represented in Great Britain by Stanley,[2] whose work exerted a wide influence, and had a wholesome effect.

Julius Wellhausen first applied the development hypothesis of Vatke to the entire Old Testament history, and reconstructed it accordingly.[3] The most elaborate work in the same essential direction is the history of Stade.[4] The school of Ewald is still represented by the work of Kittel.[5] Kent has recently pub-

[1] *Geschichte d. Volkes Israel*, 7 Bde., 3te Ausg., 1864–1868.

[2] *History of the Jewish Church*, 3 vols., 1863–1879.

[3] Wellhausen himself says: "*Meine Untersuchung ist breiter angelegt als die Graf's und nähert sich der Art Vatke's von welchem letzteren ich auch das Meiste und Beste gelernt zu haben bekenne.*" — *Geschichte Israels*, 1873, *s.* 11.

[4] *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 2 Bd., 1887, 1888.

[5] *Geschichte der Hebräer*, 1888–1892.

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lished a brief history of the Hebrew people,[1] in a true scientific spirit, but without the extravagance of Wellhausen and Stade. He may be classed with Kittel. All these recent scholars attempt to give us a history of Israel rather than a biblical history.

A more conservative position has been taken by Köhler,[2] who has yet not been able to escape severe criticism from the still more conservative men remaining in the German pulpits.

An able work upon the history of the Jews was written by Grätz, a Hebrew scholar of the first rank, with an excellent historical sense and a rich gathering of material.[3]

The history of Jost[4] is chiefly devoted to the history of the Jews subsequent to the destruction of Jerusalem, and is of little importance for biblical history.

VIII. Advance in Several Departments of Biblical History

In the meanwhile a new department of biblical history sprang into being, and had a rapid development. This was made necessary by the wonderful increase of the knowledge of ancient Greece and Rome, and more especially of the historic monuments of Egypt, Babylon, and Assyria. The first to organize this branch of history into a discipline was Schneckenburger. He defines the discipline in his posthumous lecture, 1862, as the Contemporaneous History, the historical frame for the history, the outer ground on which it moves, or the history of the time in which the events occur. He limits himself to the New Testament, and divides his subject into two parts: (1) The state of affairs in the Roman Empire, especially with reference to religions. (2) Judaism of the New Testament times.[5]

[1] *History of the Hebrew People*, 1896.

[2] *Lehrbuch der biblischen Geschichte des A. T.*, 2 Bde., 1875 *seq.*

[3] *Geschichte der Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart*, 11 Bde., 2te Aufl., 1864–1870.

[4] *Geschichte des Judenthums*, 3 Bde., 1857–1859.

[5] Schneckenburger, *Vorlesungen über Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, 1862: "*Die Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte ist zu unterscheiden von der Neutestamentlichen Geschichte. Sie ist die gleichzeitige Geschichte, gleichsam der historische Rahmen für dieselbe, der äussere Boden, auf welchen sich die Neutestamentliche Geschichte fortbewegt, oder Geschichte der Zeit, in welcher die Neutestamentlichen Begebenheiten vorfielen.*"

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Bertheau[1] had paved the way for this discipline in the Old Testament in 1842, in his dissertation on the inhabitants of Palestine from the most ancient times until the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. The contemporary history of the New Testament was further advanced by Hausrath,[2] Edersheim,[3] and especially by Schürer[4] and O. Holtzmann[5]; but no scholar has as yet organized this department for the Old Testament, although a large amount of preparatory work has been done in the study of the archæology and history of Babylonia, Assyria, Egypt, Phœnicia, Persia, and the other ancient nations, who were involved more or less in the history of Israel.

Some of these workers have, by their sound judgment, careful sifting of the material, and scientific use of the methods of historical criticism, made important contributions to our knowledge of the history of the Oriental nations and have thrown much light upon biblical history. Especially deserving of mention are: Schrader,[6] George Smith,[7] Lenormant,[8] W. Robertson Smith,[9] Francis Brown,[10] Ebers,[11] Erman,[12] Baudissin,[13] Baethgen,[14] Tiele,[15] McCurdy.[16]

Others have discredited Oriental archæology by hasty conjectures, by unscientific methods of using their material, by

[1] *Zur Geschichte der Israeliten*, 1842.

[2] *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, 3 Theile, 1868–1874.

[3] *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, 2 vols., 1883.

[4] *Lehrbuch der Neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte*, 1874; *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, 1886–1890.

[5] *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, 1895.

[6] *Die Keilinschriften und das A. T.*, 1872; 2te Aufl., 1883; translated into English, 2 vols., 1885–1886.

[7] *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*, 1876.

[8] *The Beginnings of History according to the Bible and the Traditions of Oriental Peoples*, translated from the 2d French ed., 1882.

[9] *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, 1885; *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 1889.

[10] *Assyriology, its Use and Abuse in Old Testament Study*, 1885.

[11] *Aegypten und die Bücher Moses*, I., 1868.

[12] *Aegypten und ägyptisches Leben im Alterthum*, 1885–1887; English ed., 1892.

[13] *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, 1876–1878.

[14] *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, 1888.

[15] *Gesch. v. d. Godsdienst.*, 1876; translated as *Outlines of the History of Religion*, 3d ed., 1884; *De vrucht der Assyriologie voor de vergelijkende geschiedenis der Godsdiensten*, 1877.

[16] *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, 3 vols., 1894 *seq.*

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unscrupulous striving for popularity, by the hasty publication of any possible illustration of biblical narratives or any possible verification of biblical material. Among these may be mentioned: Vigouroux,[1] Sayce,[2] and Hommel.[3]

Biblical geography has been greatly advanced in the present century. Reland[4] summed up all previous knowledge of Palestine, and laid the foundations of the discipline in 1714. But Edward Robinson is the father of modern biblical geography. He made a personal investigation of the greater part of the Holy Land in two expeditions, the one in 1837, the other in 1852, and published the results in three monumental volumes.[5] The most important systematic work on the subject was published by Carl Ritter,[6] 1848–1855.

The work of Robinson was followed up by Tobler,[7] De Saulcy,[8] Sepp,[9] Guérin,[10] Stanley,[11] Tristram,[12] Merrill,[13] Wetzstein,[14] Palmer,[15] Arnaud,[16] Thomson,[17] Trumbull.[18]

A new impulse to the study of biblical geography was given by the Palestine Exploration Societies, established in England, the United States, and Germany. The American society had

[1] *La Bible et les découvertes modernes*, 4 Tom., 3d ed., 1881.

[2] *The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments*, 1894; *The Early History of the Hebrews*, 1897.

[3] *The Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, 1897.

[4] *Palæstina ex monumentis veteribus illustrata*, 1714.

[5] *Biblical Researches in Palestine and in the Adjacent Regions*, 3 vols., Boston, 1841, 2d ed., 1860; *Later Biblical Researches in Palestine and in the Adjacent Regions*, 2d ed., 1857; *Physical Geography of the Holy Land*, 1865.

[6] *Vergleichende Erdkunde der Sinaihalbinsel, von Palästina und Syrien*, 4 Bde., 1848–1855; trans. by Gage, 4 vols., 1866.

[7] *Bethlehem in Palästina*, 1849; *Golgotha*, 1851; *Die Siloaquelle*, 1852; *Zwei Bücher Topographie von Jerusalem*, 2 Bde., 1853–1854; *Dritte Wanderung nach Palästina*, 1857; *Ritt durch Philistäa*, 1859; *Nazareth*, 1868; *Bibliographia Geographica Palestinæ*, 1867; *Descriptiones Terræ Sanctæ*, 1874.

[8] *Voyage en Terre Sainte*, 2 Tom., Paris, 1865; *Jerusalem*, 1882.

[9] *Jerusalem und das Heilige Land*, 2 Bde., 2te Aufl., 1873–1876.

[10] *Description geographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine*, 3 Tom., 1868–1880.

[11] *Sinai and Palestine*, in connection with their history, new ed., 1883.

[12] *The Topography of the Holy Land*, 1876; *The Land of Israel*, 2d ed., 1866; *The Land of Moab*, 1873.

[13] *East of the Jordan*, 1875–1877; new ed., 1883.

[14] *Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen*, 1860.

[15] *Desert of the Exodus*, 1871.

[16] *La Palestine*, 1868.

[17] *The Land and the Book*, 1864.

[18] *Kadesh Barnea*, 1884.

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a brief life, but the English and German societies have had a long and fruitful life. The results of their researches appear from time to time in their journals.[1] The English society has also published many volumes and maps, and has accomplished a complete survey of Western Palestine.[2]

In recent years the most valuable contributions have been made by Socin,[3] George Adam Smith,[4] and Gautier.[5]

IX. The Results of Historical Criticism

It is safe to say that the Bible has become a new book to the modern scholar, as the result of all these historical studies and the researches of Historical Criticism. The material has been in large part sifted and has been scientifically arranged. The more external side of Biblical History has naturally received the greatest attention in recent years. More work has been done in Biblical History since 1835 than in all the previous centuries combined. The history of Israel has been distinguished from the Contemporary History.[6] It is now necessary to lift the more internal Biblical History into its high position and supreme importance.[7]

Let any one compare the new Biblical History in its several branches with the Biblical History of thirty years ago, and he will not fail to notice that, to all intents and purposes, the Biblical History we now have is new.

The older history is full of traditional material which overlays and overrides the real history contained in the Old Testament. It fails to take account of the points of view of the parallel narratives of the chronicler and the prophetic histories. It does not distinguish the documents which underlie the

[1] *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statements*, 1869 to date; *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästin. Vereins*, 1876 to date; *Palestine Exploration Society Statements*, 1871–1877.

[2] *The Survey of Western Palestine*, special papers, 1881; *Arabic and English Name Lists*, 1881; *Memoirs of the Typography, Orography, Hydrography, and Archæology*, 3 vols., 1881–1883; *The Fauna and Flora of Palestine*, 1884.

[3] In several editions of Bädeker's *Palästina und Syrien*, 3d ed., 1891.

[4] *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, 1894.

[5] *Souvenirs de Terre-Sainte*, 1898.

[6] See p. 534.

[7] See p. 538.

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prophetic histories, and note the varying representations of the same events involved therein. It does not estimate the four great documents of the Hexateuch, and knows nothing of the development of Hebrew institutions and codes of law. It does not see the light which shines on the history in its different epochs from the prophets, the psalmists, and the sages. It treats all the legends and stories of the imagination as if they were narratives of real events. It overloads certain periods with a literature which does not belong to them, and thus lights them with illusive and delusive colours. It deprives other periods of the literature which belongs to them, and so makes biblical blanks. Cheyne has called attention to the very great difference between the David of the historical books and the traditional David interpreted by the Psalter.[1]

A still greater difference is to be found between the history of the Exodus contained in the narratives of the Exodus and that same history when read with the variegated colours of all the institutions and laws of the Pentateuch. The exile, which has no historical narrative to unfold its lessons, is a time of dense darkness when tradition deprives it of its literature; but when filled up with a literature which belongs to it, gathered about Ezekiel and the author of the Book of Comfort of Isaiah 40–66, it is seen abounding in prophets and psalmists and sages and priestly scribes; it becomes eloquent with historic meaning. There is truly a biblical blank, enduring for centuries, if we make the Canon close with Malachi and the history with the work of Nehemiah; but if we see that a large portion of the literature of the Old Testament dates from the Persian, Greek, and Maccabean periods, all subsequent to the exile, and view the history in the light of this literature, the biblical blank has disappeared; the gap of centuries is filled up, and the history of redemption goes right on in prophetic succession, in glorious continuity, until the advent of our Lord and Saviour.

The history contained in the Old Testament has ever accomplished its redemptive purpose by its sacred facts and lessons. But when that history has been taken from the sacred writings and worked up with ill-founded traditions and crude theories

[1] *Aids to the Devout Study of Criticism*, 1892, pp. 16 *seq.*

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and speculations into those so-called biblical histories which have been used in our schools and families until the present time, we ought not to be surprised that the real biblical history, as disclosed by historical criticism, should differ still more from them than the modern histories of Greece and Rome, or even of Britain and America, differ from those used in the early years of our century. It makes an immense difference whether we look at the history of the Bible through the spectacles of tradition, or with the microscope of criticism; whether we study it in the light of speculative dogma, or in the light of the ancient monuments of Assyria and Babylonia, of Egypt and of Palestine. It makes an immense difference whether we study it under the cloud of the pessimistic theory that it gives us a series of backslidings; or in the sunshine of the knowledge that the whole history is the march of a redeemed nation under the banner of their King and their God, ever onward and forward toward the goal of redemption in the Messianic age. The pessimistic theory of biblical history which has so widely prevailed in Great Britain and America, and which still lingers, makes the times of the conquest of Palestine under Joshua and the subsequent barbaric times of the Judges, the Golden Age, from which all the rest of the history is a falling away into ever increasing sin and depravity.

To the modern historical criticism of the Bible, the times of Samuel and David were higher and better than those of Moses, but the times of Hezekiah and Joshua were higher still. The Exile was a higher discipline and more productive of religious and moral teaching than the Exodus. The restoration under Zerubbabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah vastly transcended the conquest of Joshua and his successors. The Maccabees were greater heroes than the Judges, and the Maccabean age vastly richer in holy literature and in holy deeds. The older writers made biblical history a funeral march and the book of Lamentations its appropriate dirge. The newer criticism sees that biblical history is the victorious march of the kingdom of God, and the sixty-eighth psalm is its hymn.

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CHAPTER XXI

THE PRACTICE OF HISTORICAL CRITICISM

THE principles and methods of historical criticism when applied to Holy Scripture are essentially the same as those applied to all other historical documents. The older historical criticism was greatly hampered by its lack of knowledge of the documents. This was true when the great impulses of the modern historical criticism of biblical history was started. But now through the researches of the Higher Criticism the documents have been in great measure correctly estimated and arranged. The poetic elements of the Bible have also for the most part been defined and separated. The history of Hebrew legislation is now quite well known. The chief work that historical criticism has still to do is to eliminate more carefully the myth and the legend, and to determine the historical elements involved therein; and then to study the historic material in order to determine its origin, its historical evolution and its results, its genuineness, and its reliability. There are thus three great departments of historical criticism: 1. Genesis of the material. 2. Genuineness. 3. Reliability.

I. GENESIS OF HISTORICAL MATERIAL

It is first necessary, as regards the biblical historical material, to determine, so far as possible, its genesis; that is, its origin, its stages of development, and the changes that have taken place in this development. We have studied the question of integrity as applied to the documents;[1] we have now to study it as regards the material contained in the documents.

[1] See pp. 92, 309 *seq.*

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1. *Biblical Chronology*

The book of Genesis gives us a chronology of the antediluvians. There are three different statements of the numbers: that of the Massoretic text, that of the Samaritan codex, and that of the Septuagint version. We cannot determine the origin of these numbers; but we may by a study of these versions ascertain something about their development, and so work back toward their origin. It will be sufficient to cite two recent scholars.

"Thus we have three different lengths assigned for the period from the creation of man to the Flood. The numbers of the Heb. text have generally been regarded as the original, although recently those of the Sam. have been defended by Dillmann and Budde. The LXX text, however, was accepted by the Hel. Jews and the early Christian Church, and has found defenders among certain Eng. scholars (Hales, Jackson, Poole, Rawlinson, and others), who have looked upon it with favour as furnishing a chronology more in accord with the antiquity of man than that of the Heb. text. But these numbers, whichever table may be regarded as the original, cannot, in any case, be accepted as historical, and hence for a real chronology of the early ages of man they are valueless. To accept them as genuine is to assume from the creation of man a degree of civilization high enough to provide a settled calendar and a regular registration of births and deaths, and the preservation of such records from the creation of man to the time of the composition of Gn. All that is known of primitive antiquity is against such a supposition. The art of writing was not then known; and however tenacious may have been the memory of man it is doubtful whether language then possessed the requisite terminology for the expression of such lapses of time. Man also has been upon the earth for a far longer period than that given even by the LXX chronology. The conjectural character of the table of Gn. 5 may be also recognized from the variations of the three texts. Such liberties would probably not have been taken with figures supposed to rest upon authentic historical documents. The sacred writer chose the form of a genealogical table to represent the early period of the world's history. The number of the patriarchs, *ten*, is a common one in the lists of the prehistoric rulers or heroes of many peoples. It appears at once to be a suggestion from the ten fingers."[1]

[1] F. Brown, "Chronicles," in *Dictionary of the Bible*, 1898, Vol. I. p. 397.

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"It seems more candid and natural to admit that Israelite tradition, like the traditions of other races, in dealing with personages living in prehistoric times, assigned to them an abnormally protracted period of life. Hebrew literature does not, in this respect, differ from other literature. It preserves the prehistoric traditions. The study of science precludes the possibility of such figures being literally correct. The comparative study of literature leads us to expect exaggerated statements in any work incorporating the primitive traditions of a people."[1]

Sayce is radical as usual. He says: "We can learn nothing, accordingly, from the books of the Old Testament about the chronology of Israel down to the time of David."[2] There is no justification for such an extreme statement.

2. *The History of the Chronicler*

The history of the Chronicler is based upon a midrash,[3] or illustrative use, of the earlier history contained in the books of Samuel and Kings. We may thus trace the development of the historical material back from the Chronicler to the book of Kings, and then strip off the accretions of the Deuteronomic writers and find the original Judaic or Ephraimitic story. As to the historical value of the numbers and names of Chronicles, I shall quote Francis Brown, G. B. Gray, and E. L. Curtis.

"The late date of Ch. presumably hinders it from being a historical witness of the first order. It could be so only if its sources were demonstrably such. But it has no sources certainly older than the canonical S. and K.; its chief source is probably much later. An interval of 250 or 300 years separates it from the last events recorded in K. In all cases of conflict, then (see the examples above), preference must be given to S. and K. The obvious special interests of Ch. also (see above) are not to its advantage as a simple witness to facts. Intrinsic probability points the same way in many instances (see especially *Comparison D*, Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 16, 20, and Driver, Bertheau, Oettli, etc., on the passages); this holds true of the huge numbers of Ch. as well."[4]

[1] Herbert Edward Ryle, *The Early Narratives of Genesis*, 1892, p. 87.
[2] *The Early History of the Hebrews*, 1897, p. 146.
[3] See pp. 329 *seq.*
[4] F. Brown, "Chronicles," in *Dictionary of the Bible*, 1898, Vol. I. p. 395.

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"From the inaccuracy of some of the biblical numbers, and from the symmetry of their sum, it is not improbable that missing lengths of the reigns of some kings were supplied by conjecture, so as to make the duration of the N. kingdom 240 years, and the interval between the founding of the two temples 480 years. Such an arrangement would be helpful to the memory and analogous to reckonings of the early periods of the world and of Israel, and such an arrangement also finds a counterpart in the genealogy of Jesus in Mt., where the generations are reduced to three series of 14 each. But, taking the biblical data as a whole for this period, they do not present sufficient symmetry to be entirely or mainly artificial. Errors doubtless crept into lists of reigns, and the lengths of some probably were not preserved, and hence were supplied by conjecture." [1]

"To summarize the bearing of the names on the question of the Chronicler's sources: to a certain extent, though a comparative small one, the Chronicler availed himself, directly or indirectly, of trustworthy sources of early periods now no longer extant; this is most conclusively shown by the personal genealogies of 1 Chr. 2^{34-41}, 8^{33-40}, less conclusively suggested by other passages, *e.g.* 1 Chr. 27^{25-31}; but in many cases his sources were thoroughly unhistorical, *e.g.* in 1 Chr. 4^{34-41}, and, if he is there dependent on a source at all, in 1 Chr. 24–27 (except 27^{25-31})." [2]

3. *The Naming of Saint Peter*

The Gospels give several reports as to the naming of Saint Peter. Saint Mark gives an account of the appointment of the Twelve. The first name that appears is "Simon he surnamed Peter." [3] In the Gospel of Matthew this passage of Saint Mark is used and is given as "The first, Simon, who is called Peter." [4] In the Gospel of Luke it is also cited in the form, "Simon, whom he also named Peter." [5] Saint Luke agrees with Saint Mark. If we depended on these two Gospels alone, it would be most natural to suppose that Jesus gave Simon the name Peter when the Twelve were appointed. But Matthew modifies the statement of Luke in order to make it consistent with its report of the naming of Saint Peter which, according to it, took place

[1] E. L. Curtis, "Chronology of Old Testament," in the *Dictionary of the Bible*, 1898, Vol. I. p. 403.

[2] G. Buchanan Gray, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names*, 1896, p. 242.

[3] Mk. 3^{16}. [4] Mt. 10^{2}. [5] Lk. 6^{14}.

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at a much later date in connection with Saint Peter's recognition of Jesus as the Messiah.

> "And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jonah: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I also say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it. I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."[1]

These words of Jesus to Saint Peter are given only in Matthew. They are inserted in a narrative which Matthew and Luke both derive from Mark, and therefore must be regarded as coming from the author of our Gospel of Matthew. The question then arises, where did it get this word of Jesus? But before this question is discussed, we have to notice that the naming of Saint Peter by Jesus is given by John in still another connection, namely, when Saint Andrew, the disciple of Saint John the Baptist, brings him to Jesus.

> "One of the two that heard John *speak*, and followed him, was Andrew, Simon Peter's brother. He findeth first his own brother Simon, and saith unto him, We have found the Messiah (which is, being interpreted, Christ). He brought him unto Jesus. Jesus looked upon him, and said, Thou art Simon, the son of John: thou shalt be called Cephas (which is by interpretation, Peter)."[2]

It is evident that the Gospels give three entirely different times in which the naming occurred. There was no fixed tradition as to the exact time. Mark and Luke are against the time of Matthew, and all three against the time of John. They all agree, however, in the fact of the naming.

The story of John seems to belong to the original Hebraistic source of the Gospel. The Aramaic *Messiah* and *Cephas* are explained by the Greek terms *Christ* and *Peter*.

The preceding recognition of Jesus as the Messiah is common to this narrative and to Matthew. Such a recognition is incredible at so early a date as John gives it. It is more appropriate at the date when Matthew gives it. Such a recognition

[1] Mt. 16^{17-19}. [2] John 1^{40-42}.

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at the later date is confirmed by Luke, and especially by Mark. The date of Matthew and the circumstances given by Matthew are more probable. But it is by no means certain that the naming occurred at so early a date as Matthew gives for it. It is difficult to understand why Mark and Luke should not have mentioned it in that connection. The words of Jesus, according to Matthew, bear on their face the traces of later conceptions. It is quite certain that Jesus said, "my Father," and "kingdom of God," and not "my Father which is in heaven," or "kingdom of heaven," both of which expressions are peculiar to Matthew.[1] It is extremely probable that Jesus did not use the Aramaic equivalent for "ecclesia" = church, and that Pauline[2] influence is responsible for the substitution of "church" for an original word of Jesus, which was probably "kingdom," or "house." This is more consistent with the opposing "gates of Hades," the imagery of building on a rock, and the use of "keys"; and also with the subsequent use of the imagery by Saint Peter and Saint Paul.[3] It seems altogether probable that underlying the Word, as our Matthew gives it, is a logion, and that the author of the Gospel derived it from the Logia, and gave it the place in the Gospel which seemed to him most appropriate. There is no safe clue for the date of the naming, but the naming itself is made certain by the three stories relating to it, which are so discrepant as to show independent historical sources. The Word given by Matthew stands alone without external support; but if a logion really underlies it, the substance of the Word is sustained by the primitive Logia of Saint Matthew. And the substance of the logion is also sustained by the intrinsic meaning of the word Cephas, Peter, and the consistency of the name with his historic position as the primate of the apostles, not only during the ministry of our Lord, but also in the apostolic age of the Church.

[1] See Briggs, *Messiah of Gospels*, pp. 78–79, 198, 203.
[2] See Briggs, *Messiah of Gospels*, pp. 190 *seq.*
[3] 1 Pet. 2^{4} *seq.*; Eph. 2^{20-22}.

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4. *The Speaking with Tongues at Pentecost*

The great importance of this phase of historical criticism justifies another illustration taken from the book of Acts; namely, the story of the speaking with tongues at Pentecost. I shall first quote McGiffert.

"From various passages in the New Testament we learn that a peculiar gift, known as the 'gift of tongues,' was very widely exercised in the apostolic church, and the fourteenth chapter of Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians makes the general nature of the gift sufficiently plain. It was evidently the frenzied or ecstatic utterance of sounds ordinarily unintelligible both to speakers and to hearers, except such as might be endowed by the Holy Spirit with a special gift of interpretation.[1] The speaker was supposed to be completely under the control of the Spirit, to be a mere passive instrument in his hands, and to be moved and played upon by him. His utterances were not his own, but the utterances of the Spirit, and he was commonly entirely unconscious of what he was saying. He was not endowed with the power to speak in foreign tongues; his words were divine, not human words, and had no relation whatever to any intelligible human language. It was not unnatural, therefore, that the speaker should appear demented to an unbelieving auditor, as Paul implies was not infrequently the case.[2] But his ecstatic utterances, inspired as it was believed by the Holy Ghost, were regarded by his fellow-Christians as spiritual utterances in an eminent sense. The 'speaking with tongues' constituted, in the opinion of a large part of the church, the supreme act of worship, — the act which gave the clearest evidence of the presence of the Spirit and of the speaker's peculiar nearness to his God. No other gift enjoyed by the early church so vividly reveals the inspired and enthusiastic character of primitive Christianity. It was apparently this 'gift of tongues' with which the disciples were endowed at Pentecost, and they spoke, therefore, not in foreign languages, but in the ecstatic, frenzied, unintelligible, spiritual speech of which Paul tells us in his First Epistle to the Corinthians. That the Pentecostal phenomenon is thus to be regarded not as something unique, but as the earliest known exercise of the common gift of tongues, is rendered very probable by the lack of all reference to it in other early sources; by the absence of any hint that the disciples ever made use in their missionary labours, or indeed on

[1] 1 Cor. 12^{10}. [2] 1 Cor. 14^{23}.

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any other occasion than Pentecost itself, of the miraculous power to speak in foreign languages; by the effect produced by the phenomenon upon some of those present, who accused the speakers of intoxication, and by the fact that it is treated as a fulfilment of the prophecy of Joel, who says nothing of 'other tongues,' but characterizes the Messianic Age as an age of revelation and of prophecy. But the most decisive argument is to be found in Peter's discourse, which constitutes our most trustworthy source for a knowledge of what actually occurred. Nowhere in that discourse does he refer to the use of foreign languages by his fellow-disciples, not even when he undertakes to defend them against the charge of drunkenness, though it would certainly have constituted a most convincing refutation of such a charge."[1]

There are in the narrative three stages of explanation of the phenomena. 1. The first, from the original Hebraistic written source, represents those upon whom the Spirit came as speaking with tongues in the ecstatic state, just as in the two other narratives of the gift of the Spirit reported in the book of Acts:[2] some of them spake with their tongues without human speech; others interpreted the tongues, and spake of the great works of God to those about them.

2. The second stage is the speech of Saint Peter, which interprets the event as in accordance with the previous story, but which lays stress upon prophetic speaking with tongues in intelligent speech in fulfilment of the prophecy of Joel.

3. The third stage advances upon the interpretation in the sermon of Saint Peter, and neglects that phase of speaking with tongues which Saint Paul describes as the interpretation of tongues, and which was in the mind of the original narrator as well as of Saint Peter in his discourse; and it interprets the speech as in a great many different languages.

The speaking with tongues in the form, both of unintelligible speech and of its interpretation, is sustained by many allusions in the New Testament as entirely historical, and is psychologically and physically probable. But the speaking in many different languages unknown before is not only psychologically and physically incredible, but it has little historic support in

[1] McGiffert, *A History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, 1897, pp. 50–52.
[2] Acts 10^{44-47}, 19^{6}.

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the later and unsupported interpretation of the ancient documents by the author of our book of Acts.

II. Genuineness of Historical Material

We have also studied the question of genuineness of documents.[1] We have now to study it in connection with facts and events. We have to consider under this head what was the design of the one who furnished the material, or from whom it originally came. Was his purpose to give us fact or fiction; to tell us the truth, or to deceive us by a forgery of lies; or was he careless as to truth and fact, and only intent upon enlisting interest and giving instruction? Under this head we have to consider the forgery, the myth, the legend, the fiction, and the historical fact.

1. *The Historicity of Daniel*

The stories of the book of Daniel, as written in a book that bears the name of Daniel as a pseudonym,[2] raises the question whether the author meant to deceive his readers by forging unhistorical tales. Such a forging of tales to deceive is opposed (1) by the fact that the book of Daniel throughout breathes the spirit of truth and righteousness, and encourages fidelity to God and His kingdom, even to the utmost limits of martyrdom; (2) by the fact that the author, in using the pseudonym of an ancient worthy, is doing nothing more than to use a common literary artifice, which has never been regarded as dishonest. It was transparent to his original readers, and only his readers in later generations have confounded him with the real Daniel. (3) It is a fact that the stories bear upon their faces the characteristics of historical fiction, and were doubtless so received in the times when they were written.[3] These stories about Daniel were subsequently enlarged by others still less historical in the tales of Bel and the Dragon, and of Susanna. But even the extravagance of these tales did not stay later generations from regarding them as historical.

[1] See pp. 317 *seq.* [2] See pp. 323 *seq.* [3] See pp. 351 *seq.*

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No one has ever succeeded in pointing to a single biblical narrative or story in which there was the intent to deceive, or in which there is the slightest evidence of a forgery.

2. *Erroneous Historical Statements*

There are, however, many instances in which a biblical writer has, owing to lack of sources and dependence on local traditions, been led into erroneous historical statements. H. G. Mitchell reviews the statement of the book of Kings with regard to the destruction of Sennacherib's army thus:

> "One would naturally infer from 2 K. 19[35] that Sennacherib's army was almost completely annihilated by the angel of Jehovah, and that he himself escaped only to be assassinated by two of his sons soon after his return to Nineveh. This, however, was not the case. In the first place, although, as one can read between the lines of his own statements, he was obliged to abandon his plan for the conquest of Egypt, his expedition was so far successful that he retained his hold on the region actually overrun, and prevented Tirhaka from getting possession of it. Secondly, he lived after his return no fewer than twenty years, and conducted several successful campaigns, one of which was directed against Edom and the Arabs on its border. Finally, in 681 B.C., he was succeeded by his son Esarhaddon; but upon that date (686) Hezekiah had been succeeded by Manasseh, and Isaiah also had probably finished his labors."[1]

I know of no one who so frequently questions the historical accuracy of statements in the biblical writings as Sayce. This is all the more remarkable that he poses before the public as a defender of the historicity of the Bible against "higher critics." In fact, he is defending his pet theories, and he does not hesitate to discredit biblical statements, to a rash and to an extreme degree, whenever the Holy Scripture obstructs him. Thus he questions the naming of Jacob.

> "The etymology, however, is really only one of those plays upon words of which the biblical writers, like Oriental writers generally, are so fond. It has no scientific value, and never was intended to have any. Israel is, like Edom, not the name of an individual, but of the people of whom the individual was the

[1] *Isaiah*, p. 43.

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ancestor. The name is formed like that of Jacob-el, and the abbreviated Jeshurun is used instead of it in the Song of Moses. If the latter is correct, the root will not be *sârâh*, 'he fought,' or *yâsar*, 'he is king,' but *yâshar*, 'to be upright,' 'to direct'; and Israel will signify 'God has directed.' Israel, in fact, will be the 'righteous' people who have been called to walk in the ways of the Lord."[1]

Many examples might be given of Sayce's lack of appreciation of the genuine principles of historical criticism. It is not so much that one objects to his results. All scholars make mistakes, and occasional mistakes are pardonable to accurate scholars. But Sayce's historical criticism is seldom more than mere speculation. Thus he makes the statement: "The poets and later writers of the Old Testament came to forget what was meant by 'the sea.' It was confounded with Yâm Sûph, and the scene of the Exodus was accordingly transferred from the Gulf of Suez to the Gulf of Akaba. It is in the song of triumph over the destruction of the Egyptians that the confusion first makes its appearance. Here (Ex. 15^4) 'the sea' and 'the Yâm Sûph' are used as equivalents, and the contents of the song are summed up at the end in the statement that 'Moses brought Israel from the Yâm Sûph.' But elsewhere in the Pentateuch the geography is accurate, and it is not until we come to the speeches in the book of Joshua that the two seas are once more confused together. The same geographical error is repeated in two of the later Psalms, as well as in a passage of the book of Nehemiah."[2]

"We must, then, look to the frontiers of Edom and the desert of Paran for the real Sinai of Hebrew history. But it is useless to seek for a more exact localization until the mountains of Seir and the old kingdom of Edom have been explored. Then, if ever, the Sinai of the Pentateuch may be discovered. It would seem that it formed part of a range that was known as 'Horeb,' the 'desert' mountains, and as late as the age of Elijah it was still reverenced as 'the Mount of God' (1 Kings 19^8)."[3]

We could not refuse to accept this assertion of abundant errors in Holy Scripture as regards the sea and Mount Sinai, if it were supported by facts and established by genuine historical criticism. But the brief discussion of the subject in the context of the passages cited is entirely uncritical and is mere theorizing.

[1] Sayce, *The Early History of the Hebrews*, pp. 73–74.
[2] *l.c.*, pp. 183–184. [3] *l.c.*, p. 189.

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3. *The Myth*

We have already seen[1] that sober historical critics do not hesitate to recognize mythical elements in Holy Scripture; although many hesitate to use the term for fear lest they may be understood to imply thereby polytheistic elements in the Bible, or a confounding of God with man and nature. There can be no doubt that there are mythical stories in the apocryphal gospels, relating to Jesus, especially in the story of the infancy.

This one may suffice for an example:

> "Now when the Lord Jesus had completed seven years from his birth, on a certain day, he was occupied with boys of his own age, for they were playing among clay, from which they were making images of asses, oxen, birds, and other animals, and each one boasting of his skill, was praising his own work. Then the Lord Jesus said to the boys, 'The images that I have made I will order to walk.' The boys asked him whether then he were the son of the Creator; and the Lord Jesus bade them walk. And immediately they began to leap; and then when he had given them leave they again stood still. And he made figures of birds and sparrows, which flew when he told them to fly, and stood still when he told them to stand, and ate and drank when he handed them food and drink. After the boys had gone away, and told this to their parents, their fathers said to them, 'My sons, take care not to keep company with him again, for he is a wizard; flee from him therefore and avoid him, and do not play with him again after this.'"[2]

There is nothing of the kind in the canonical Gospels. The virgin birth of our Lord, and the story of the Incarnation as cited in the Gospel of the Infancy in Matthew and Luke, are more exposed to the mythical hypothesis than any others in the Gospels. It is represented that the virgin birth is unknown to the primitive Gospels of Saint Mark and the Logia of Saint Matthew; or to the epistles, even when they urge the doctrine of the Incarnation; or to the Gospel of John; that the sources used by our Matthew and Luke are poetic in form and in con-

[1] See pp. 495 *seq.*, 504.

[2] *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy*, 36. See in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VIII. p. 412.

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tent, and of unknown origin; that the description of the virgin birth as given by them conflicts with physical science and psychology; and that their story resembles the myths of other ancient religions.

These reasons must be candidly considered by all those who desire to attain certainty as to the immaculate conception and the virgin birth of our Lord. I think they may all be sincerely met and entirely overcome.

1. The story as given by our Matthew and Luke does not come from these writers, but from their sources. They briefly remark upon it and interpret it, but they do not materially change it. These sources are poetic in form and also in substance, and have all the characteristics of Hebrew poetry as to parallelism, measurement of lines, and strophical organization.

They evidently came from a Jewish-Christian community and not from Gentile Christians. They were therefore ancient sources, different from and yet to be classed with the Gospel of Saint Mark and the Logia of Saint Matthew, rather than with our Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John.

2. We have to take account of the poetic clothing of the story. The piece cited by Matthew is:

> Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife:
> For that which is begotten in her is of the Holy Spirit.
> And she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call His name Jesus;
> For it is He that shall save His people from their sins.[1]

We know not how much more extensive this piece of poetry was, but it implies all that the evangelist says in his context; namely, that the virgin bride of Joseph was found to be with child, and that he recognized that the child was begotten not by him but by the Divine Spirit. The evangelist may or may not be mistaken in the translation and in his interpretation of the predictions of Isaiah;[2] or he may use it as a suitable embodiment of his thought. Whatever opinion one may form on this subject, it does not affect the main question: that Matthew used a poetic source for this story and interprets it, just as he used the Gospel of Saint Mark and the Logia of Saint Matthew, and frequently interpolated them with interpretations

[1] Mt. 1^{20-21}. [2] Mt. 1^{22-23}; Is. 7^{14}.

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also. There is a larger use of poetic sources in Luke. Indeed, it gives a series of beautiful canticles to tell us the story of the Forerunners and the birth of Jesus, with comments of its own.

The chief of the poetic extracts used by Luke is the following:

> The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee,
> And the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee:
> Wherefore also that holy thing that is to be born
> Shall be called the Son of God.
> And behold, Elizabeth thy kinswoman,
> She also hath conceived a son in her old age:
> And this is the sixth month with her that was called barren:
> For no word from God shall be void of power. — Lk. 1^{35-37}.

The virgin conception of Jesus, as here announced by the archangel, is not to be interpreted as if it were a miracle in violation of the laws of nature, but rather as brought about by God Himself present in theophany. The conception of Jesus in the womb of the Virgin Mary differs from all other conceptions of children by their mothers, in that there was no human father. The place of the human father was taken by God Himself; not that God appeared in theophany in human form to beget the child, after the analogy of the mythologies of the ethnic religions; but that God in a theophany, in an extraordinary way unrevealed to us, and without violation of the laws of maternity, impregnates the Virgin Mary with the holy seed. The words of the angel imply a theophanic presence; for though it might be urged that the coming of the Spirit upon her was an invisible coming after the analogy of many passages of the Old Testament, yet the parallel statement that the divine power overshadowed her cannot be so interpreted. For it not only in itself represents that the divine power covered her with a shadow, but this is to be thought of after the uniform usage of Holy Scripture as a bright cloud of glory, hovering over her, resting upon her, or enveloping her with a halo of divinity, in the moment when the divine energy enabled her to conceive the child Jesus.[1]

[1] The same verb, ἐπισκιάζω, is used in the Septuagint of Ex. 40^{35}, with reference to the cloud of glory of the Tabernacle, and also to the theophanic cloud of the Transfiguration in Mt. 17^{5} = Mk. 9^{7} = Lk. 9^{34}. The cloud of glory is always connected with God, and implies more than the agency of the Divine Spirit.

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This representation is based upon the well-known pillar of cloud lighted with divine glory, of the story of Exodus,[1] and of the erection of Solomon's temple.[2] The entrance of God into His tabernacle and temple to dwell there in a theophanic cloud would naturally suggest that the entrance of the divine life into the virgin's womb to dwell there would be in the same form of theophanic cloud. The earthly origin of Jesus in the virgin's womb would thus begin with a theophany, just as theophanies accompany His birth, His baptism, His transfiguration, His crucifixion, and His resurrection.

This annunciation represents the conception of Jesus as due to a theophany. It does not state the doctrine of His preëxistence, although that doctrine is a legitimate inference. It represents an early stage of New Testament Christology. It does not go a step beyond the Paulinism of the epistles to the Corinthians.

This annunciation knows nothing of the incarnation of the Logos, of the prologue of the Gospel of John;[3] or of the Son of man from heaven, of the Gospel itself;[4] or of the effulgence of the glory of God, of Hebrews;[5] or of the firstborn of all creation, of Colossians;[6] or of the epiphany of the Messiah, of 2 Timothy;[7] or of the Kenosis, of Philippians;[8] but represents an earlier Christology than any of these writings. Holzmann[9] truly states that Rom. 1^3, 8^3, Gal. 4^4, do not imply a virgin birth, but may be interpreted of a birth of Joseph and Mary, in accordance with the reference to Joseph as the father of Jesus in the primitive Gospels. But, as Schmiedel shows,[10] the epistles to the Corinthians teach an early stage of the doctrine of the preëxistence of Jesus in the second Adam from heaven,[11] and the head of humanity,[12] of 1 Corinthians; and especially in the self-impoverishment of the rich Messiah, of 2 Corinthians.[13] This more primitive form of the doctrine of the preëxistence of the Messiah is still in advance of the doctrine of this annunciation. This annunciation of a theophanic birth is really a

[1] Ex. 40^{34-35}; Nu. 9^{15}.
[2] 1 K. 8^{10-11}.
[3] John 1^{14}.
[4] John 3^{13}.
[5] Heb. 1^3.
[6] Col. 1^{15}.
[7] 2 Tim. 1^{10}.
[8] Phil. 2^{6-8}.
[9] *Die Synoptiker*, s. 532.
[10] *Die Briefe an die Thess. und an die Korinther*, s. 168.
[11] 1 Cor. 15^{45-47}.
[12] 1 Cor. 11^3.
[13] 2 Cor. 8^9.

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simpler conception and one more in accordance with the representations of the Old Testament than the sending of the Son of God, born of a woman, of the epistles to the Romans[1] and Galatians.[2] It is true that none of these passages teach a virgin conception and birth; but they teach or imply more than the virgin birth, namely, the preëxistence of the Messiah before His entrance into the world.[3]

Thus I explained the story in its connection in 1894. I shall only add that the doctrine of the preëxistence of the Messiah and the doctrines of the Kenosis, of Saint Paul, and the incarnation, of the Prologue of John, are more difficult doctrines than the doctrine of the virgin birth. If the preëxistent Messiah was to enter the world and become a man, what was the most natural and reasonable and divine way of doing it? Would He enter and take possession of a full-grown man, as, for example, the human Jesus at His baptism? The ancients who taught this were regarded rightly as heretics. Would He enter and take possession of a boy or an infant after birth? Or would He clothe Himself in an unconscious fœtus in the womb of a mother?

It is only sufficient to raise these questions in order to be pressed back by an inevitable necessity of logical consistency from every kind of dualism, such as would be involved in any other mode of incarnation except the one described in the story of the virgin birth; namely, the theophanic entrance of the preexistent Christ into the womb of the virgin as the primal germ of a living individual. It does not seem incredible that He, who is immanent, omnipresent, and omnipotent, should concentrate His real presence, for His work on earth as the Messiah, in the womb of a virgin; and there is no violation of physiology or psychology if that concentrated presence should assume the form of the first beginning of a human organism and attach itself for substance and growth to the maternal springs of vital energy.

[1] Rom. 8^3. [2] Gal. 4^4.
[3] Briggs, *Messiah of the Gospels*, pp. 48–51.

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4. *Legends*

We have seen that the best Christian scholars recognize that there are legends in Holy Scripture.[1] The only question is as to the number and extent of them, and the way in which we may distinguish them from the reality that underlies them. There can be no doubt that the story of Jannes and Jambres used in the Second Epistle to Timothy[2] is such a legend. Few find difficulty in recognizing that; but what shall we say as regards the story of the angel stirring the waters, in the Gospel of John in the Authorized Version?[3] The Revised Version omits this story, although it gives it on the margin as contained in many ancient authorities. There can be little doubt that it is a legend which crept into some ancient texts.

The Revised Version also brackets the story of the woman taken in adultery, and states on the margin that "most of the ancient authorities omit John 7^{53}–8^{11}. Those which contain it vary much from each other." This is a beautiful story, and there is nothing in it that seems unnatural or inconsistent with the character and teachings of Jesus. Indeed, it is a story that is a favourite among many who would gladly reject other parts of the Gospels as mythical or legendary. And yet, while it may be a true story, it is probably a legend.

Some have thought that the stories of the dream of Pilate's wife[4] and the washing of Pilate's hands[5] are legendary. They are peculiar to Matthew. This Gospel has inserted them in the midst of the narratives derived by it from Saint Mark. They are just the sort of things of which legends are made. The Gospel according to Peter adds to the washing of Pilate's hands the statement: "But of the Jews none washed his hands, neither Herod nor any one of His judges. And when they wished to wash them Pilate rose up."[6] The question, whether such incidents are legendary or not, does not in the slightest degree impair the holy character of the Bible or the particular narrative, or in any way discredit the genuineness of the great historic facts of the religion and faith of the Bible.

[1] See pp. 335 *seq.* [2] 2 Tim. 3^{8}. [3] John 5^{3-4}. [4] Mt. 27^{19}.
[5] Mt. 27^{24b-25}. [6] 1^{1}; Robinson and James, *Gospel according to Peter*, p. 16.

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The question whether a statement is historical or legendary is not decided by the fact that it is written in Holy Scripture. So soon as we see clearly that the holy writers used legends for holy purposes, as well as history, we may leave it to historical criticism to determine whether the statement is legendary or not. But historical criticism must be used with reverence and caution. I shall give an example of irreverent and incautious criticism of a biblical narrative such as should be avoided.

"Moses was met by Aaron 'in the mount of God,' and the two brothers returned to Egypt together, determined to deliver Israel from its bondage, and to lead it to that sacred mountain whereon the name of its national God had been revealed. Unlike Sinuhit Moses took with him his Midianitish wife and the children she had borne him. At this point in the narrative there has been inserted the fragment of a story which harmonizes but ill with it, or with the general spirit of Old Testament history. The anthropomorphizing legend, that 'the Lord' met Moses and would have killed him had not Zipporah appeased the wrathful Deity by circumcising her son, belongs to the folklore of a people still in a state of crude barbarism, and is part of a story which enforced the necessity of circumcision among the Hebrew worshippers of Yahweh. An over-minute criticism might find a contradiction between the statement that Zipporah had but one son to circumcise, and the fact that it was the 'sons' of Moses who accompanied him to Egypt (Ex. 4^{20}). Such verbal criticism, however, is needless; it is sufficient for the historian that the story is a mere fragment, almost unintelligible as it stands, and in complete disaccord with the historical setting in which it is placed."[1]

III. Reliability of Historical Material

Historical reliability is a question of very great importance. It has to be determined by careful criticism. There are, indeed, many gradations of reliability. Some things are impossible, some improbable, some uncertain; others possible, or probable, or certain. Every one of these gradations appear in the study of human testimony and the sources of history. Under this head I shall give a few specimens to illustrate the different departments of Biblical History.

[1] Sayce, *The Early History of the Hebrews*, p. 165.

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1. *The Story of the Deluge*

The story of the Deluge appears in two poetic narratives interwoven in the book of Genesis. How far is it reliable history? Let Ryle answer.

> "It would argue want of candour not to consider frankly at this point the historic character of the narrative which describes so tremendous a calamity. And, on the threshold of such an inquiry, we have to deal with the fact that science speaks in no hesitating language upon the subject. There is no indication that since man appeared upon the earth any universal and simultaneous inundation of so extraordinary a character as to overwhelm the highest mountain peaks has ever occurred. So vast an accumulation of water all over the terrestrial globe would be in itself a physical impossibility. None, at any rate, has taken place in the geological period to which our race belongs. The language relating the catastrophe is that of an ancient legend describing a prehistoric event. It must be judged as such. Allowance must be made, both for the exaggeration of poetical description and for the influence of oral tradition during generations, if not centuries, before the beginnings of Hebrew literature."[1]

2. *The Water from the Rock*

There are two stories of the bringing of the water from the rock. The prophetic narrative[2] puts it in the wilderness of Sin early in the wanderings. The priestly narrative[3] puts it in the wilderness of Zin, forty years after.[4] The probability is that these are two different accounts of the same miracle, occasioned by an unconscious mistake of a single letter in reading Sin for Zin, or *vice versa*. The difference as to the name of the place does not impair the reliability of the event. It rather tends to verify it; for it shows that the two narratives are independent, and that we have two witnesses of the event rather than one, the second dependent on the first. There is certainly a geographical error, and it involves an error as to the time of the event. But these errors do not destroy the reliability of the event itself.

[1] Ryle, *The Early Narratives of Genesis*, 1892, p. 112.
[2] Ex. 17. [3] Nu. 20.
[4] See Briggs, *Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, new ed., 1897, p. 79.

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3. *The Census of Quirinius*

The story of the census of Quirinius as given in Luke 2^{2} is open to serious doubt. Plummer states the case with carefulness and sobriety.

"From B.C. 9 to 6 Sentius Saturninus was governor; from B.C. 6 to 4 Quinctilius Varus. Then all is uncertain until A.D. 6, when P. Sulpicius Quirinius becomes governor and holds the census mentioned in Acts 5^{37}, and also by Josephus (*Ant.*, xviii. 1. 1, 2. 1). It is quite possible, as Zumpt and others have shown, that Quirinius was governor of Syria during part of the interval between B.C. 4 and A.D. 6, and that his first term of office was B.C. 3, 2. But it seems to be impossible to find room for him between B.C. 9 and the death of Herod; and, unless we can do that, Lk. is not saved from an error in chronology. Tertullian states that the census was held by Sentius Saturninus (*Adv. Marc.*, iv. 19); and if that is correct we may suppose that it was begun by him and continued by his successor. On the other hand, Justin Martyr three times states that Jesus Christ was born ἐπὶ Κυρηνίου, and in one place states that this can be officially ascertained ἐκ τῶν ἀπογραφῶν τῶν γενομένων (*Apol.*, i. 34, 46; *Dial.*, lxxviii.). We must be content to leave the difficulty unsolved. But it is monstrous to argue that because Lk. has (possibly) made a mistake as to Quirinius being governor at this time, therefore the whole story about the census and Joseph's journey to Bethlehem is a fiction. Even if there was no census at this time, business connected with enrolment might take Joseph to Bethlehem, and Lk. would be correct as to his main facts. That Lk. has confused this census with the one in A.D. 6, 7, which he himself mentions, Acts 5^{37}, is not credible. We are warranted in maintaining (1) that a Roman census in Judæa at this time, in accordance with instructions given by Augustus, is not improbable; and (2) that some official connection of Quirinius with Syria and the holding of this census is not impossible. The accuracy of Lk. is such that we ought to require very strong evidence before rejecting any statement of his as an unquestionable blunder. But it is far better to admit the possibility of error than to attempt to evade this by either altering the text or giving forced interpretations of it."[1]

Many other examples might be given, but our purpose is merely to illustrate the principles and methods of historical criticism, and not to collect results.

[1] Alfred Plummer, *Gospel according to Saint Luke*, 1896, pp. 49–50.

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IV. The Aim of Historical Criticism

The work of historical criticism of Holy Scripture has only begun its career. It has given us a new biblical history illuminated with new light and enriched with the colouring of Bible times. The work will go on until it fulfils its entire task.

Ancient Jerusalem lies buried beneath the rubbish of more than eighteen centuries. It is covered over by the blood-stained dust of myriads of warriors, who have battled heroically under its walls and in its towers and streets. Its valleys are filled with the débris of palaces, churches, and temples. But the Holy Place of three great religions is still there, and thither countless multitudes turn in holy reverence and pious pilgrimage. In recent times this rubbish has in a measure been explored; and by digging to the rock-bed and the ancient foundations bearing the marks of the Phœnician workmen, the ancient city of the holy times has been recovered, and may now be constructed in our minds by the artist and the historian with essential accuracy. Just so the Holy Scripture, as given by divine inspiration to holy prophets, lies buried beneath the rubbish of centuries. It is covered over with the débris of the traditional interpretations of the multitudinous schools and sects. The intellectual and moral conflicts which have raged about it have been vastly more costly than all the battles of armed men. For this conflict has never ceased. This battle has taxed and strained all the highest energies of our race. It has been a struggle in the midst of nations and of families, and has torn many a man's inmost soul with agony and groanings.

The valleys of biblical truth have been filled up with the débris of human dogmas, ecclesiastical institutions, liturgical formulas, priestly ceremonies, and casuistic practices. Historical criticism is digging through this mass of rubbish. Historical criticism is searching for the rock-bed of divine truth and for the massive foundations of the Divine Word, in order to recover the real Bible. Historical criticism is sifting all this rubbish. It will gather out every precious stone. Nothing will escape its keen eye. Like the builders of Nehemiah's

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time, every critic has to build with his weapons in hand; for the traditionalists prefer the modern ruins to the ancient city of God, and they battle for every speck of rubbish as if it were the choicest gold. But as surely as the temple of Herod and the city of the Asmoneans arose from the ruins of the former temples and cities, just so surely will the old Bible rise in the reconstructions of biblical criticism into a splendour and a glory greater than ever before.

My honoured teacher, Edward Robinson, the father of modern biblical geography, on his first exploring expedition discovered several huge stones jutting out from the western wall of the temple area. Close examination showed that they were the first courses of the spring of an arch which bridged the valley between the temple and Mount Zion. Men wise in traditional opinions disputed the discovery for a time. But after the death of Robinson, the English Palestine Exploration Society dug a pit near these stones, and deep down beneath the rubbish of centuries the remains of the bridge were discovered and the critical judgment of Robinson vindicated. It was a great joy for me, his pupil and his successor, to descend into the pit and see these stones with my own eyes. Robinson's experience and mine is the lot of most explorers and their successors, and in a general way it illustrates the present situation in the historical criticism of Biblical History and its ultimate results.

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CHAPTER XXII

BIBLICAL HISTORY

BIBLICAL History is the history contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.

I. THE SCOPE OF BIBLICAL HISTORY

Those who exclude the Apocrypha from the Old Testament Canon find a long blank in the history between the times of Nehemiah and the advent of Jesus the Messiah. Those who include the Apocrypha in the Old Testament Canon fill up this blank in large measure by the history of the Maccabean times. Much of the blank is filled in other respects by the historical material contained in other biblical writings. It is not necessary that Biblical History should limit its sources to the historical prose literature of the Bible. A large amount of historical material may be derived from the prophets and poets and sages, and also from the epistles and the apocalypse.

Biblical History is not coextensive with the histories contained in the Canon of Holy Scripture; it is rather a history which comprehends all the biblical material in the entire extent of Biblical Literature. Biblical History, moreover, is not confined to the forms and methods of historical composition and representation, or to the grooves of historical interpretation of the biblical historian. It organizes the entire biblical material in accordance with the most exact and thorough scientific methods.

It is necessary to distinguish Biblical History from the history of Israel on the one hand, and from the contemporary history of the Old and New Testaments on the other; and to put these three branches of history, which deal more or less with the same themes, in their true relations.

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II. Contemporary History

The contemporary history of the Old Testament aims to study the history of the nations that influenced Israel. It studies the monuments of Babylonia, Egypt, Phœnicia, Assyria, and the lesser nations that encompassed Israel or were entwined with him in his development. It studies the histories of Persia, Greece, and Rome,—the ancient masters of the world that held Israel in subjection. The contemporary history of the New Testament studies the history and civilization of Greece and Rome and the influences that came from Oriental life and thought, so far as these constituted the environment of the life of Jesus and the history of the Apostolic Church.[1] All these cast a flood of light upon the history recorded in the Bible, and give us invaluable information with regard to the external influences working upon Israel and coöperating with the internal influences to produce his historical training. Great attention has been paid to this method of study in recent times, and it has in many minds overwhelmed and absorbed the study of Biblical History itself.

Biblical History moves on its way in the narratives of the Bible, touching the great nations of the Old World at various points in its advancement, giving and receiving influences of various kinds, but pervaded with a sense of an overpowering force that has determined not only the History of Israel, but of all nations of the world. Israel has been a football of the nations, trodden under foot and tossed hither and thither by those mightier than he, but he has been a ball of light and fire that no violence could quench; for a divine blessing was in him for all mankind. God cast Israel into the fiery furnace that his dross might be consumed and the pure gold shine in its glorious lustre. The nations were his hammers, to beat him into the holy image God had designed for him from the beginning.

The Hebrew prophets see that Yahweh, the God of Israel, shaped all the migrations of the nations, all the movements of mankind, all the revolutions of history, for the training of His own well-beloved people.[2]

[1] See pp. 505 *seq.*

[2] Deut. 32[8-9].

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And yet Israel was not for himself alone. The biblical historians do not encourage any neglect of the other nations of the world. They represent that all are to share in the blessings of Abraham; they see all nations ultimately before the judgment-seat of God; they look forward to their ultimate incorporation in the kingdom under the Messianic King. The prophet rebukes Israel for supposing that he alone was the people of God, and that all the other nations were neglected by the God of all the earth.[1]

God watched over the other nations of the world, guided their history, and will bring them also to salvation and judgment. No one can altogether understand Biblical History until he has placed it in the light of its contemporary history; and yet he would make a serious mistake who would suppose that this contemporary history is the key to Biblical History. The Biblical History is the centre of this circumference of nations. It is the Sun in the midst of the world in whose rising all mankind are to rejoice.[2] It is the light streaming forth from Biblical History that illuminates the contemporary history. Contemporary history reflects the rays of that light. The study of the one ought not to conflict with the study of the other.

III. The History of Israel

It is also necessary to distinguish Biblical History from the History of Israel. The History of Israel is a part of the history of the world. It is a section of the discipline of universal history. It should be studied with a purely scientific interest. It uses Biblical History as one of its sources; it uses contemporary history as another; it arranges all its material in a scientific manner, in accordance with the principles of historic development.

It is more extensive than Biblical History. It fills up the numerous blanks that are left therein from other sources of information.

The history of the struggle between Persia and Greece, and of the fortunes of Israel in those times, is of little importance

[1] Amos 9^7. [2] Is. 60.

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to Biblical History; but it is of great importance to the history of Israel. The historian will lay much more stress upon it than upon many earlier periods where the biblical writers dwell at length.

The student of the history of Israel is greatly interested in the events of external history, such as battles and sieges and political relations. The writers of the Bible have little interest in these, and omit to mention them, save so far as they have religious bearings or can be used for religious instruction. As Professor Kent says:

> "Historic proportion is quite disregarded. For example, in the book of Samuel the important battle of Gilboa is treated in a few verses, while the relations between Samuel (the prophet) and Saul occupy several chapters. This and kindred facts are explained when the aim of the prophetic writer is fully appreciated. For him events in themselves were of little importance, since his purpose was not merely to write a history of his people; instead, it was primarily and simply to teach spiritual truth. To attain this exalted end, he was as ready to employ a late tradition as an early narrative. Often when he found two accounts of the same event he introduced both of them, even though this involved small contradictions and historic inaccuracies. If he had had the data at his command whereby he could determine which of the two was the older and therefore the more authentic record, he probably would not have deemed it worthy of his attention, for it would not have rendered his teaching any more effective with his contemporaries."[1]

The history of Israel is less extensive than Biblical History. It does not enter into the province of the divine influence, that most characteristic feature of Biblical History. It stumbles at theophanies, miracles, and prophecies. It finds it difficult to adjust these divine influences to the principles of scientific study. The purely personal relations of Yahweh to His people are matters into which the scientific historian does not venture.

The scientific study of the history of Israel is of inestimable importance. No one can understand altogether the history of Israel, unless Israel's true place and importance in universal history have been determined. Each one of the great nations

[1] *A History of the Hebrew People*, 1896, Vol. I. p. 10.

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of the Old World has contributed its own best achievements for the weal of humanity. No one can understand the workings of God in history who does not estimate, to some extent at least, the work of Egypt and Assyria, of Phœnicia and Persia, of Greece and Rome, in the advancement of mankind. The history of the world is, as Lessing shows, the divine education of our race; and every nation has its share in that instruction, and contributes its quota of experience to the successive generations. The nations of the modern world have all come into line with their interplay of forces, making the problem more complex and wonderful. The old nations of the Orient, — China, India, and Japan, — with Africa and the islands of the sea, share in that education and service. The world is one in origin, in training, and in destiny. There is force in Renan's remark:

> "Jewish History that would have the monopoly of the miracle is not a bit more extraordinary than Greek History. If the supernatural intervention is necessary to explain the one, the supernatural intervention is also necessary to explain the other." [1]

I do not agree with his use of the term "supernatural." But I do agree with him in the opinion that the hand of God alone can explain the history of Greece and the blessings it contained for mankind. The school of Clement of Alexandria were correct in the opinion that the philosophy of Greece was a divinely ordered preparation for the gospel, as were the Law and the Prophets of Israel. The biblical historians were the first to see this fact, and to set it forth in the horizon of their narratives. They see that the God of Israel is the God seated upon the circle of the heavens, turning the hearts of kings and nations; they know that the Messiah of Israel is the universal King; they see all the forces of history converging toward His universal sway. It is a Hebrew poet who describes the New Jerusalem as the city of the regeneration of the nations:

> Glorious things are being spoken in thee, city of God!
> I mention Rahab and Babel as belonging to those who know me;
> Lo, Philistia and Tyre with Cush: "This one was born there,"
> And as belonging to Zion, it is said, — "This one and that one were born in her,"

[1] *Histoire du Peuple d'Israel*, I. p. v.

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And "Elyon, Yahweh — he establisheth her,
He counteth in writing up the peoples, — 'This one was born there.' "
Yea, they are singing as well as dancing, all those who dwell in thee.[1]

The origin of Christianity and its development in the Apostolic age may also be treated in the same way as a section of Universal History, where the Biblical sources will take their place alongside of other historical sources and no attention will be paid to Canonical limitations or Biblical proportions. Such a method is quite legitimate so far as it is faithful to its own ideals and does not usurp the functions or depreciate the importance of a more strictly Biblical History from the point of view of the History contained in Holy Scripture itself.

I do not by any means undervalue the scientific study of the history of Israel and the origins of Christianity; I do not depreciate the importance of the contemporary history of the Old and the New Testaments, when I insist that a more strictly Biblical History from a Biblical point of view has its own place and importance as the lamp of the nations and the key for the development of mankind.

IV. The Types of Biblical History

Biblical History has an extensive variety of sources. There is first a group of histories that are of unique importance. We have already considered these as to their form as specimens of historical prose literature.[2] We have now to consider them as to their substance and the use of the historical material they give us. These historical writings cover a long range in time and an immense mass of detail; they were written by many writers in three different languages; and yet they have common features, which distinguish them from all other histories and entitle them to be bound together in one book as Biblical History. The history extends over a vast period of time; it begins with the creation of the world, it closes with the erection of the banner of the Messiah in Rome, the capital of the world. It is narrower in its geographical range. Its centre is Palestine, a little land that has always been and always must be, for geographical reasons, the centre of the world. But it radiates

[1] Ps. 87. See Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, p. 227.

[2] See pp. 329 *seq.*

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from this centre into all the territories of the great nations of the Old World. It deals with a little nation and very often with single persons; but that nation was the people of God, the bearer of the greatest religions of the world, Judaism and Christianity, which have determined the entire development of mankind; and these individuals were the prophets of God: Abraham, Moses, Samuel, David, Solomon, Elijah, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezra,—names that outshine the brightest stars of other nations in moral worth, and all of whom point, as watchers of the night, to the dawn of the sun of the world, Jesus Christ, the greatest of men, the Son of God, and Saviour of man. Such a history that discloses to us the religious heroes of mankind, the banner-bearers of God, and that culminates in the glories of God manifest in the flesh, has a unique place and importance in the development of the world.

Biblical History is wonderful in its variety. Four different types of writers give us four different points of view of the most important and fundamental characters and events. There are four Gospels, that combine to give us a comprehensive view of Jesus Christ, our Saviour. Any one of them is easily worth all other books written by men. We have also four narratives of the establishment of the Old Covenant.

Higher Criticism has traced these four narratives in the Hexateuch, and has for the most part separated them so that we can place them in parallelism, just as we do the Gospels in our Harmonies. A post-exilic editor compacted them together, just as Tatian did the Gospels in the second Christian century.[1] Four Gospels are historically better than one; four narratives of the story of the founding of the Old Covenant are also better than one for all those who desire to investigate the historicity of the material contained in them. We have to give up the traditional theory of Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, but we gain four writers in the place of Moses; and the history of Moses, and the establishment of his covenant, gains in strength by the testimony of four witnesses instead of one.

In the history of the kingdom from its establishment to the exile, we have two parallel narratives, in the books of Samuel

[1] See pp. 278 *seq.*

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and Kings on the one hand, and the Chronicler on the other; but Higher Criticism finds in the narratives of Samuel and Kings three original writers, similar to three of the writers of the Hexateuch.

In the period subsequent to the exile, the Chronicler tells the story of the times of Ezra and Nehemiah; and the first book of Maccabees the glorious revolution of the Maccabean age.

Biblical History is, however, much more extensive than the historical writings contained in the Bible. The chief writers of Biblical History were prophets, poets, and priests, and these have given us historical material in other literary forms. Hosea and Amos share the features of the Ephraimitic historian. Isaiah, Micah, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, share the features of the Judaic narrator. Jeremiah, the second Isaiah, and Haggai are kindred to the Deuteronomic writers, Ezekiel, Zechariah, Joel, and Malachi to the priestly writers. These prophets all are involved in the history of their times, and either shape that history or interpret it from the point of view of the divine mind as made known to them. If there is any such thing as a philosophy of Hebrew history, a divine plan and purpose in it all, we can learn more of the secret springs of that history from the prophetical writings than from the historical writings.

So in the New Testament the epistles give us the underlying principles and formative ideas of apostolic history. No one can understand the foundations of the apostolic Church who depends on the book of Acts alone. And the great collection of prophecies contained in the Apocalypse of John gives us historical information as to the martyr period of the apostolic Church which extends beyond the history of the book of Acts, without which we would be left in darkness.

The Hebrew poets and wise men are not so important for historical purposes, and yet there are historical poems of great value in the Psalter; and, besides, the lyrics and the sentences of wisdom, not to speak of the larger products of the imagination in prose and poetry, give us clues to the inner spirit, religious experience, and ethical ideals of the history, especially in periods when all other information is lacking.

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These four kinds of writers of Biblical History that we find in the Old Testament, as well as in the New, are not without significance, for they correspond with four types that run through the entire literature of the Bible. St. James, St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. John represent four different points of view in the New Testament epistles. Each of these types has its corresponding gospel. In the Old Testament we distinguish the writers of the Wisdom Literature from the writers of the lyric poetry, and both of these from the prophetic and the priestly writers. These are the same types that we find in the New Testament, and we ought to expect to find them represented in the older histories. These are not fanciful combinations of theorists and speculators, but they are the interesting product of the scientific study of the Bible itself. When we compare these four types of biblical writers with the results of the scientific study of other religions and races, we find that they correspond with the four great temperaments of mankind, and the four great types of character that reappear throughout human history.[1]

It is one of the wonderful results of the Higher Criticism of the Bible that all the important events and doctrines rest upon a fourfold foundation, and a comprehension of the four great ways of looking at things that are possible to the human mind. There is danger in our study of the Bible on this very account. Few minds are sufficiently comprehensive to grasp the entire representation of these biblical writers. Each man will naturally look at any subject through the eyes and the representations of the author of kindred temperament and type. The analysis of the Hexateuch has brought to light a large number of apparent inconsistencies. This was what ought to have been expected. They are no more, however, than those that trouble scholars in the Harmony of the Gospels after all these centuries of study. On the other hand, many old difficulties have been removed. Many statements that were inconsistent and even contradictory in the same author are complementary and supplementary in different authors; and so we gain a higher unity of representation, which is all the grander for the fourfold variety out of which it springs. The history has not

[1] See pp. 569 *seq.*, for a further study of the types.

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the unity of a straight line, a series of points, but the unity of a cube — such unity as we see in the cubical structure of the Holy of Holies of the tabernacle, and the temple. The new Jerusalem of the Apocalypse is four-square. The army of the living God marches in four solid divisions. The cherubic chariot of its King faces the four quarters of the earth. The four cherubic faces represent not only the four Gospels, but also the four types that are in the epistles of the New Testament, and the histories and writings of the Old Testament.

1. *The Theophanic Presence*

Biblical History has certain features that distinguish it from all other history. The most important of these is the theophanic presence of God.

There are some who would point to miracles and prophecy as the great supernatural features of the Bible, which prove its uniqueness and its divine origin. But it is just these supernatural features of miracles and prophecies that, in our day, constitute, for scientific and literary scholars, the chief obstacles to their faith in the Bible. Biblical History is not unique in this regard. The ancient histories of other nations claim miracles and divine prophecy for the leaders of their religion. The scientific historian is tempted to treat the miracles and prophecies of Biblical History in the same way in which he treats them in the history of Egypt, Assyria, Greece, and the Christian Church. He is bound so to do, unless something of a distinguishing character is found in these features of the Bible. It is also noteworthy that Moses and Jesus recognize miracle-working and prophecy beyond the range of prophetic working, outside the kingdom of God.[1] There must be something in the divine character of Biblical History that will vindicate its reality and power, or it cannot be saved from the tomb into which modern historical criticism has cast the supernatural in all other history.

It has long been evident to Christian historians of critical sagacity that the Bible does not magnify the supernatural in

[1] Deut. 13; Mt. 24[23-24].

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miracle-working and prophecy to the same extent as is common in treatises on the evidences of Christianity and in systems of Apologetics.

Undue stress upon these things has called attention away from still more important features in Biblical History. The miracles of Biblical History were not wrought in order to give modern divines evidences of the truth and reality of the biblical religion. The prophets did not aim to give apologists proofs for the verbal inspiration of the Scriptures. The miracles were wrought as acts of divine judgment and redemption. Prophecy was given to instruct men in the religion of God, in order to their salvation and moral growth. The miracles were not designed to show that God was able to violate the laws of nature, to overrule or suspend them at His will. The miracles of the Bible rather show that God Himself was present in nature, directing His own laws in deeds of redemption and of judgment. The miracles are divine acts in nature. Prophecy was not designed to show that God can overrule the laws of the human mind, suspend them, or act instead of them, using man as a mere speaking-tube to convey heavenly messages to this world. Prophecy rather discloses the presence of God in man, stimulating him to use all the powers of his intellectual and moral nature in the instruction of the people of God.[1] Miracles and prophecy in Biblical History are the signs of the presence of God in that history. He has not left that history to itself. He has not left the laws of nature and of mind to their ordinary development, but He has taken His place at the head of affairs as the monarch of nature and the king of men to give His personal presence and superintendence to a history which is central, and dominant of the history of the world.[2]

This is the conception that we find in Biblical History. Miracles were chiefly at the exodus from Egypt and the entrance into Palestine. Here they are associated with the theophanic presence of God. They reappear in the age of Elijah and Elisha, a period marked by theophanies. Then again they were wrought by Jesus, the Messiah, and by His apostles, in connection with theophanies of the Divine Spirit. The

[1] Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, pp. 21 *seq.* [2] 1 Cor. $15^{24.25}$.

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Theophany, the Christophany, and the Pneumatophany are the sources of the miracles of the Bible. When God is really present in nature, in the forms of time and space and circumstance, then miracles are the most natural things in the world.

The prophecy of the Old Testament also springs from theophanies. The great master-spirits of prophecy were called by theophanies. The apostles were commissioned by Christophanies and Pneumatophanies. God entered into the human mind, into its perception, conception, and imagination, and guided these to give utterance to the wonderful things of God.[1] I do not presume to say that every miracle and every prophetic discourse may be traced directly to theophanic influence, yet I do venture to say that the most of them can be traced to such origination, and that the others may likewise be referred to a more secret divine presence in nature and in man, even if that presence was not always disclosed in some external manner.

It is necessary, however, to go much farther, in order to realize the importance of the theophany in Biblical History. It is the representation of the Patriarchal History that God was constantly manifesting Himself to the antediluvians and patriarchs in various theophanic forms, to guide them in all the important affairs of their lives. The primitive narratives of the exodus tell us that God assumed the form of an angel and then of a pillar of cloud and fire, and remained with His people in a permanent form of theophany from the exodus from Egypt until the entrance in the Holy Land. God's theophanic presence remained with His people until the exile. The ark was His throne, the tabernacle His abode, the temple His palace. The sacred writers of the Old Testament knew that God was reigning in Jerusalem as the real King of Israel and the nations, by personal theophanic presence.

The theophanic presence was withdrawn from the nation during the exile and only granted to a few prophets; but on the return to the Holy Land, God again appeared in wondrous theophanies. These are not recorded in the cold, dry narrative of the Chronicler, but they appear in the psalms and prophecies of the period. All the theophanies of the Old Testa-

[1] Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, 7th ed., pp. 20 *seq.*

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ment were in order to prepare mankind for the grandest of all theophanies — the *Incarnation* of the Son of God. Indeed, Saint Paul saw the preëxistent Messiah in the angel of the presence, who guided Israel through the wilderness of the wanderings.[1] From this point of view the theophanic Christ prepares the way for the Incarnate Christ. The Incarnation was God manifest in the flesh, an abiding presence of God, no longer in the Holy of Holies, but in familiar intercourse with men until His death on the cross and ascension to the heavenly throne. Then a few days of divine absence, and the theophany of the Divine Spirit came at Pentecost.

Pneumatophany and Christophany abound in the period of planting the Church in the world. The last known to the biblical writings is the wonderful one to Saint John in Patmos. And here Biblical History comes to an end, with a prophetic picture of the final scenes of all history.

From this survey, it is clear that the most distinguishing feature of Biblical History is the theophanic presence of God. The narratives of the biblical writers treat of the times of that presence. When the theophany is absent, the biblical narrative is absent also. When the theophany is absent, the biblical historian sees nothing to narrate; his Lord is not there. History is to him a blank. When the theophany is withdrawn and the enthroned Saviour governs His kingdom without theophanic manifestations, Biblical History passes over into Church History. From this point of view, Biblical History is the history of the theophanic presence of God in His kingdom of grace.

This central feature of Biblical History determines all others.

The Ephraimitic historian begins his narrative with the story of theophanic manifestations to the patriarchs, taking a special interest in Israel, the father of the nation. This writer is graphic, plastic, and realistic. God appears in dreams. He comes in forms of man and angel. He lets Himself be seen and touched. He even condescends to wrestle with Jacob. He appears to Moses in the burning bush as the angel of the presence. He assumes human form and lets Moses see Him and commune with Him in his tent. He manifests Himself to

[1] 1 Cor. 10^{3-4}. See Briggs, *Messiah of Apostles*, p. 99.

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the elders of Israel, enthroned on a glorious throne, and lets them eat the covenant sacrifice in His presence. God is to this narrator ever present to guide the nation as their King.

The same spirit guides the Ephraimitic narrator who tells the story of the later history. He is very zealous for his own God, and scorns the gods of the nations. Elijah condenses this feeling in his bitter irony to the prophets of Baal:

> "Cry aloud: for he is a god; either he is musing, or he is gone aside, or he is on a journey, or peradventure he sleepeth and must be awaked."[1]

The calm, serene confidence of the prophet is justified by the theophanic interposition and the cry of the people:

> "Yahweh, He is God! Yahweh, He is God!"[2]

Saint Mark writes in a similar spirit in the New Testament. Saint Mark has no interest in introductory matters or even results. He is absorbed in the Christ of history, in His life and deeds. His plastic style gives us Jesus as He manifested Himself. He tells his story in such a realistic and powerful manner that we bow before the Christ as the King of nature and of men, without waiting for solicitation or argument.

Other histories give us evidences of the presence and power of God. Mythological conceptions lie at the basis of the histories of other ancient nations. There the gods descend to earth and clothe themselves in forms of nature and man; but they thereby assume the parts and passions of man and share in all his weaknesses, sins, and corruptions; or they become merely forces and forms of physical nature. But the theophanies of these biblical historians never confound God with man, with angels, or with nature — the form assumed by God is merely for manifestation to holy men; and it is a thin veil through which as much of the glory of deity shines as the holy men were able to bear. And whereas mythological conceptions are only at the mythical roots of other ancient histories, the theophanies pervade and control Biblical History from the beginning to the end. There is no other history in which

[1] 1 K. 18^{27}. [2] 1 K. 18^{39}.

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God is manifest in such a simple, natural, and yet kingly way, where men see Him, know Him, and obey Him as their own Prince and King.

2. *The Kingdom of Redemption*

The Judaic historian begins his story with an epic poem, disclosing, on the one side, the origin and development of human sin and the divine wrath, and on the other the grace of God in the progress of redemption. The great theme of his history is redemption from sin. He and other biblical historians of the same type give us the development of the Kingdom of Redemption. The great Hebrew epic that constitutes the preface of this history is the most wonderful of stories.[1] The history of mankind begins with Adam, sculptured by the hands of God and quickened by the breath of God. The man is placed in a paradise planted by the hands of God, and has charge of animals formed, like himself, by the hands of God. He receives his wife from the hands of God, built out of a portion of his own body. He is trained in conception and speech by the voice of God. All things in him and about him exhibit the marks of God's personal presence and contact; and yet Adam sinned against his creator and benefactor, and brought an entail of woe upon our race. The epic describes, in a series of pictures, the successive catastrophes of mankind, the Fall, the Fratricide, the Deluge, and the Dispersion, events that lie at the foundations of human history. Faint reflections of these events are found in the legends and myths of other ancient nations, but nowhere do we see such a beautiful, simple, touching, and profound story. It is an artist's masterpiece. It is poetry in form as well as substance — an epic poem of the highest order. Here the imagination and fancy are supreme, and yet there is nothing of those grotesque mythological forms, and those extravagant legendary scenes, that constitute the staple of all efforts to depict the origin of things among other ancient nations. The poem is so simple, so chaste, so realistic, so artless, that it has been mistaken by most stu-

[1] See Briggs, *The Bible, the Church, and the Reason*, pp. 281 *seq.*

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dents for prose. Such poetry must have been inspired by a divine art; such imagination and fancy must have been inflamed and at the same time tempered and subdued by a divine breath.

The poem describes the origin and development of sin in the family of Adam, in the descendants of Cain, in the human race, in the family of Noah, in the builders of Babel. The wrath of God comes upon sin in several catastrophes of judgment. But redemption is never absent. The promise to the woman's seed opens up the path of Messianic prophecy, which the prophet traces in its stages of divine revelation, so that human sin is overwhelmed and destroyed in the progress of redemption. Sin and Redemption are the master words of his entire history. We see them unfolding in the patriarchal story, in the exodus, and the wanderings, and the conquest. Yahweh, the personal God and Saviour, is ever with His people to guide and to bless. This prophet is the brightest and best narrator in the Bible. His stories never tire us, for they ever touch the secret springs of our heart's emotions.

A writer of a similar spirit tells the story of David, of his sins and sorrows and restoration, and traces the history of the kingdom of redemption in his seed.

Matthew is an evangelist of a similar spirit — the favourite among the Gospels. He is the evangelist of the Messianic promise, of the kingdom of redemption, and of the conflict of sin and grace.

The history of sin and of redemption in these biblical historians is unique. Sin, indeed, is everywhere in the world. Other histories cover it over. These histories expose it. And yet Israel was not the greatest sinner among the nations. If his sins are more patent, are more in the light of history, it is because he has ever been a penitent sinner. Deceitful Abraham, crafty Jacob, choleric Moses, wilful Saul, passionate David, voluptuous Solomon, hasty Peter, doubting Thomas, heresy-hunting Paul, — these are not the chief of sinners. Their counterparts are to be found in all ages and all over the world. We see them every day in our streets. They are not distinguished above other men as sinners; but they are distin-

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guished as repenting sinners, the discoverers of the divine forgiveness of sin, the banner-bearers of redemption, the trophies of divine grace. No other history but Biblical History gives us such a history of redemption, an unfolding of the grace of God, from the first promise of the ancient epic, through all the intricate variety of Messianic prophecy and fulfilment, until we see the Redeemer ascend to heaven, the son of woman, the second Adam, the serpent-bruiser, victor over sin and death, to reign on a throne of grace as the world's Redeemer.

3. *Divine Fatherly Discipline*

The fifth book of the Hexateuch is called Deuteronomy, on the ancient Hellenistic theory that it was a repetition of the law. Its legislation is represented in the narratives of the book of Kings, rather, as the Instruction or the Covenant. This legislation is embedded in narratives that assume the oratorical form. They have a character of their own; they are of a distinct type from the narratives thus far considered. The same writer is largely responsible for the history of the Conquest of Canaan. A writer of the same type has touched up the history in the books of Samuel and Kings. This writer has the conception of the Fatherhood of God, and from this point of view he estimates the history of God's people. The whole history is a discipline, a training of the child Israel by his father God. The love of the Father and His tender compassion are grandly conceived, and the sin of the nation is a violation of the parental relation. The ideal life of God's people is a life of love to the Heavenly Father. Man shall not live by bread alone, but by the word that issues from the mouth of God. The divine instruction, the holy guidance, is what the child needs for life, growth, and prosperity. All blessedness is summed up in loving God and serving Him with the whole heart. All curses will come upon those who forsake Him and refuse His instruction and guidance. God is Judge as well as Father, and this discipline is to end in an ultimate judgment that will award the blessings and curses that have been earned. The Deuteronomist judges the whole history of

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Israel from this point of view, and regards it as determined by the disciplining love of God.

The Gospel of John is of the same type, in the New Testament. It is the gospel of light and life and love. The love of God, displayed throughout Biblical History, reaches its climax in that love which gave the only begotten Son for the salvation of the world. The life that was in the words of the Old Covenant was intensified in the words of Jesus, which are spirit and life; it entered the world and dwelt among us as the Incarnate Word, the light of the world, and the true life for mankind. The Biblical History is thus a history of the fatherly love of God. We shall not deny that other histories display the love of God, and that all mankind share in the heavenly discipline. But it was left for the biblical histories to discern that love, and to describe it as the quickening breath of history.

4. *The Sovereignty of the Holy God*

The priestly historian takes the most comprehensive view of Biblical History. He begins with an ancient poem describing the creation of the world. This stately lyric, in six pentameter strophes, paints the wondrous drama of the six days' work in which the Sovereign of the universe, by word of command, summons His host into being, and out of primitive chaos organizes a beautiful and orderly whole. The sovereignty of God and the supremacy of law and order are the most striking features of this story of creation.[1] I doubt if there is any other passage of the Bible that has attracted such universal attention and been the centre of such world-wide contest from the earliest times. Here Biblical History comes into contact with physical science in all its sections, with philosophy, with the history of ancient nations, as well as with theology. I shall not attempt to discuss the numberless questions that spring into our minds in connection with the first chapter of Genesis. I shall only remark that if one takes it as a lyric poem, and interprets it in the same way as we are accustomed

[1] Briggs, *The Bible, the Church, and the Reason*, pp. 283 *seq.* See pp. 380 *seq.* for the pentameter.

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to interpret the psalms of creation[1] and the poetic descriptions of the creation in Hebrew Prophecy[2] and Hebrew Wisdom,[3] the most of the difficulties will pass away; and the greater part of the contest with science, philosophy, and archæology will cease.

It is plain that the poem does not teach creation out of nothing. Its scope is to describe the bringing of beauty and order and organism out of primitive chaos. It is clear that the poem makes the Word and Spirit of God the agents of creation, and these are just as suitable to the conception of development in six stages as to the conception of an indefinite number of distinct originations out of nothing.

The order of creation should not trouble us; for the poet is giving us six scenes in the Act of Creation, six pictures of the general order of the development of nature. It is not necessary to suppose that there was a wide gap between these pictures, and that there was no overlapping. When God said, "Let light come into being,"[4] He did not continue saying these words for twenty-four hours, or a century or more. Divine speech is instantaneous. The effect of His saying may go on forever, but His word is a flash of light. God did no more speaking on the second day than on the first, no more on the sixth than on the third. The poet certainly does not tell us that God spake a creative word for every object of creation, or even for every species or genus. He, who in His divine conception is above the limits of time and space and circumstance, who grasps in one conception the whole frame of universal nature, with one word, or one breath, or a thought, might have called the universe into being. The poem of the Creation conceives God as speaking six creative words, in order thus to paint the six pictures of creation in an orderly manner. The poet does not propose to comprehend in his representation all the forces and forms and methods of the work of God.

Take it as it is, it is a lyric poem of wonderful power and beauty. Science has not yet reached a point when it can tell the story of creation so well. The story of creation is set forth in the legends and myths of many nations. The Babylonian

[1] Pss. 33, 104. [2] Is. 40^{12} *seq.*, 44^{24}. [3] Prov. 8, Job 38. [4] Gen. 1^{3}.

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poem gives us the best ethnic representation. But all these ethnic conceptions are discoloured by mythological fancies and grotesque speculations. Compared with the best of them, the Biblical Poem is pure and simple and grand. A divine touch is in its sketchings. A Divine Spirit hovered over the mind of the poet to bring order and beauty out of his crude and tossing speculations, no less than He did over the primitive chaos of the world itself.

The priestly historian gives another ancient poem of the Deluge, which also is marked by the same general characteristics of the sovereignty of God and the supremacy of law, that we have seen in the poem of the Creation. He connects these and his other histories by a well-arranged table of genealogies, giving us the line of mankind from Adam through the centuries of the holy race. He conceives of God as a holy God, and of man as created in the image of the holy God, with sovereignty over the earth. It is sin against the divine majesty that involves the catastrophe of the deluge. This historian traces the history of Israel in a series of divine covenants with Noah, Abraham, Jacob, and Moses. These involve the government of God and the service of a holy people. The constitution of a holy law and holy institutions is his highest delight. God's people must be a holy people, as God their Lord is holy, and all their approaches to Him must be in well-ordered forms of sanctity. The entire history of the exodus and the conquest is conceived from this point of view.

The Chronicler is an author of kindred spirit. He describes the history of the kingdom until the exile, and judges of it from the point of view of the holy law of God. He also gives us an account of the restoration and establishment of the holy people in the Holy Land, under the priestly rule and the holy law. And here he brings his history to an end.

A writer of similar spirit in the New Testament is Luke. He also begins his genealogy with Adam. He also gives a later unfolding of the history in the story of the planting of Christianity among Jews and Gentiles. He also has a profound sense of the sovereignty of God, the work of the Divine Spirit, and the ideal of holiness.

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When now we compare these biblical historians with other ancient historians, we observe that the Egyptians come nearest to the Hebrews in their conception of sanctity, but the Hebrews transcend them in making holiness the norm of history. The ideal of the image of the Holy God in man is the ideal that these biblical writers held in mind as the goal of history. Whence could they have derived this ideal if not from the mind of God?

V. The Order of Biblical History

The material of Biblical History may be divided in accordance with its great underlying principles into two parts: the history of the Old Covenant, guided by theophanies, which established the Old Covenant and determined the order and sequence of its historical development; and the history of the New Covenant, guided by the incarnate Christ and His Christophanies, which established the New Covenant and determined its history. The unfolding of the Covenant under the guidance of theophanies and Christophanies makes the subordinate periods.

The history of the Old Covenant is divided into three great periods. These may be distinguished by the three great names which more than any others determine them,— Moses, David, and Ezra. Moses' great covenant, and the theophanies received by him, determine the fundamental period of Biblical History. All the patriarchal and antediluvian stories prepare for it. David's covenant, and the theophanies witnessed by him, determine the whole central period of the Hebrew monarchy. The stories of Samuel and Saul prepare for this. Ezra's covenant, and the more spiritual but no less potent influence of "the good hand of his God upon him,"[1] determine the whole final period of the priests and scribes until the advent of Christ. The history of the New Covenant is greater in intension, but much less in extension, whether of time or place or circumstance. It may be divided into the time of the Forerunners, during the infancy and early life of our Lord; the time of the manifestation of the

[1] Ezr. 7^{9}, 8^{18}; Neh. $2^{8.\ 18}$.

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Messiah, His brief earthly public career; and finally the times of the apostles as commissioned by the reigning Lord and empowered by the indwelling Spirit to organize and establish the Christian Church in the world.

VI. Sections of Biblical History

Biblical History, even more truly than other history, has a wide field of material, which may be subdivided and variously arranged. There is first the external frame of the history, its environment in time, place, and circumstance. Its environment in time gives the discipline of *Biblical Chronology;* its environment in place, the discipline of *Biblical Geography;* its environment in other circumstances of various kinds relating to human nature and affairs may be classified under the elastic term of *Biblical Archæology*. There are many recent writers who include Biblical Chronology and Biblical Geography under the more general head of Biblical Archæology, but without propriety.

It is doubtful, indeed, whether Biblical Archæology is used with propriety for many of the other things that are usually classified under it. The Natural History of the Bible, dealing with animals and plants, the rocks and the soil, has no logical or vital connection with archæology. Archæology, as the science of antiquities, belongs to another group of subjects than Biblical Geography, Chronology, and Natural History. These latter belong to the external environment of the history. Archæology belongs more closely to the history itself, to the inner environment, to the monumental records of the history, and to the source of the history. Christian Archæology is termed by Piper Monumental Theology.[1] Biblical Archæology, from this point of view, would be the Monumental Theology of the Bible. Its subdivisions would then be the various monuments of Biblical History. Biblical Archæology would then embrace Numismatics, the study of coins mentioned in the Bible;[2] Epigraphics, the study of biblical inscriptions; and

[1] *Einleitung in d. Monumentale Theologie*, Gotha, 1867.
[2] F. W. Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, London, 1864.

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Biblical Architecture and Sculpture, the study of the buildings and various examples of plastic art mentioned in Holy Scripture.[1] But there are other matters which cannot be classed with the study of the monuments; namely, the domestic, social, religious, and political life of the Jewish people. These subjects may in great part be considered in connection with the Biblical History itself or with Biblical Theology. Thus the religious life and all the religious antiquities may be considered under the head of Biblical Religion. The domestic, social, and political life may come under the head of Biblical Ethics. The political and religious organizations can hardly escape the attention of the biblical historian. But there will still remain a residuum of these topics that can be discussed but inadequately, and as it were aside, in Biblical History and Biblical Theology, and therefore a place must be found for them in Biblical Archæology, which then under this head will subdivide itself into domestic antiquities, social antiquities, religious antiquities, and political antiquities.

VII. The Sources of Biblical History

The primitive sources of Biblical History are mythologies, legends, poems, laws, whether inscribed, written, or traditional, historical documents, and the use of the historical imagination.

1. *Mythical Sources*

There can be little doubt that there is a strong mythological element at the basis of Biblical History as well as of other ancient histories. The myth is indeed the most primitive historic form and mould in which that which is most ancient is transmitted from primitive peoples. There are such myths in the stories of the book of Genesis, and in the poetry of Job, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Zechariah, and not a few of the Psalms. But it is characteristic of all these myths that they have been transformed by the genius of Hebrew poets under the influence of the Divine Spirit, so that all that is polytheistic has disap-

[1] Conrad Schick, *Die Stiftshütte, der Tempel in Jerusalem und der Tempelplatz der Jetztzeit*, Berlin, 1896.

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peared, and nothing remains which is unworthy of the ideals of the Hebrew religion. It will be sufficient if I quote here from recent authorities who have given their attention to this subject, and I have selected for this two recent scholars.[1]

"To the student of comparative religion it is no doubt of great interest to notice that in the story of the origins we have a narrative which shows clear traces of connection with Chaldæan traditions; to the believer in divine inspiration it is of chief importance to notice how primitive myth is consecrated to spiritual uses, and how in the process it is purged of all that is puerile or immoral, the main outlines of the original Babylonian story being retained, while the lower elements in it are entirely overmastered by the sublime spiritual thoughts of a lofty religion. Such elements are indeed only survivals, like the survivals in natural history, serving, for aught we know, some beneficent purpose, showing that Israel's religion had its roots in a Semitic paganism, from which under the impulse of the Spirit of God it gradually emancipated itself. No student of the Old Testament will find serious difficulty in the existence of mythical or even polytheistic elements which have in fact become the medium of pure religious ideas, and which have been so far stripped of their original character as to serve the purposes of a monotheistic system."[2]

Cheyne, in writing of mythological elements in the book of Job, says:

"One of the peculiarities of our poet (which I have elsewhere compared with a similar characteristic in Dante) is his willingness to appropriate mythic forms of expression from heathendom. This willingness was certainly not due to a feeble grasp of his own religion; it was rather due partly to the poet's craving for imaginative ornament, partly to his sympathy with his less developed readers, and a sense that some of these forms were admirably adapted to give reality to the conception of the 'living God.' Several of these points of contact with heathendom have been indicated in my analysis of the poem. I need not again refer to these, but the semi-mythological allusions to supernatural beings who had once been in conflict with Jehovah (21^{12}, 25^{5}), and the cognate references to the dangerous cloud-dragon ought not to be overlooked. Both in Egypt and in Assyria and Babylonia, we find these very myths in a fully developed form. The 'leviathan'

[1] See also Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit*, 1895.

[2] Robert Lawrence Ottley, *Aspects of the Old Testament*, 1897, pp. 57, 58.

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of 3^8, the dragon probably of 7^{12} (*tannīn*) and certainly of 26^{13} (*nākhāsh*), and the 'rahab' of 9^{13}, 26^{12}, remind us of the evil serpent Apap, whose struggle with the sun-god Ra is described in chap. 39 of the Book of the Dead and elsewhere. 'A battle took place,' says M. Maspero, 'between the gods of light and fertility and the "sons of rebellion," the enemies of light and life. The former were victorious, but the monsters were not destroyed. They constantly menace the order of nature, and, in order to resist their destructive action, God must, so to speak, create the world anew every day.' An equally close parallel is furnished by the fourth tablet of the Babylonian creation-story, which describes the struggle between the god Marduk (Merodach) and the dragon Tiamat or Tiamtu (a fem. corresponding to the Heb. masc. form *t'hom* 'the deep'). . . . Nor must I forget the 'fool-hardy' giant (K'sil = Orion) in 9^9, 38^{31}, nor the dim allusion to the sky-reaching mountain of the north, rich in gold (comp. Is. 14^{13}, and Sayce, *Academy*, Jan. 28, 1882, p. 64) and the myth-derived synonyms for Sheol, Death, Abaddon, and 'the shadow of death' (or, deep gloom), 26^6, 28^{22}, 38^{17}, also the 'king of terrors' (18^{14}), who like Pluto or Yama rules in the Hebrew Underworld. Observe, too, the instances in which a primitive myth has died down into a metaphor, *e.g.* 'the eyelids of the Dawn' (3^9, 41^{18}). . . . How far the poet of Job believed in the myths which he has preserved, *e.g.* in the existence of potentates or potencies corresponding to the 'dragon' of which he speaks, we cannot certainly tell. Mr. Budge has suggested that Tiamat, the sky-dragon of the Babylonians, conveyed a distinct symbolic meaning. However this may have been, the 'leviathan' of Job was probably to the poet a 'survival' from a superstition of his childhood, and little if anything more than the emblem of all evil and disorder."[1]

2. *Legendary Sources*

Legends constitute the form in which historical material is handed down from generation to generation in oral transmission, especially in times prior to written literature. Holy Scripture uses a great abundance of these legends. The popular imagination embellishes them; changes them in many ways as to time, place, and circumstances; and only preserves the substance of the truth and fact. As an illustration we may take the patriarch's representation that his wife was his sister.

[1] Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*, 1887, pp. 76–78.

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There are three narratives of this event.[1] Doubtless there was an actual occurrence of this kind in the times of the patriarchs; but each one of these narratives shows the legendary embellishment.

The Ephraimitic narrative represents that Abraham was the patriarch and that the event took place at the court of Abimelech, king of Gerer. But the Judaic narrator already found two stories current in his time, one making Abraham the hero, the other Isaac; the one putting the event at the court of Pharaoh, the other at the court of Abimelech. Historical criticism cannot do otherwise than regard these as three legends of one and the same event.[2]

Another example is the story of the slaying of the giant Goliath. I shall here quote Kent's compact statement:

> "The language and representation of chapter 16^{1-13}, proclaim its affinity with the later stratum of narrative contained in 8, 12, and 15. The remainder of the chapter, however, is old. This records the introduction of the youthful David, already 'a mighty man of valor, and a man of war and prudent of speech' (16^{18}), to the court of Saul, and of his winning the favor of the king until the latter makes him his armor-bearer. If we had not discovered that the book of Samuel is a compilation, we should share with the translators of the Septuagint the difficulty which led them to leave out a large part of the following chapter in the fruitless endeavor to reconcile it with the preceding. For chapter 17^{1}–18^{5} tells of the victory of the lad David over Goliath, and of his subsequent introduction to Saul and his court, who are wholly unacquainted with the youthful champion. Even if this section be placed before 16^{14-23}, the difficulty is not entirely removed. It is further increased when we read in 2 Sam. 21^{19}, 'And there was again war with the Philistines at Gob; and Elhanan, the son of Jaare-oregim the Beth-lehemite, slew Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam' (cf. 1 Sam. 17^{7}). Evidently here are distinct narratives handed down through different channels. Whether the Goliath mentioned was actually slain by David or Elhanan can never be absolutely determined. The statement of 1 Chr. 20^{5}, that it was a brother of Goliath who fell by the hand of Elhanan, seems to be an endeavor of the later chronicler to harmonize the two statements in Samuel. It is

[1] Gen. 12^{10-20} (J), 20 (E), 26^{6-11} (J).

[2] See Sayce, *Early History of the Hebrews*, pp. 64–65. He admits different versions here.

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by no means impossible, however, that in some one of the many forays of the Philistines into Judah the youthful David slew the champion of the Philistines. The memory of the act was preserved among David's kinsmen, the Judeans, until at last it found a place in the prophetic history which is our great source for the period. Certainly, some such deed or deeds he performed before he gained the reputation of being 'a mighty man of valor,' which he bore when introduced to Saul's court. His subsequent record confirms this conclusion."[1]

3. *Poetical Sources*

A very large amount of ancient poetry is given either in whole or in fragments in the historical prose of the Old Testament. A large part of this poetry is given by the Ephraimitic writers, such as the birth-song of Isaac,[2] the blessings of Isaac,[3] the blessings of the sons of Joseph,[4] the ode of the Red Sea,[5] the oath against Amalek,[6] Yahweh's word establishing the royal priesthood of Israel,[7] the calling of Moses,[8] the citation from the book of the wars of Yahweh,[9] the song of the fountain,[10] the ode of triumph over Moab,[11] the oracles of Balaam,[12] the blessings of Moses,[13] the song of Deborah,[14] the fable of Jotham,[15] the protests of Samuel,[16] the extract from the ode of victory.[17]

The Judaic writers also cite ancient poetry as follows: The blessing of Abraham,[18] the blessing of Rebekah,[19] oracle about Jacob,[20] Jacob's blessing,[21] song of the ark,[22] song of Moses,[23] and the great epic of the catastrophes of the fall and the deluge,[24] the sayings of Samson,[25] the triumph of the Philistines,[26] the hymn of Hannah,[27] a saying of Samuel,[28] the refrain of the ode of triumph over the Philistines,[29] a proverb quoted of David,[30]

[1] Kent, *A History of the Hebrew People*, 1896, Vol. I. pp. 104–105.
[2] Gen. 21^{6-7}. See p. 393.
[3] Gen. $27^{27-29.\ 39-40}$. See p. 394.
[4] Gen. $48^{15-16.\ 19.\ 20}$. See pp. 390, 394.
[5] Ex. 15. See p. 379.
[6] Ex. 17^{16}.
[7] Ex. 19^{3-6}.
[8] Nu. 12^{6-8}.
[9] Nu. 21^{14-15}.
[10] Nu. 21^{17-18}. See p. 390.
[11] Nu. 21^{27-30}. See p. 413.
[12] Nu. $23^{7-10.\ 18-24}$, $24^{3-9.\ 15-24}$.
[13] Deut. 33.
[14] Jd. 5. See p. 368.
[15] Jd. 9^{7-15}. See p. 416.
[16] 1 Sam. 12^{3}, $15^{22-23.\ 29.\ 33}$.
[17] 1 Sam. $17^{34-36.\ 45-47}$.
[18] Gen. 12^{1-3}.
[19] Gen. 24^{60}. See p. 387.
[20] Gen. 25^{23}.
[21] Gen. 49^{2-27}.
[22] Nu. 10^{35-36}. See p. 387.
[23] Deut. 32^{1-43}. See p. 390.
[24] Gen. 2^{4}–4, and the Judaic parts of the narrative of the Deluge. See p. 396.
[25] Jd. $14^{14.\ 18}$, 15^{16}. See p. 416.
[26] Jd. 16^{24}.
[27] 1 Sam. 2^{1-10}.
[28] 1 Sam. 16^{7}.
[29] 1 Sam. 18^{7}. See p. 385.
[30] 1 Sam. 24^{13}.

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the covenant with David,[1] extract from the book of Yashar ;[2] and also ascribed to David, a saying to Saul,[3] the dirge of Saul,[4] the dirge of Abner,[5] the hymn of victory,[6] and the swan song of David.[7]

The Deuteronomic writer only uses a strophe from the ode of the battle of Beth Horon.[8]

The priestly narrator begins with the poems of the Creation and the Deluge,[9] and also gives the blessing of Jacob,[10] and the benediction of the priests.[11]

There is also inserted in the book of Kings, Isaiah's prophecy against Sennacherib.[12] The blessing of Melchizedek is given in a midrash of uncertain origin.[13]

The Chronicler preserves two extracts from an ode describing the volunteers of David[14] and several hymns of later date.[15]

In the aggregate this poetry is more extensive than either of the two great collections of Hebrew poetry, the Psalter and Proverbs.

The earlier chapters of the gospel of Luke also contain several canticles and other snatches of poetry derived from a Jewish Christian community, including the Annunciations,[16] the Song of Elizabeth,[17] the Magnificat,[18] the Benedictus,[19] and the Nunc Dimittis.[20]

4. *Ancient Laws*

I have recently shown[21] that Hebrew laws may be classified under the technical terms "words," "commandments," "statutes," "judgments," and "laws" ; and that each of these terms comprehends a group of laws which may be traced to their archæological sources.

[1] 2 Sam. 7^{11-16}.
[2] 1 K. 8^{12-13} (LXX).
[3] 1 Sam. 24^{15}.
[4] 2 Sam. 1^{19-27}. See p. 390.
[5] 2 Sam. 3^{33-34}. See p. 390.
[6] 2 Sam. 22 = Ps. 18. See p. 412.
[7] 2 Sam. 23^{1-7}. See p. 402.
[8] Josh. $10^{12b-14a}$. See p. 337.
[9] Gen. 1 and the priestly parts of the story of the Deluge, Gen. 6–8.
[10] Gen. 28^{1-4}.
[11] Nu. 6^{24-26}. See p. 388.
[12] 2 K. 19^{21-34} = Is. 37^{22-35}.
[13] Gen. 14^{19-20}. See p. 391.
[14] 1 Chr. $12^{8.18}$. See pp. 391, 393.
[15] 1 Chr. 16^{8-36}.
[16] Lk. $1^{13-17, 30-33, 35-37}$, 2^{10-12}.
[17] Lk. 1^{42-45}.
[18] Lk. 1^{46-55}.
[19] Lk. 1^{68-79}.
[20] Lk. 2^{29-35}.
[21] *Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, new edition, 1897, pp. 242 *seq.*

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(*a*) The earliest type of the Hebrew law is the *Word*, a short, terse sentence in the form of "Thou shalt not," or "Thou shalt," coming from God through the prophets, beginning with Moses. The Ten Words on the two tables are of this type.[1] So are also the words of the Greater Book of the Covenant,[2] given by the Ephraimitic writer, and of the Little Book of the Covenant,[3] given by the Judaic writer. Such older words are also embedded in the legislation of the three later codes, — the Deuteronomic code, the code of Holiness, and the Priest code. They may easily be seen underlying the material given in these codes.

(*b*) An ancient type of law is the *statute*. These statutes came from the primitive courts of Israel before the institution of elders and judges.[4] These decisions and statutes were originally short, crisp sentences inscribed upon stones, and set up in public places for the warning of the people, usually with the penalty attached. A decalogue of such statutes is presented in Deuteronomy apart from the Deuteronomic code.[5] They are in the participial form; *e.g.*:

Cursed be whoso setteth light by his father or his mother.

A group of them is found in the Larger Book of the Covenant also.[6] They are found occasionally in the later codes,[7] but in the Deuteronomic code the participial form passes over into the form of the third person of the verb; *e.g.*:

A woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man.[8]

In the code of Holiness these assume the relative clause[9]; *e.g.*:

Any person that eateth any blood that person shall be cut off from his people.[10]

These later statutes evidently came from the courts of the priests.

(*c*) The Deuteronomic code has a group of laws which are called *commandments*.[11] These are a further unfolding and a later type of the Words, and are prophetic in character. They assume the form of the second person plural. They are char-

[1] *l.c.*, pp. 181 *seq.* [2] *l.c.*, pp. 211 *seq.* [3] *l.c.*, pp. 189 *seq.*
[4] Then the rulers were called מחקקים and their decisions חקים
[5] *l.c.*, pp. 239 *seq.* [6] *l.c.*, pp. 217 *seq.* [7] *l.c.*, pp. 249 *seq.* [8] Deut. 22^5.
[9] The חקים take the form of חקות and the relative clause is either איש איש אשר or נפש אשר. [10] Lev. 7^{27}. [11] מצות, *l.c.*, pp. 246 *seq.*

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acteristic of the Deuteronomic code; but they are taken up into the code of Holiness and the Priest code, and are also in redactional passages of the earlier codes. This is a pentade of the type:

> Ye shall break down their altars,
> And ye shall dash in pieces their Mazzeboth,
> And ye shall burn their Asherim with fire,
> And ye shall hew down the graven images of their gods,
> And ye shall destroy their name out of that place.[1]

(*d*) Another type of law is the *judgment*.[2] This is a later form of the statute. It gives the decision of a case by a judge,[3] which becomes a legal precedent. It is always in the form of a temporal or conditional clause. The earliest collection of these is found in the Greater Book of the Covenant, but they are also found embedded in all the subsequent codes. This will serve as a specimen:

> "1. If a man steal an ox or a sheep and slaughter it, or sell it, five cattle shall he pay for the ox and four sheep for the sheep.
> "2. If the thief be found while breaking in, and he be smitten and die, there shall be no blood-guiltiness for him.
> "3. If the sun has risen upon him, there shall be blood-guiltiness for him. He shall pay heavily.
> "4. And if he have nothing, he shall be sold for his theft.
> "5. If the theft be at all found in his hand alive, from ox to ass to sheep, he shall pay double."[4]

In the judgments of the code of Holiness the type assumes the form of a conditional clause with the word "man" prefaced.[5]

> And a man, if he smite any person of man, shall be put to a violent death.[6]

In the Priest code a slightly different form is at times assumed.[7]

(*e*) It is the usage of the Priest code to use the word "*law*"[8] for special priestly enactments. In the earlier literature law is used of the Law in general, and not of particular laws.

Thus we have in the law codes, in the technical terms and types of law, archæological evidence of their origin in the various ancient centres, prophetic, judicial, and priestly, which in successive generations, under divine guidance, gave laws and codified them.

[1] Deut. 12^{3}.
[2] משפט, *l.c.*, pp. 252 *seq.*
[3] שפט.
[4] Ex. 21^{37}-22^{3}.
[5] איש כי.
[6] Lev. 24^{17}.
[7] אדם כי.
[8] תורה.

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5. *Documentary Sources*

We have already seen that it is characteristic of Biblical History to use earlier documents. The Higher Criticism has shown the documentary sources of our Hexateuch in four great narratives. It is also at work on these narratives in detail, and finds that each of them used still more ancient sources. There are several distinct strata of the priestly narratives. There are also two strata of the Deuteronomic writers clearly marked. The work of distinguishing primary Judaic and Ephraimitic writers has not as yet reached such decided results; but we may confidently expect that it will ere long attain them. Thus we have disclosed in Hebrew historical composition a working over and a reworking over, in several stages, of original documents; which documents, of great antiquity themselves, used the sources already pointed out; and thus we are enabled to sift the material and arrange it in the order of its genesis, and to test its real historical value.

So in the New Testament we have at last gained firm ground in the two written sources of the synoptic Gospels, the original St. Mark and the Logia of St. Matthew. We have still to determine the other written sources of Luke, and to distinguish the apostolic source or sources of the Gospel of John and the book of Acts. These problems will eventually be solved; and the historical value of the material will be greatly increased by this thorough sifting and arranging.

There are some who shrink from the late dates to which the Higher Criticism refers the historical documents of the Bible in their present form. They think this impairs and threatens to destroy their historicity. There can be no doubt that nearness to the event is valuable to the historian, and remoteness in a measure impairs his testimony. But while this is true, yet the historicity of the material is not really impaired by the remoteness of the event reported, provided we have sufficient evidence that the historian used for his purpose proper sources of information, which bridge the chasm between him and the event. An early writer who did not use documentary sources is really not as reliable an authority as a later writer who did

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use documentary sources. The evidence that the Higher Criticism affords for the fidelity of ancient biblical writers to their documents — that they used them, just as they were, without any apparent effort to harmonize them, or to remove discrepancies — is a strong evidence of their historicity. As Robertson says:

> "It seems to be too readily assumed and too readily admitted, that contemporaneousness and credibility of documents are necessarily inseparable, or to be inferred as a matter of course one from the other. A moment's reflection will show that an event may have historically occurred, and that we may have good evidence of it, even although no account of it was written down at the moment of its occurrence; as also that false statements in regard to certain matters of fact may be made, and put on record at the time of the actual occurrences. The mere writing down of these at the time does not make them credible, nor does the omission to write those make them incredible. Assyrian and Egyptian kings may lie upon stone monuments — very probably they did — in regard to events of their own day; and Hebrew historians may tell us a true story of their history, though they wrote it long after the events. The point to be established is, that for the biblical theory of the history it does not matter who wrote the historical books. The theory does indeed imply that those books contain true history; but its acceptance of the facts does not depend on a knowledge of who wrote them down; for on this point the books themselves are for the most part silent. Moses may have written much, or may have written little, of what is contained in the Pentateuch; it will remain unknown who were the authors of the succeeding books: our knowledge of these things would not necessarily guarantee the history. The biblical theory, as an account of the manner in which things took place, does not stand or fall by the determination of the contemporaneousness of documents, and the modern theory certainly has no higher claim to the possession of contemporary sources for its support."[1]

VIII. The Historic Imagination

After all has been said as to the use of the sources of the biblical historians, there can be no doubt that they also used their historical imagination. This is not a fault. It is an excellence. It is an essential quality of all the best historic

[1] Robertson, *The Early Religion of Israel*, 1892, pp. 46–47.

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writing in all ages. It is doubtful whether better examples of its use can be found than in the biblical histories. We have to remember that the writers of biblical history were aiming above all to be religious teachers; and that they did not study the histories with a purely historic interest, but with a very practical interest, as prophets or as priests.

As Kent says:

> "From these many sources the prophets gleaned their illustrations and the data wherewith they reconstructed the outlines of their nation's history, which was itself a supreme illustration of the truths concerning Jehovah which they wished to impress. Scientific or historic accuracy they did not claim. One's respect, however, for the Old Testament and the work of the prophets deepens when it is perceived that they were subject to all the limitations of an era when scientific methods of investigation were unknown and the exact historic spirit still unborn. The scientific and historical variations are in themselves proofs of the truth of the divine message which was thus given forth in a form attractive and intelligible to all." [1]

Therefore we have to take into account the point of view of those priests who wrote the priestly section of the Hexateuch and the work of the Chronicler. Their priestly interest determined their choice of material, the use they made of it, and the colours and shading which their imagination put upon it. There can be no doubt that they idealize the history in the interests of the priesthood and the temple and the Levitical law.

So the point of view of the Deuteronomic writers is the Deuteronomic Law, and they judge the history by that Law, and they idealize Moses and the entire previous history in the light of that Law. Even the earlier prophets, who wrote the Ephraimitic and Judaic narratives, wrote in the prophetic interests of their times.[2]

We may say with reference to them all that they did not, and could not, distinguish between truth and the fiction in any of the older legends and historic documents at their disposal. They could not separate the bare fact from its mythical, leg-

[1] Kent, *A History of the Hebrew People*, 1896, p. 12.

[2] See Briggs, *Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, new ed., 1897, pp. 126 *seq.*

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endary, and poetic embellishment. Indeed, they preferred it as thus embellished, for it was more appropriate in this form for their purpose of instruction. Furthermore, it is evident that they did not hesitate to indulge themselves in historical fiction where they had not sufficient historic information and the lessons had yet to be taught. Midrashim of this sort are incorporated here and there throughout the history. It is only by the use of the Higher Criticism assisted by historical criticism that they can be eliminated.

There is no evidence that the Divine Spirit guided these historians in their historic investigations so as to keep them from historic errors. The Divine Spirit guided them in their religious instruction in the lessons they taught from history. But there is no evidence of other guidance. The evidence is all against such guidance as prevented them from making historic errors. They certainly did record error. The words of Ottley are appropriate here:

> "On a survey of the ground we have traversed, it appears that there are good reasons for believing that the inspired writers give a presentation of the facts which is not primarily historical, but prophetic, their main design being that of religious edification. It follows that we can await with equanimity the verdict of criticism in regard to the exact historical worth of the narrative. That there is a great regard for certain outstanding facts of the history is unquestionable, but the facts are often coloured by high imaginative power, and are estimated according to moral significance. In regard to minor details there is ample room for diversity of opinion. To take two passing illustrations. The religious lessons of Samson's history are not materially affected by any particular view respecting the precise character of the narrative which describes his career. The portrait of David is not the less a treasure for all time because to a great extent it is idealized by devout writers of a later age. The important question is whether, in their interpretation of Israel's history, the prophetic writers of the Old Testament are fundamentally wrong. We have found reasons for supposing that in its general point of view 'the prophetic philosophy of history' is true, and we may accept the cautious summary of Professor Robertson as fairly stating our conclusions. 'The great events,' he says, 'of Israel's history, the turning-points, the points determinative of the whole life and history, are attested by the nation at

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the earliest time at which we are enabled to look for materials on which an opinion can be based. No reason can be given for the invention of them just at this time, or for the significance which the prophets assign to them. It may be that a fond memory invested with a halo of glory the great fathers of the race; it may also be that a simple piety saw wonders where a modern age would see none. Yet the individuality of the characters is not destroyed, nor are the sequence of events and the delineations of character shown to be the work of a fitful and unbridled imagination.'"[1]

It is quite true that from this point of view it is difficult to draw the line between historic fact and historic fiction; and to many minds it is painful to transfer that material to the realm of fiction which they had always supposed was safe in the realm of historic fact. It is still more difficult for some minds to be unable to draw the lines and to be left in uncertainty. Nevertheless this is the exact situation in which we are left in the study of Biblical History; and the only thing we can do, so far as the study of that history is concerned, is faithfully to apply the principles of Historical Criticism and to abide by the results. We cannot change the facts, discolour them or distort them, in order to ease the intellectual and moral difficulties of those who are loath to accept the results of Historical Criticism. If these persons are unwilling to make the investigations themselves, they must be content to abide the decision that may be reached by scholars who reverently and conscientiously, and yet rigorously and thoroughly, make the necessary researches.

But apart from the interests of history, it makes not the slightest difference so far as the teaching of the Bible as to faith and morals is concerned, how greatly the proportions of fact and fiction, of the real and ideal, may be changed in the progress of Historical Criticism, so long as the great historic events upon which our religion depends remain unimpeached. To impeach the historicity of the incarnation and the resurrection of our Lord destroys the Christian religion. Some critics seek to do this by the use of Historical Criticism; but Historical Criticism is really the sure weapon which God has put into

[1] Ottley, *Aspects of the Old Testament*, 1897, pp. 156–158.

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our hands to vindicate everything which is really historical. Historical Criticism enables us successfully to sift the entire material and to separate the wood, hay, straw, and stubble of human opinion from the gold and gems of the real historical and everlasting city and kingdom of God.

At Constantinople one sees the greatest and noblest of all Christian churches transformed into a Mahometan mosque. The cross was displaced by the crescent, the towers by the minarets, and the beautiful mosaic work, telling in pictorial art the wonders of the life of Christ and of Christian history encircling the dome, was plastered over and hidden from the eyes of men for centuries. The plastering is beginning to disappear, and keen eyes can see through it the outline of the mosaic work which still exists behind. Some day when the Church has gained possession of this metropolitan cathedral of the East, it will remove all this plastering, cut down the crescent and the minarets, elevate the cross, and the story of Christ and Christianity will once more shine from every part of the Church of the Divine Wisdom. Just so the true Biblical History has been plastered over for centuries by traditional theories. Men have been adding layer on layer to these traditions. The Reformation began to rub them off. But the reactionary age conserved those which were left and plastered others on. Modern Historical Criticism will not cease its work until they have all been removed once for all and forever. Critics are determined to know the true Biblical History for themselves and for all men.

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CHAPTER XXIII

BIBLICAL THEOLOGY

BIBLICAL Theology, as a theological discipline, had its origin in the effort to throw off from the Bible the accumulated traditions of scholasticism, guard it from the perversions of mysticism, and defend it from the attacks of rationalism. Its growth has been through a struggle with these abnormal tendencies. It has finally developed into a well-defined discipline, presenting the unity of the Scriptures as a divine organism, and justly estimating the various human types of religion, doctrine, and morals.

I. THE FOUR TYPES OF THEOLOGY

The Bible is the divine revelation as it has become fixed and permanent in written documents of various persons in different periods of history, collected in one body called the Canon, or Holy Scripture. All Christian theology should be founded on the Bible, and yet the theologians of the various Christian churches, and of the several periods of Christian history, have differed greatly in their use of the Bible. Each age has its own providential problems to solve in the progress of our race and seeks in the Divine Word for their solution, looking from the point of view of its own immediate and peculiar necessities. Each temperament of human nature approaches the Bible from its own needs. The subjective and the objective, the form and the substance of knowledge, the real and the ideal, are ever readjusting themselves to the advancing generations. If the Bible were a codex of laws, or a system of doctrines, there would still be room for difference of attitude and interpretation; but inasmuch as the Bible is rather a collection of various kinds

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of literature,—poetry and prose, history and story, oration and epistle, sentence of wisdom and dramatic incident,—and is, as a whole, concrete rather than abstract, the room for difference of attitude and interpretation is greatly enhanced. Principles are not always distinctly given; they must ordinarily be derived from a concrete body of truth and facts, and concrete relations; and everything depends upon the point of view, method, process, and the spirit with which the study is conducted.

1. Thus the *mystic* spirit arising from an emotional nature and unfolding into a more or less refined æsthetic sense, seeks union and communion with God, direct, immediate, and vital, through the religious feeling. It either strives by mystic insight to break through the forms of religion to the spiritual substance, or else by the imagination sees in the sensuous outlines of divine manifestation and its colours of beauty and grandeur, allegories to be interpreted by the religious æsthetic taste. The religious element is disproportionately unfolded, to the neglect of the doctrinal and ethical. This mystic spirit exists in all ages and in most religions, but it was especially prominent in the Ante-Nicene Church, and in Greek and Oriental Christianity, and it was distinguished by intense devotion and too exclusive absorption in the contemplation of God and of Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour. Its exegesis is characterized by the allegorical method.

2. The *scholastic* spirit seeks union and communion with God by means of well-ordered forms. It searches the Bible for well-defined systems of law and doctrine by which to rule the Church and control the world. It arises from an intellectual nature, and grows into a more or less acute logical sense, and a taste for systems of order. This spirit exists in all ages and in most religions, but it was especially dominant in the middle age of the Church and in Latin Christianity. It is distinguished by an intense legality and by too exclusive attention to the works of the law, and a disproportionate consideration of the sovereignty of God, the sinfulness of man, and the satisfaction to be rendered to God for sin. In biblical studies it is distinguished by the legal, analytic method of interpretation, carried on at times with such hair-splitting dis-

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tinction and subtilty of reasoning that Holy Scripture becomes, as it were, a magician's book. Through the device of the manifold sense the Bible is made as effectual to the purpose of the dogmatician for proof texts as are the sacraments to the priests in their magical operation. The doctrinal element prevails over the religious and ethical. Dogma and institution alike work *ex opere operato*.

3. The *speculative* spirit seeks union and communion with God through the human reason, and, like the mystic spirit, disregards the form, but from another point of view. Under the guide of conscience it develops into a more or less pure ethical sense. It works with honest doubt and inquisitive search after truth, for the solution of the great problems of the world and man. It is distinguished by an intense rationality and morality. It yearns for a conscience at peace with God and working in faith toward God and love toward man. This has been the prevailing spirit in the Germanic world since the Reformation, and is still the characteristic spirit of our age. The Church, its institutions and doctrines, the Sacred Scriptures themselves, are subjected to earnest criticism in the honest search for moral and redemptive truth, and the eternal ideas of right, which are good forever, and are approved by the reason. The ethical element prevails over the religious and the doctrinal.

4. The *practical* spirit seeks union and communion with God in various forms of Christian life and work. It aims to obey the word of God and do the will of God. It is distinguished by an intense interest and enthusiasm for all kinds of religious activity. In biblical studies it seeks above all, practical exegesis and the application of the teachings of Holy Scripture to human conduct. This spirit is a special characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race, and it is dominant in British and American Christianity.

5. The truly catholic spirit combines what is true and of advantage in all these tendencies of human nature. Born of the Holy Spirit, it is ever appropriating all the faculties and powers of man, and eliminating therefrom defective and abnormal tendencies and habits. It is reverent, believing, loving

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approach to God through the means of grace. It is above all vital union and communion with the Triune God in the forms of divine appointment, and the love and service of God and the brethren with all the faculties. It uses the form in order to the substance. It is inquiring, obedient, devout, and reformatory. It combines the subject and the object of knowledge, and aims to realize the ideal. It unites the devotional with the legal and moral habits and attitudes. It strives to unite in the Church the various types of human experience in order to complete manhood, and the completion of the kingdom of God in the golden age of the Messiah.

This spirit is the spirit of our Saviour, who speaks to us through four evangelists in the various types, in order to give us a complete and harmonious representation of Himself. This is the spirit which combines the variety of the Old and New Testament writers into the unity of the Holy Spirit. This is the spirit which animated the Christian Church in its great advancing epochs, when a variety of leaders, guided by the Holy Spirit, combined the types into comprehensive movements. This was the underlying and moving principle of the Reformation, where vital religion combined with great intellectual activity and moral earnestness to produce the churches of Protestant Christianity.

The great initial movements by which the Christian Church advanced in every age combined the variety of forces into harmonious operation; but these in every case gave way to reaction and decline, in which the various forces separated themselves, and some particular one prevailed. So it was again in the seventeenth century after the Reformation. The successors of the Reformers, declining from their vital religion and moral vigour, broke up into various antagonistic parties in the different national churches, in hostility with one another, marring the harmony of catholic truth and the principles of the Reformation. The reaction first began with those who had inherited the scholastic spirit from the Middle Age, and substituted a Protestant scholasticism for the mediæval scholasticism in the Lutheran and Reformed churches of the continent, and a Protestant ecclesiasticism for a papal ecclesiasticism in

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the churches of Great Britain. The Scriptures again became the slaves of dogmatic systems and ecclesiastical machinery, and again they were reduced to the menial service of furnishing proof texts to the foregone conclusions of dogmaticians and ecclesiastics.

The French Huguenots and British Puritans, in their struggles against persecution, maintained a vital religion, and reacted to the unfolding of the mystic type of theology. They devoted their attention to works of piety, to union and communion with God, and to the practical application of the Scriptures to Christian life, holding fast to the covenant of grace as the principle of their entire theology, while they distinguished between a theoretical and a practical divinity, presenting the former in the common Reformed sense, but advancing the latter to a very high degree of development, the best expression of which is found in the Westminster symbols.[1] Puritanism had, however, within itself antagonistic elements, which separated themselves after the composition of the Westminster standards, into various types, and the Puritan spirit largely became stereotyped in the Puritanical spirit. On the one side it reacted to scholasticism in the school of the great Independent divine, John Owen, and on the other into mysticism, in the many separating churches of Great Britain.

[1] John Dury, one of the Westminster divines, a Scotchman, the great peacemaker of his age, in his work, *An Earnest Plea for Gospel Communion*, sheds much light upon this subject. He defines practical divinity to be "a system or collection of divine truth relating to the practice of piety." The great majority of the writings of the Puritan divines and Westminster men are upon this theme. It embraces Chaps. XIX.–XXXI. of the Westminster Confession of Faith, the larger part of the Catechisms, and, indeed, the more characteristic, the abler, and the better parts. William Gouge (also member of Westminster Assembly) in 1633 headed a petition of the London ministers to Archbishop Ussher to frame a system of Practical Divinity, as a bond of union among Protestants, distinguishing between essentials and circumstantials. John Dury, in 1654, presents such an outline himself, working it out on the principle of the covenant of grace. He says: "Nor is it possible (as I conceive) ever to unite the Professors of Christianity to each other, to heal their breaches and divisions in Doctrine and Practice, and to make them live together, as brethren in one spirit ought to do, without the same sense of the Covenant by which they may be made to perceive the terms upon which God doth unite all those that are His children unto Himself."—p. 19, *An Earnest Plea for Gospel Communion*, London, 1654.

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Puritanism passed over to the continent through William Ames and others, and in the school of Cocceius maintained a more biblical cast of doctrine in the system of the covenants. It afterward gave birth to Pietism in Reformed and Lutheran Germany, producing the biblical school of Bengel and the Moravians; and subsequently bursting forth in England in the form of Methodism, which is a genuine child of Puritanism in the stress that it lays upon piety and a Christian life, although it shares with all these movements that have grown out of Puritanism the common fault of undue emphasis upon the religious element, and of a more or less exaggerated mysticism, to the neglect of the doctrinal and the ethical.

The school of Saumur in France, the school of Calixtus in Germany, and the Cambridge Platonists in England (who were Puritan in origin and training) revived the ethical type and strove to give the human reason its proper place and functions in matters of religion, and prepared the way for a broad, comprehensive Church. They were accompanied, however, by a more active movement, which, by an undue emphasis of the rational and the ethical, followed John Goodwin,[1] Biddle,[2] and Hobbes[3] into a movement which in England assumed the form of Deism, in France of Atheism, in Holland of Pantheism, and in Germany of Rationalism. And thus the four great types became antagonized both within the national churches, in struggling parties, and without the national churches, in separating churches and hostile forms of religion and irreligion, of philosophy and of science. And so the spirit of the Reformation was crushed between the contending parties, and its voice drowned for a while by the clamour of partisanship. The struggle continued into the present century, but has been modified since Schleiermacher in the growth of the evangelical spirit

[1] John Goodwin was the greatest leader of the Independents in their struggle against a dominant Presbyterianism. He was a most prolific writer and skilful combatant. It is astonishing how much he has been neglected by the Independents, who eventually preferred the scholastic Owen and the mystic Thomas Goodwin to him.

[2] Biddle was the leader of the Unitarians of the period of the Commonwealth, the author of the Larger and Shorter Catechism of the Unitarians, in opposition to the Westminster Larger and Shorter Catechisms.

[3] Hobbes was the great political philosopher of the period.

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so as to become the potent reconciling force of the nineteenth century.[1]

II. The Rise of Biblical Theology

It was in the midst of this conflict of theological types that Biblical Theology had its origin and historical development. It was first during the conflict between Rationalism and Supernaturalism in Germany that the need of a Biblical Theology began to be felt. Holy Scripture was the common battle-field of Protestants, and each party strove to present the Scripture from its own peculiar point of view; and it became important to distinguish the teachings of the Scripture itself from the teachings of the schools and the theologians of the contending parties. This was attempted almost simultaneously from both sides of the conflict. G. T. Zacharia, a pupil of Baumgarten at Halle, and a decided supernaturalist,[2] sought to compare the biblical ideas with the Church doctrine in order to correct and purify the latter. He would base Dogmatics on the Scriptures, which alone can prove and correct the system. The author speaks of the advancing economy of redemption, but has no conception of an *organic* development.[3] Soon after, C. F. Ammon issued his work on Biblical Theology.[4] Ammon was a rationalist. Miracles and prophecy were rejected as untenable because they would not bear critical and historical investigation. Ammon would gather material from the Bible for a dogmatic system without regard to the system that might be built upon it.[5] Thus from both sides the scholastic system was undermined by the scriptural investigation.

[1] The various types are not always found in their strength and purity as divergent forces, but frequently in a more or less mixed condition. Thus the Cambridge Platonists, while predominantly rational and ethical, were also characterized by the mystic spirit, especially in the case of Henry Moore. The Puritans, William Perkins and William Ames, combined the scholastic and mystic types. The scholastic and the rational were combined in Calixtus and Arminius. This might be illustrated by numerous examples.

[2] *Bibl. Theol. oder Untersuchung des biblischen Grundes der vornehmsten theologischen Lehren*, 1772.

[3] See Tholuck's view of him in Herzog, *Real Ency.*, 1te Auf., xviii. p. 351.

[4] *Entwurf einer reinen Bibl. Theologie*, 1792, and *Biblische Theologie*, 1801.

[5] Tholuck regards his Biblical Theology as a fundamental one for the historico-critical rationalism. See Herzog, 1te Aufl., xix. pp. 54 *seq.*

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In the meanwhile Michaelis, Griesbach, and Eichhorn had given a new impetus to biblical studies. J. F. Gabler first laid the foundations of Biblical Theology as a distinct theological discipline.[1] He was the pupil and friend of Eichhorn and Griesbach, who influenced him and largely determined his theological position. He presented the *historical principle* as the distinguishing feature of Biblical Theology over against a system of Dogmatics.[2] Gabler himself did not work out his principles into a system, but left this as an inheritance to his successors. Lorenzo Baur[3] defines Biblical Theology as a development, pure and unmixed with foreign elements, of the religious theories of the Jews, of Jesus, and the apostles, according to the different historical periods, the varied acquirements and views of the sacred writers, as derived from their writings. He sought to determine the universal principles which would apply to all times and individuals. He would from the shell of biblical ideas get the kernel of the universal religion.[4] De Wette[5] sought to separate the essential from the non-essential by religious philosophical reflection. He would exclude the local, the temporal, and the individual in order to attain the universal religion. He made the advance of treating Biblical Theology in periods, and of distinguishing the characteristic features of Hebraism and Judaism, of Christ and His apostles; but in his treatment the dogmatic element has too great prominence given to it, so that he justly gives his work the

[1] In an academic discourse: *de justo discrimine theologiæ biblicæ et dogmaticæ regundisque recte utriusque finibus*, 1787.

[2] Gabler was a man of the type of Eichhorn and Herder, on the borders of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, from whom the fructifying influences upon the Evangelical Theology of the nineteenth century went forth. He laboured for many years as professor at Jena, and worked for the advancement of Biblical and Historical Learning with an intense moral earnestness.

[3] *Bibl. Theol. d. N. T.*, 1800–1802.

[4] P. C. Kaiser's *Biblische Theologie oder Judaismus und Christianismus nach grammatisch-historischen Interpretationsmethode und nach einer freimuthigen Stellung in die kritisch vergleichende Universalgeschichte der Religion und die universale Religion* (Bd. I., 1813; II. a, 1814; II. b., 1821) is of the same point of view.

[5] *Bibl. Dogmatik des Alt. und Neuen Testaments oder kritische Darstellung der Religionslehre des Hebraismus, des Judenthums, des Urchristenthums*, 1813, 3te Aufl., 1831.

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title, *Biblical Dogmatics*.[1] W. Vatke,[2] in 1835, issued an able and instructive work, discussing fully the essential character of the biblical religion in relation to the idea of religion. He divides his theme into two parts, presenting the religion of the Old and the New Testaments. The first part is subdivided into two stages: the Bloom and the Decay, historically traced. The author also divides into a general and a special part; the former alone has been published, and is entirely speculative in character. It does not consider the individualities of the authors, and shows no real advance beyond L. Baur and De Wette;[3] although he prepares the way for the school of Reuss, by his use of the philosophy of Hegel for a new conception of the development of the religion of Israel.[4] Daniel von Cöln[5] carries out the historical method more thoroughly than any of his predecessors, and presents a much more complete system, but he does not escape the speculative trammels of his predecessors. He presents the following principles of Biblical Theology:

> "(1) To carefully distinguish the times and authors, and the mediate as well as the immediate presentation of doctrine; (2) To strongly maintain the religious ideas of the authors themselves; (3) To present and explain the symbolical mythical forms and their relation to the pure ideas and convictions of the authors; (4) To explain the relation of the authors and their methods to the external conditions of the people, the time and the place under which they were trained; (5) To search for the origin of the ideas in their primitive forms."[6]

[1] L. F. O. Baumgarten Crusius' *Grundzüge der Biblischen Theologie*, 1828, is of slight importance, reacting from the advances made by L. Baur and De Wette.

[2] *Religion des Alten Testaments nach den kanonischen Büchern entwickelt*, as the first part of a Biblical Theology.

[3] It has recently come into prominence, owing to the author's views of Old Testament Literature, which are in agreement with those of Reuss and Kuenen, at the basis of the Critical Theories of Wellhausen. J. C. F. Steudel's *Vorlesungen über die Theologie des Alten Testaments* nach dessen Tode herausgegeben von G. F. Oehler, 1840, is still on the older ground, taking Biblical Theology to be "the systematic survey of the religious ideas which are found in the writings of the Old Testament," including the Apocryphal, without distinction of periods or authors or writings, all arranged under the topics: Man, God, and the relation between God and Man.

[4] See p. 499. [5] *Bibl. Theol.*, 1836. [6] *Bibl. Theologie*, I. p. 30.

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De Wette and Von Cöln recognize a difference of the authors, but not from any inner peculiarity of the authors themselves, but from the external conditions of time, place, and circumstances. The authors are placed side by side without any real conception of their differences or of their unity. The historical principle is applied and worked out, but in an external fashion, and the relation to the universal religion and to other religions is considered, rather than the interrelation of the various doctrines and types of the Scriptures themselves.

III. Development of Biblical Theology

This was the condition of affairs when Strauss issued his *Life of Jesus*, and sought, by arraying one New Testament writer against another, as F. Baur justly charges against him, to prove the incompetence of all the witnesses and reduce the life of Jesus to a myth.[1] F. Baur himself sought by the historico-critical process to show the natural development of Christianity out of the various forces brought into conflict with each other in the first and second Christian centuries, reducing the life and teachings of Jesus to a minimum. Neander grappled with the mythical hypothesis of Strauss, and the development hypothesis of F. Baur, and sought to construct a life of Jesus and a history of the apostolic Church, resting upon a sound historical criticism of the New Testament writings.[2] He introduced a new principle into Biblical Theology, and made it a section in his History of the Apostles. He sought to distinguish the individualities of the various sacred writers in their conception of Christianity and to unite them in a higher unity.

> "The doctrine of Christ was not to be given to man as a stiff and dead letter, in a fixed and inflexible form, but, as the word of

[1] F. Baur, *Krit. Untersuch. in d. kann. Evang.*, p. 71; F. Baur, *Kirchengeschichte des 19 Jahrhunderts*, p. 397. Strauss replies in his *Leben Jesu f. d. deutsche Volk.*, p. 64. See pp. 493 *seq.*

[2] *Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung der christlichen Kirche durch die Apostel*, 1832, 5te Aufl., 1862; translated into English in Biblical Cabinet, Edinburgh, 1842; Bohn's Library, London, 1856; translated by J. E. Ryland, revised and corrected according to the 4th German edition by E. G. Robinson, N. Y., 1865.

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the Spirit and of life, was to be proclaimed in and by its life in living variation and variety. Men enlightened by the Divine Spirit caught up these doctrines and appropriated them in a living manner according to their respective differences in education and life. These differences were to manifest the *living* unity, the richness and depth of the Christian spirit according to the various modes of human conception, unconsciously complementing and explaining each other. For Christianity is meant for all men, and can adapt itself to the most varied human characters, transform them and unite them in a higher unity. For the various peculiarities and fundamental tendencies in human nature are designed to work in and with one another at all times for the realization of the idea of humanity, the presentation of the kingdom of God in humanity."[1]

Neander thus gave to Biblical Theology a new and important feature that was indispensable for the further development of the discipline. Neander's presentation has still many defects. It is kept in a too subordinate position to his history. But he takes the stand so necessary for the growth of Biblical Theology that the theology of the various authors is to be determined from their own characters and the essential and fundamental conceptions of their own writings. Neander presents as the central idea of Paul, the Law and righteousness, which give the *connection* as well as *contrast* between his original and final conceptions. The fundamental idea of James is, that Christianity is the *perfect law*. John's conception is, that divine life is in communion with the Redeemer; death, in estrangement from Him.

Schmid, a colleague of F. Baur at Tübingen, first gave Biblical Theology its proper place in Theological Encyclopædia.[2] He defined Biblical Theology as belonging essentially to the department of Exegetical Theology. "We understand by Biblical Theology of the New Testament the historico-genetic presentation of Christianity as this is given in the canonical writings of the New Testament; a discipline which is essentially distinguished from Systematic Theology

[1] *Gesch. d. Pf. und Leit.*, Gotha, 5te Aufl., p. 501.

[2] In his invaluable essay, "Ueber das Interesse und den Stand d. Bibl. Theo. des Neu. Test. in unserer Zeit," *Tübinger Zeitschrift f. Theo.*, 4te Heft., 1838, pp. 126, 129.

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by its historical character, while by its limitation to the biblical writings of the New Testament, it is separated from Historical Theology, and is characterized as a part of Exegetical Theology. Of this last it constitutes the summit by which Exegetical Theology is connected with the roots of Systematic as well as Historical Theology, and even touches Practical Theology." Schmid regards Christianity as the fulfilment of the Old Covenant, which consists of Law and Promise.[1] He seeks to present Christianity in its unity with the Old Testament as well as in its contrast thereto. He thus gains four possibilities of doctrine, which are realized in the four principal apostles. James presents Christianity as the fulfilled Law; Peter, as the fulfilled Promise; Paul, as contrasted with the Law; and John, as contrasted with both Law and Promise. For many years he lectured on the Theology of the New Testament. These lectures were published after his death by his pupils.[2]

Oehler (G. F.), also of the university of Tübingen, takes the same position with reference to the Old Testament.[3] He defines the Theology of the Old Testament as "the historico-genetic presentation of the revealed religion contained in the canonical writings of the Old Testament." His lectures were first issued in 1873–1874,[4] by his son. Oehler distinguishes in the Old Testament three parts: Mosaism, Prophetism, and the Chokma — the first fundamental; the Prophetism representing the objective side, and the Chokma the subjective; these two unfolding in parallelism with one another. Thus he marks an advance in the Old Testament in the discrimination of types, corresponding with the distinguishing of types in the New Testament by Neander and Schmid.[5] Schmid and Oehler combine in giving us organic systems of Biblical Theology

[1] *Bib. Theo.*, p. 367.

[2] *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, 1853, 4th ed., 1869. Translated into English, but without the invaluable *definitions* at the beginning of the sections. Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1870.

[3] *Prolegomena zur Theologie des Alten Testaments*, 1845.

[4] *Theologie des Alten Test.*, 2 Bde., 2te Aufl., 1883, 3te Aufl., 1891.

[5] His work has been translated into English in Clark's Library, Edin., 2 vols., 1874; also revised and edited by Prof. G. E. Day, N.Y., 1883.

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as the highest point of Exegetical Theology, with a distinction of types combining in a higher unity, and with Neander introduce a new epoch in Biblical Theology.[1]

On the other hand, F. Baur attempts to account for the peculiarities of the New Testament writings, as well as the origin of the Christian Church, by his theory of the two opposing forces, the Judaistic and the Pauline, gradually uniting in the later writings of the New Testament in the second century into a more conservative and mediating theology, reaching its culmination in the Johannean writings, which are at an elevation above the peculiarities of the earlier stages of development. Biblical Theology is to Baur a purely historical discipline. In it the scriptural doctrine loosens itself from the fetters of the dependent relation in which it has been to the dogmatic systems of the Church, and will more and more emancipate itself therefrom. New Testament Theology is that part of Historical Theology which has to present the doctrine of Jesus as well as the doctrinal systems resting upon it, in the order and connection of their historical development, according to the peculiar characteristics by which they are distinguished from one another, so far as this can be ascertained in the New Testament writings. Baur strongly objects to the idea of Neander and his school, that there is a *unity* in the variety of New Testament doctrines, which is the very opposite of his own view of a development out of contrasted and irreconcilable forces. Baur justly admits that the doctrines of Jesus must be at the foundation. The doctrine of Jesus must be drawn chiefly from the discourses in Matthew, yet these not in their present form, as given in our Greek Gospel, but in their original form, to be determined by sound criticism. The essential principle of Christianity and of the doctrine of Jesus is the *ethical* prin-

[1] The posthumous lectures of Professor Hävernick, of Königsberg, on *Bibl. Theo. d. Alt. Test.*, were published by Hahn in 1848, and a revised edition by Hermann Schultz, in 1863, but are of no special value. Prof. H. Messner, of Berlin, in 1856, published *Die Lehre der Apostel* in the spirit of Neander. He begins with the system of James, Jude, and Peter; makes the discourse of Stephen a transition to the Pauline system, and gives the theology of Paul with that of the Epistle to the Hebrews appended, and concludes with the theology of John and the Apocalypse. He finally gives a searching comparison of the various forms of apostolic doctrine, seeking a unity in the variety.

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ciple; the law is not only enlarged by the Gospel, but the Gospel is contrasted with it. They are related as the outer to the inner, the act to the intention, the letter to the spirit. "Christianity presented in its original form in the doctrine of Jesus is a religion breathing the *purest moral* spirit." "This moral element, as it is made known in the simple sentences of the sermon on the mount, is the purest and clearest content of the doctrine of Jesus, the real kernel of Christianity, to which all the rest, however significant, stands in a more or less secondary and accidental relation. It is *that* on which the rest must be built, for however little it has the form and colour of that Christianity which has become historical, yet it is in itself the entire Christianity."[1]

Neander and Baur, the great historical rivals of our century, thus attain the same end in John's contemplation which reconciles and harmonizes all the previous points of view. According to Neander and his school, the variety therein attains a higher unity; according to Baur and his school, the contradictory positions are reconciled in an ideal spirit which is indifferent to all mere externals. The lectures of Baur were published after his death in 1864.[2]

Professor Reuss, of Strassburg, in 1852 issued his History of Christian Theology in the Apostolic Age.[3] In the Preface to the last edition he states:

> "The unity which has been sought at the end of the work, I have dwelt upon where the history itself points to it — namely, at the beginning. It is in the primitive Gospel, in the teaching of the Lord Himself, that we find the focus of those rays which the prism of analysis places before us, separately in their different shades of colour. As it has not been my design to produce a critical or theoretical, but a historical work, I have necessarily followed the natural evolution of the ideas, nor did it come within my province to violate this order to subserve any practical purpose, however lawful."

[1] *Neu. Test. Theologie*, pp. 64 *seq.* See p. 499.

[2] *Vorlesungen über Neutestamentliche Theologie.*

[3] *Histoire de la Théologie Chrétienne au Siècle Apostolique*, 2 tomes. A translation of the 3d edition into English was published by Hodder & Stoughton, London, in 2 vols., 1872.

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It is the distinguishing merit of Reuss that he sets the Biblical Theology of the New Testament in the midst of the religious movements of the times. He begins with a discussion of Judaism, *e.g.* the theology of the Jews subsequent to the exile and in its various sects, then considers John the Baptist and the Forerunners. In the second part he treats of the Gospels, in the third part the Jewish-Christian Theology, in the fourth the Pauline, and in the fifth the theology of John. But the historical method absorbs and overwhelms the inductive, and he justly names his work a History of Christian Theology in Apostolic Times. Standing with the school of Baur in contending for the position of the discipline in Historical Theology, he differs from it in his giving up the reconciliation of contrasts in John's Theology. In the same year, 1852, Lutterbeck,[1] a Roman Catholic writer, goes even more thoroughly than Reuss into the doctrinal systems in the midst of which Christianity arose: (1) The Heathen systems; (2) the Jewish; (3) the mixed systems and heresies of the apostolic period. He then passes over to the Christian system, distinguishing the various types as did Neander, and shows their genesis and internal harmony in an able and thorough manner, distinguishing three stages of apostolic doctrine: (1) From the death of Christ to the Apostolic Council, the original type; (2) the time of contrasted views, 50–70; (3) the period of mediation, or the later life of the apostle John, 70–100 A.D.

G. L. Hahn[2] reacts to the historical ground without distinction of types. B. Weiss[3] has also been influenced by the conflict between the schools of Neander and Baur to take an intermediate position. He excludes the life of Jesus and the great events of apostolic history, and also restricts Biblical Theology to the variety of the types of doctrine and abandons the effort for a higher unity. Within the limits chosen by the author his work is elaborate and thorough, and a most

[1] *Neutestamentlichen Lehrbegriffe*, 2te Bde., 1852.

[2] *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, Vol I., 1854.

[3] *Lehrb. d. Bibl. Theo. d. N. T.*, 1868, 3te Aufl., 1880. Translated into English in Clark's Library, Vol. I., 1883.

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valuable addition to the literature, but it does not show any progress in his conception of the discipline.

Hermann Schultz, in 1869,[1] laid stress upon the historico-critical method of the school of Baur. He includes religion as well as dogmatics and ethics in his scheme, excluding the apocryphal books and limiting himself to the canonical writings. His work is elaborate and thorough in its working out of details, but does not show any real progress.[2]

In his Biblical Theology, 1870, Van Oosterzee[3] does not enter much into details or present a thorough-going comparison, yet he seeks the *higher unity* as well as the individual types. He regards Biblical Theology as a part of Historical Theology, but his treatment of it is after the style of Neander. He does not estimate the life of Jesus and the religious life of the apostolic Church. He neglects the religious and ethical elements, and as a whole must be regarded as falling behind the later treatises on the subject. Bernard[4] issued a brief work in the spirit of Neander, but without any advance in the working out of the theme.

Ewald in 1871–1876 issued his massive and profound work.[5] The first volume treats of the doctrine of the Word of God, the second of the doctrine of God, the third of the doctrines of the world and man, the fourth of the life of men and of the kingdom of God. These divisions of the subject-matter are simple and comprehensive, and the treatment, especially in the first volume, is admirable and profound; and yet the historical side of the discipline falls too much into the background; so that we must regard the work on the whole as a decline from the higher position of the schools of Neander and Baur. In-

[1] *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, 2te Aufl., 1878; 5te Aufl., 1896.

[2] In his last editions Schultz has gone over to the school of Wellhausen, and reconstructed his Biblical Theology so as to distinguish a Prophetic and Levitical period, and abandons the historical development, and thus like Ewald declines from the advanced position of F. Baur and Neander.

[3] *Bibl. Theo. of the New Test.* Translated from the Dutch by M. J. Evans. N.Y., 1876.

[4] *Progress of Doctrine in the New Testament*, Bampton Lectures, 1864, 2d ed., 1867.

[5] *Lehre der Bibel von Gott oder Theologie des Alten und Neuen Bundes.* 4 Bde.

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deed, Old Testament Theology was not yet ripe for the treatment that was necessary to bring it up to the standard of the New Testament Theology. The older views of the biblical writings of the Old Testament, both of the Critical and Traditional sides, were too mechanical and uncertain. There was needed a great overturning of the soil of the Old Testament by a radical critical study of its religion and history, such as Strauss had made in the New Testament. Such a treatment was prepared for by Vatke, Reuss, and Graf,[1] but first carried out by Kuenen,[2] and then by Julius Wellhausen.[3] These distinguished three great codes and sections in the Pentateuch, found two antagonistic elements in the Old Testament Scriptures, ventured upon a radical reconstruction of Old Testament religion and history, and established a large and enthusiastic school.

Kuenen, in his history of Israel, finds in the period from Hezekiah to the exile two antagonistic parties in perpetual conflict. The one is the more popular and conservative party, advocating the ancient religion of the land, the local sanctuaries and image worship, together with various deities. This party was formed by the majority of the prophets and the older Levitical priests. The other party was the progressive and the reforming party, aiming at a central and exclusive sanctuary, and the worship of Yahweh alone in a more spiritual manner. This was the priestly party at Jerusalem, formed by the prophets Isaiah, Micah, and Jeremiah. These parties struggled with varying fortunes until the exile. The reforming party issued as their programme the Deuteronomic code. Independent of them, yet at times merging with the party of progress, was the tendency of Hebrew wisdom.[4] The struggle was thus "between Yahwism and Jewish nationality."[5] Dur-

[1] Hitzig, in his posthumous *Vorlesungen über Bibl. Theo. und Mess. Weissagungen*, 1880, treats first of the principle of the religion of the Old Testament, *e.g.* the idea of God as a holy spirit. This developed itself in two directions: *Universalism* and *Particularism*. The book is defective in method, arbitrary in judgment, and shows no real progress beyond this distinction of types.

[2] *Religion of Israel*, 1869–1870 (in the Dutch language, translated 1873–1875 into English) and by his *Prophets and Prophecy in Israel*, 1877.

[3] *Gesch. Israel*, Bd. I., 1878, 2te Ausg., 1883.

[4] *Religion of Israel*, II. Chap. 6.

[5] In *l.c.*, I. p. 70.

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ing the exile, influenced by Ezekiel's programme of reconstruction, the priestly legislation of the middle books of the Pentateuch was composed, and Ezra introduced it to the new commonwealth at Jerusalem.

> "Ezra and Nehemiah assailed as much the independence of the religious life of the Israelites, which found utterance in prophecy, as the more tolerant judgment upon the heathen to which many inclined; their reformation was in other words anti-prophetic and anti-universalistic. History teaches us that the Reformation of Ezra and Nehemiah nearly coincides in date with the disappearance of Prophecy in Israel." [1]

The three great codes were afterward combined in the Pentateuch. Thus this scheme of the reconstruction of the Old Testament legislation and religion, adopted by such a large number of critics, resembles in a most remarkable degree the reconstruction of the New Testament history and doctrine proposed by Baur; namely, two antagonistic and irreconcilable forces resulting in a final system above them both.

The several codes and sections of the Pentateuch have now been recognized by all critical scholars. They correspond in a remarkable manner with the various presentations of the Gospel of Jesus. And so the great types such as we find in the Prophetic, Priestly, and Sapiential writings are clearly defined, corresponding closely with the Petrine, Pauline, and the Johannine types of the New Testament. The correspondence goes even farther, in that, as the Jewish-Christian type is divided in twain by the gospels of Mark and Matthew, and by the apostles Peter and James, so the prophetic type breaks up into the Psalmists and the Prophets. The three great types must be recognized in the Old Testament, extending through the historical, prophetical, and poetical books and other writings, as in the New Testament the types are recognized in the Gospels, the book of Acts, the Epistles, and the Apocalypse. The school of Kuenen and Wellhausen regard them as antagonistic like the

[1] II, pp. 240 *seq.* See the article, "The Critical Theories of Julius Wellhausen," by Prof. Henry P. Smith, in the *Presbyterian Review*, 1882, pp. 357 *seq.*; and my article, "Critical Study of the History of the Higher Criticism," in the same *Review*, 1883, pp. 69 *seq.*

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parties in Church and State in our own day, the history and religion having a purely natural development. Christian scholars will, in the main, deal with the Old Testament as they have done with the New Testament under the lead of Neander, Schmid, and Oehler, and recognize the variation of type in order to a more complete and harmonious representation as they combine under the supernatural influence of a divine progressive revelation.

Among more recent works may be mentioned: Piepenbring,[1] of the school of Reuss. He arranges the theology of the Old Testament in periods. (1) Mosaism from the beginning to the eighth century B.C. (2) Prophetism until the close of the exile. (3) The priestly period from the exile to the first century B.C.

Riehm also, in his posthumous work,[2] little influenced by the school of Reuss, arranged the theology of the Old Testament in periods. He distinguishes Mosaism, Prophetism, and Judaism. Dillmann, however, in his posthumous lectures[3] agrees with Ewald, and abandons the attempt to arrange the material in periods. After a historical introduction he discusses the subject under the topics: doctrine of God, doctrine of Man, and doctrine of the Kingdom of God.

Smend,[4] of the school of Reuss, treats the subject in the three periods: (1) the Religion of Israel; (2) the Religion of the Prophets, beginning with Elijah, and (3) the Religion of the Older Judaism, beginning with the Reformation of Josiah. His volume is the richest of all in detailed investigation; but his historical divisions are a decline from those of Piepenbring, and his arrangement of the material is confusing and unsatisfactory. By his title he shows that he unduly emphasizes the religious element over against Faith and Morals.

C. H. Toy,[5] on the other side, emphasizes the ethical element

[1] *Théologie de l'Ancien Testament*, 1887, trans. by H. G. Mitchell.

[2] *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, bearbeitet und herausgegeben von K. Pahncke, 1889.

[3] *Handbuch der Alttest. Theologie*, herausgegeben von R. Kittel, 1895.

[4] *Lehrbuch der Alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte*, 1893.

[5] *Judaism and Christianity*, 1890. It is discreditable to German and British writers that they so generally ignore a volume which is on the whole the best that has ever been written on its subject.

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and gives the best statement of biblical ethics and sociology that has yet been produced.

A considerable amount of special investigation in Old Testament Theology has been made by many scholars — such as Orelli,[1] Duff,[2] Kahle,[3] and Kirkpatrick.[4] The archæological sources of Old Testament Theology have been investigated by Baethgen,[5] and especially by W. Robertson Smith.[6]

Recent works on New Testament Theology have devoted themselves more to a study of the particular types with reference to their psychological development out of the condition of mind and historical position and training of the various New Testament writers. Immer[7] restates the positions of the school of Baur, but with the important advance that he traces the various stages of the development of the Pauline theology itself with considerable industry and skill; so Pfleiderer,[8] Sabatier,[9] and especially Holsten,[10] who strives to derive the peculiarity of the doctrine of Paul out of his consciousness rather than from the vision and Christophany on the way to Damascus.[11] Thoma[12] strives to explain the theology of John

[1] *Die Alttestamentliche Weissagung von der Vollendung des Gottesreiches*, 1882.

[2] *Old Testament Theology, or The History of Hebrew Religion from the Year 800 B.C.*, 1891.

[3] *Biblische Eschatologie*, 1870. [4] *Doctrine of the Prophets*, 1892.

[5] *Beiträge zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, 1888.

[6] *Religion of the Semites*, 1894. [7] *Theo. d. N. T.*, 1877.

[8] *Influence of the Apostle Paul*, 1885. It was natural that the theology of Paul should receive at first the closest examination. Usteri, *Entwickelung des Paulinischen Lehrbegriffes*, 1829, 6te Aufl., 1851, is a classic work; followed by Dahne, *Entwickelung des Paulinischen Lehrbegriffes*, 1835; Baur, *Paulus der Apostel Jesu Christi*, 1845, 2te Aufl., 1866; Opitz (H.), *System des Paulus*, 1874.

[9] *L'Apôtre Paul esquisse d'une Histoire de sa Pensée*, 1870. Deuxième édition revue et augmentée, 1881, Paris. He finds the origin of Paul's theology in the combination of the three facts — his Pharisaism which he left, the Christian Church which he entered, and the conversion by which he passed from the one to the other. He then traces the genesis of the Pauline theology in three periods.

[10] *Zum Evangelium des Paulus u. d. Petrus*, 1868; *Evangelium des Paulus*, 1880.

[11] Prof. A. B. Bruce, of Glasgow, in his article on "Paul's Conversion and the Pauline Gospel," in the *Pres. Review*, 1880, pp. 652 *seq.*, ably discusses these theories, and shows the connection of Pauline theology with the supernatural event of the Christophany and the apostle's consequent conversion.

[12] *Die Genesis des Johannes Evangelium*, 1882.

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as a development out of the struggling doctrinal conceptions of Judaism and Alexandrianism.[1]

Beyschlag[2] gives first, the doctrine of Jesus (*a*) according to the synoptists, (*b*) according to the Gospel of John; and then the doctrine of the Apostles: (*a*) the original apostolic ideas of the Jerusalem community according to the book of Acts, of the Epistle of James, of the First Epistle of Peter, and of the Epistles of Paul; (*b*) the later and more advanced doctrine of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Apocalypse and the Epistle of John, and the author of the fourth Gospel; and finally (*c*) the pre-apostolic doctrine of the authors of the synoptic Gospels and book of Acts, the Epistle of Jude, and 2 Peter, and the Pastorals. W. F. Adeney in 1894 issued a brief outline[3] very much after the same method, giving first the teaching of Jesus according to the synoptists, then the primitive type of the apostles, the Pauline type, the theology of the epistle to the Hebrews, and the Johannine type of the Apocalypse, Gospel, and Epistles.

The most important works in the theology of the New Testament in the present time are those of Wendt and H. J. Holtzmann.[4] Wendt endeavours to distinguish the teaching of the Logia from the teaching of Jesus according to the synoptists, and also, in a measure, the teaching of the original Gospel of John from our present fourth Gospel. And he traces the relation between these various forms of the teaching of Jesus and the religious ideas of the Jews of the time as expressed in the Pseudepigrapha and Apocrypha.[5] Holtzmann emphasizes the religious ideas enveloping the teaching of Jesus and introductory to the apostolic doctrine, after the method of Reuss and Lutterbeck. Thus he puts the teaching of Jesus

[1] Other special writers upon particular types are: Riehm, *Lehrbegriff des Hebraerbriefs*, 1867; K. R. Kostlin, *Lehrbegriff des Evang. und der Briefe Johannes*, 1845; B. Weiss, *Petrinische Lehrbegriff*, 1855; *Johanneische Lehrbegriff*, 1862; Zschokke, *Theologie der Propheten des Alten Testaments*, 1877; W. Schmidt, *Lehrgehalt des Jacobus Briefes*, 1869; H. Gebhardt, *Lehrbegriff der Apokalypse*, 1873.

[2] *Neutestamentliche Theologie*, 2te Bde., 1891–1892.

[3] *The Theology of the New Testament.*

[4] *Lehrbuch der Neutestamentliche Theologie*, 2te Bde., 1897.

[5] *Die Lehre Jesu*, 2 Th., 1886–1890.

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as (2) in the midst of (1) the religious and moral world of thought of contemporary Judaism and (3) the theological problems of primitive Christianity. He abandons the effort to distinguish types of doctrine, and gives under Paul and apostolic literature (1) Paulinism, (2) Deuteropaulinism, and (3) the Johannine theology. However rich in material these volumes may be, in conception of the discipline and in method they are reactionary from the true ideals of Biblical Theology. In one respect Holtzmann is greatly to be commended. He regards the recent tendency to make the Kingdom of God the central or fundamental and determining element in the Teaching of Jesus as a mistake, and he rightly begins with the fundamental question of the attitude of Jesus to the law.[1] He greatly exaggerates the mythical and legendary elements in the Gospels, and also the external religious ideas of the times in their formative influence upon primitive Christianity.

A large amount of special work has been done in the New Testament theology by Irons,[2] Ménégoz,[3] Dickson,[4] Issel,[5] Gloël,[6] Everling,[7] Bruce,[8] Stevens,[9] Du Bose,[10] Everett,[11] Kabisch,[12] Schwartzkopff,[13] Bousset,[14] and others too numerous to mention. The theology of the Jews in the time of our Lord has been investigated especially by Drummond[15] and Stanton.[16]

I may be permitted to mention my effort to trace the doctrine of the Messiah with correlated conceptions in its historical

[1] *L. c. s.*, 130 *seq.*

[2] *Christianity as taught by St. Paul*, 1876.

[3] *La péché et la rédemption d'après St. Paul*, 1882; *La théologie de l'épitre aux Hébreux*, 1894.

[4] *Saint Paul's Use of the Terms Flesh and Spirit*, 1883.

[5] *Der Begriff der Heiligkeit in N. T.*, 1887.

[6] *Der Heilige Geist in der Heilsverkündigung des Paulus*, 1888.

[7] *Die paulinische Angelologie und Dämonologie*, 1888.

[8] *Kingdom of God*, 1889; *Saint Paul's Conception of Christianity*, 1894.

[9] *Pauline Theology*, 1892; *Johannine Theology*, 1894.

[10] *Soteriology of the New Testament*, 1892.

[11] *Gospel of Paul*, 1893.

[12] *Eschatologie des Paulus*, 1893.

[13] *Die Weissagungen Jesu Christi*, 1895.

[14] *Der Antichrist in der Ueberlieferung des Judenthums des N. T. und der alten Kirche*, 1895.

[15] *The Jewish Messiah*, 1877.

[16] *The Jewish and the Christian Messiah*, 1886.

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development in the Old Testament, the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and the New Testament.[1]

Many younger men have been misled by the theories and speculations of Ritschl and Weiszäcker to abandon the attempt to trace a development in the theology of Paul or of Jesus.[2] They have a theory of what the teaching of Jesus was, and of what the doctrine of Paul was at the beginning; and they do not hesitate to exclude from the teaching of Jesus and Paul and assign to other and later writers what does not accord with these conceptions. This I can only regard as a reaction toward the mischievous tendencies of the school of Baur, which have been, to such a great extent, overcome. There is also a reaction in the same school toward an undue emphasis of the historical side of the discipline, especially to be seen in Stade,[3] Deismann,[4] and Wrede,[5] which results in doing away with the discipline of Biblical theology as the highest department of Biblical Study, and the substitution for it of a history of religion in the times of the Bible.

Biblical Theology may be expected to make still further advances: (1) in the study of the relation of the various types to one another and to their unity; (2) in the origin and development of the particular types; (3) and more especially in the relation of the New Testament Theology to the Old Testament Theology and to the theology of the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha.

We have thus far distinguished two stages in the development of the discipline of Biblical Theology. Gabler first stated its historical principle, and distinguished it from Systematic Theology. Neander then distinguished its variety of types, and Schmid stated its exegetical principle, and distin-

[1] *Messianic Prophecy*, 1886, 7th ed., 1898; *Messiah of the Gospels*, 1894; *Messiah of the Apostles*, 1895.

[2] See pp. 500 *seq.*

[3] *Ueber die Aufgaben der biblischen Theologie des N. T.* in *Zeitschrift f. Theologie und Kirche*, 1893, *s.* 31 *seq.*

[4] *Zur Methode der bib. Theo. des N. T.* in *Zeitschrift f. Theologie und Kirche*, 1893, *s.* 126 *seq.*

[5] *Ueber Aufgabe und Methode der sogenannten Neutestamentlichen Theologie*, 1897.

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guished it from Historical Theology as a part of Exegetical Theology. We are now in a third stage, in which Biblical Theology, as the point of contact of the biblical discipline with the other great sections of Theological Encyclopædia, is showing the true relation of its various types to one organic system of divine truth, and tracing them each and all to their divine origin and direction as distinguished from the ordinary types of human thinking. Biblical Theology will act as a conserving and a reconciling force in the theology of the next century. Step by step Biblical Theology has advanced in the progress of exegetical studies. It is and must be an aggressive discipline. It has a fourfold work: of removing the rubbish that scholasticism has piled upon the Word of God; of battling with rationalism for its principles, methods, and products; of resisting the seductions of mysticism; and of building up an impregnable system of sacred truth. As the Jews returning from their exile built the walls of Jerusalem, working with one hand, and with the other grasping a weapon, so must biblical scholars build up the system of Biblical Theology, until they have erected a structure of biblical truth containing the unity in the variety of divine revelation, a structure compacted through the fitting together of all the solid stones of sacred truth according to the adaptation of a divine pre-arrangement.

IV. The Idea of Biblical Theology

Having considered the origin and history of Biblical Theology, we are now prepared to show its position and importance, and define it as to its idea, method, and system.

1. Biblical Theology is that theological discipline which presents the theology of the Bible in its historical formation within the canonical writings. The discipline limits itself strictly to the theology of the Bible, and thus excludes from its range the theology of the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical writings of the Jewish and Christian sects, the ideas of the various external religious parties, and the religions of the world brought in contact with the people of God at different periods in their history. It is true that these must come into

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consideration for comparative purposes, in order to show their influence positively and negatively upon the development of biblical doctrine; for the biblical religion is a religion in the midst of a great variety of religions of the world, and its distinctive features can be shown only after the elimination of the features that are common with other religions. We must show from the historical circumstances, the psychological preparations, and all the conditioning influences, how far the origin and development of the particular type and the particular stage of religious development of Israel and the Church were influenced by these external forces. We must find the supernatural influence that originated and maintained the biblical types and the biblical religion as distinct and separate from all other religions. And then these other religious forces will not be employed as coördinate factors with biblical material, as is done by Reuss, Schwegler, and Kuenen, and later writers of the school of Ritschl, who make Biblical Theology simply a history of religion, or of doctrine in the times of the Bible and in the Jewish nation. Rather these theological conceptions of other religions will be seen to be subordinate factors as influencing Biblical Theology from without, and not from within, as presenting the external occasions and conditions of its growth, and not its normal and regulative principles.

Thus Stade urges that Old Testament Theology is a historical discipline and that it cannot be limited to the Canon of the Old Testament. He insists that there should be a return to the sound principles of De Wette and Von Cöln.[1] Deissmann also thinks that the theology of the New Testament should not be limited to the Canon; but that its purpose is to give the theology of primitive Christianity rather than the theology of the New Testament writings. He represents that it has three chief problems: (1) to present the religious and moral contents of the thought of the age in which Christianity originated; (2) to give the special formations of the primitive Christian consciousness; (3) the comprehensive character of the whole. Under the second head he would give: (*a*) the

[1] *Zeitschrift f. Theologie und Kirche*, 1893, *s.* 48. "Sie hat sich an dem A. T. als Institution und nicht an dem A. T. as Canon zu orientieren," *s.* 46.

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synoptic preaching of Jesus; (*b*) the Pauline Christianity; (*c*) the Johannine Christianity.[1] The climax is reached in Wrede, who proposes to do away with the term "Biblical Theology" and substitute for it the term "History of the Primitive Christian Religion."[2]

There is doubtless room for a special discipline devoting its attention to the history of the primitive Christian religion, and using other sources than the Biblical sources, the Canon of Holy Scripture. But such a discipline can never take the place of Biblical Theology, which is entitled to the name Biblical only so far as it uses the Biblical writings as not only normal to the discipline, but also as defining its scope. The biblical limit must be maintained; for the biblical material stands apart by itself, in that the theology therein contained is the theology of a divine revelation, and thus distinguished from all other theologies, both as to its origin and its development. They give us either the products of natural religion in various normal and abnormal systems, originating and developing under the influence of unguided or partially guided human religious strivings, or else are apostasies or deflections from the religion of revelation in its various stages of development, or else, at the best, represent the genuine strivings of Christianity apart from and beyond the biblical guides.

2. The discipline we have defined as presenting the theology of the Bible. It is true that the term "Biblical Theology" is ambiguous as being too broad, having been employed as a general term including Biblical Introduction, Hermeneutics, and so on. And yet we must have a broad term, for we cannot limit our discipline to Dogmatics. Biblical Dogmatics, as rightly conceived, is a part of Systematic Theology, being *a priori* and deductive in method. Biblical Dogmatics deduces the dogmas from the biblical material and arranges them in an *a priori* dogmatic system, presenting not so much the doctrines of the Bible in their simplicity and in their concrete form as they are given in the Scriptures themselves, but such doctrines as may be fairly derived from the biblical material by the logi-

[1] *Zeitschrift f. Theologie und Kirche*, 1893, *s.* 126 *seq.*

[2] *Ueber Aufg. und Methode der sogenannten N. T. Theologie*, 1897, *s.* 80.

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cal process, or can be gained by setting the Bible in the midst of philosophy and Church tradition. We cannot deny to this department the propriety of using the name "Biblical Dogmatics." For where a dogmatic system derives its chief or only material from the Scriptures, there is force in its claim to be Biblical Theology. We do not, therefore, use the term "Biblical Theology" as applied to our discipline with the implication that a dogmatic system derived from the Bible is non-biblical or not sufficiently biblical, but as a term which has come to be applied to the discipline which we are now distinguishing from Biblical Dogmatics. Biblical Theology, in the sense of our discipline, and as distinguished from Biblical Dogmatics, cannot take a step beyond the Bible itself, or, indeed, beyond the particular writing or author under consideration at the time. Biblical Theology has to do only with the sacred author's conceptions, and has nothing whatever to do with the legitimate logical consequences of these conceptions. It is not to be assumed that either the author or his generation argued out the consequences of their statements, still less discerned them by intuition; although, on the other hand, we must always recognize that the religion and, indeed, the entire theology of a period or an author may be far wider and more comprehensive than the record or records that have been left of it; and that, in all cases, Biblical Theology will give us the minimum rather than the maximum of the theology of a period or author. But, on the other hand, we must also estimate the fact that this minimum is the inspired authority to which alone we can appeal. The only consequences with which Biblical Theology has to do are those historical ones that later biblical writers gained in their advanced knowledge of divine revelation, those conclusions that are true historically — whatever our subjective conclusions may be as to the legitimate logical results of their statements. And even here the interpretation and use of later writers are not to be assigned to the authors themselves or the theology of their times. The term "Biblical Dogmatics" should be applied to that part of Dogmatics which rests upon the Bible and derives its material from the Bible by the legitimate use of its principles. Dog-

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matics as a theological discipline is far wider than the biblical material that is employed by the dogmatician. The biblical material should be the normal and regulative material, but the dogmatician will make use of the deductions from the Bible and from other authorities that the Church has made in the history of doctrine, and incorporated in her creeds, or preserved in the doctrinal treatises of the theologians. He will also make use of right reason, and of philosophy, and science, and the religious consciousness as manifest in the history of the Church and in the Christian life of the day. It is all-important that the various sources should be carefully discriminated, and the biblical material set apart by itself in Biblical Dogmatics, lest, in the commingling of material, that should be regarded as biblical which is non-biblical, or extra-biblical, or contra-biblical, as has so often happened in the working of ecclesiastical tradition. And, even then, when Biblical Dogmatics has been distinguished in Systematic Theology, it should be held apart from Biblical Theology; for Biblical Dogmatics is the point of contact of Systematic Theology with Exegetical Theology; and Biblical Theology is the point of contact of Exegetical Theology with Systematic Theology, each belonging to its own distinctive branch of theology, with its characteristic methods and principles. That system of theology which would anxiously confine itself to supposed biblical material, to the neglect of the material presented by philosophy, science, literature, art, comparative religion, the history of doctrine, the symbols, the liturgies, and the life of the Church, and the pious religious consciousness of the individual or of Christian society, must be extremely defective and unscientific, and cannot make up for its defects by an appeal to the Scriptures and a claim to be biblical. None of the great systematic theologians, from the most ancient times, have ever proposed any such course. It has been the resort of the feebler Pietists in Germany, and of the narrower Evangelicalism of Great Britain and America, doomed to defeat and destruction, for working in such contracted lines. The errors involved in this exclusive dependence on biblical material have now been made so evident that none can reasonably dispute them. It is now perfectly clear

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that the New Testament is predominantly Pauline, and we must recognize a large and strong tradition, based on the teaching of Jesus and of the Twelve, which has no adequate representation in the New Testament proportionate to the teaching of Saint Paul. Only in this way can the Christianity of the second century be historically explained.[1]

Biblical Theology cannot be a substitute for Systematic Theology. Systematic Theology is more comprehensive than Biblical Theology. Biblical Theology is important in order to the distinction that should be made, in the first place, between the biblical sources and all other sources of theology, and then, in the second place, to distinguish between Biblical Theology as presented in the Holy Scriptures themselves, and Biblical Dogmatics which makes deductions and applications of the biblical material.

3. But Biblical Theology is wider than the doctrines of the Bible. It includes Ethics also. It is somewhat remarkable, however, that no one has thus far attempted to publish a Biblical Ethics, and that the ethical element has little, if any, consideration in the most of the Biblical Theologies which have thus far been published. So far as it appears it is interwoven with the doctrines of faith, and has no separate existence, and no consideration is given to the ethical point of view. The only way in which the Ethics of the Bible can be given proper recognition is in the recognition of it as a separate department, just as it is recognized in the discipline of Dogmatics. Not until this has been done and the ethics of Holy Scripture has been thoroughly considered in its historical development and in its unity and variety, will the question of the relation of the Gospel to the Law, and of the New Testament to the Old Testament, be satisfactorily answered. It is at the bottom an ethical question rather than a question of faith.

4. The school of Baur, and even Weiss and Van Oosterzee, would stop with biblical doctrines of faith and Biblical Ethics. But Schmid, Schultz, and Oehler are correct in taking Biblical Theology to include religion as well as doctrines and morals;

[1] See p. 503.

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that is, those historic persons, facts, and relations which embody religious, dogmatical, and ethical ideas. This discrimination is important in Systematic Theology, but it is indispensable in Biblical Theology where everything is still in the concrete. Thus a fundamental question in the theology of the New Testament is, what to do with the life of Jesus. The life of Jesus is, as Schmid shows, the fruitful source of His doctrine, and a theology which does not estimate it lacks foundation and vital power. The life of Jesus may indeed be regarded from two distinct points of view, as a biographical, or as a doctrinal and religious, subject. The birth of Jesus may be regarded as a pure historical fact or as an incarnation. His suffering and death may be historical subjects, or as teaching the doctrine of the atonement. His life may afford biographical matter, or be considered as religious, doctrinal, and ethical, in that His life was a new religious force, a redemptive influence, and an ethical example. Biblical Theology will have to consider, therefore, what the life of Jesus presents for its various departments. And so the great fact of Pentecost, the Christophanies to Peter, Paul, and John, and the apostolic council at Jerusalem must all be brought into consideration. And in the Old Testament we have to consider the various covenants and the religious institutions and laws that were grouped about them. Without religion, with its persons, events, and institutions, Biblical Theology would lose its foundations, and without ethical results it would fail of its rich fruitage. It is therefore a wholesome movement of the more recent Ritschlians to emphasize the religious and vital element in early Christianity. It can become unwholesome only so far as they unduly magnify this element over against the other equally important elements.

5. The discipline of Biblical Theology presents the theology of the Bible in its historical formation. This does not imply that it limits itself to the consideration of the various particular conceptions of the various authors, writings, and periods, as Weiss, and even Oehler, maintain, but that, with Schmid, Messner, Van Oosterzee after Neander, it seeks the unity in the variety, ascertains the roots of the divergencies, traces them each in their separate historical development, shows them co-

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operating in the formation of one organic system. For Biblical Theology would not present a mere conglomerate of heterogeneous material in a bundle of miscellaneous Hebrew literature, but would ascertain whether there is not some principle of organization; and it finds that principle in a supernatural divine revelation and communication of redemption in the successive covenants of grace, extending through many centuries, operating through many minds, and in a great variety of literary styles, employing all the faculties of man and all the types of human nature, in order to the accomplishment of one massive, all-embracing, and everlasting *Divine Word*, adapted to every age, every nation, every type of character, every temperament of mankind; the whole world.

V. The Place of Biblical Theology

Biblical Theology belongs to the department of the Study of Holy Scripture as a higher exegesis, completing the exegetical process, and presenting the essential material and principles of the other departments of theology.

The boundaries between Exegetical and Historical Theology are not so sharply defined as those between either of them and Dogmatic Theology. All Historical Theology has to deal with sources, and in this respect must consider them in their variety and unity as well as their development; and hence many theologians combine Exegetical Theology and Historical Theology under one head — Historical Theology. It is important, however, to draw the distinction, for this reason. The sources of Biblical Theology are in different relation from the sources of a history of doctrine, inasmuch as they constitute a body of divine revelation, and are in this respect to be kept distinct from all other sources, even cotemporary and of the same nation. They have an absolute authority which no other sources can have. The stress is to be laid less upon their historical development than upon them as an organic body of revelation; and this stress upon their importance as sources, not only for historical development, but also for dogmatic reconstruction and practical application, requires that the spe-

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cial study of them should be exalted to a separate discipline and a distinct branch of theology.

In the biblical discipline, Biblical Theology occupies the highest place, is the latest and crowning achievement. It is a higher exegesis, completing the exegetical process. All other branches of the study of Holy Scripture are presupposed by it. Biblical Literature must first be studied as sacred literature. All questions of date of writing, integrity, construction, style, and authorship must be determined by the principles of the Higher Criticism. Biblical Canonics determines the extent and authority of the various writings that are to be regarded as composing the sacred Canon, and discriminates them from all other writings by the criticism of the believing spirit enlightened and guided by the Holy Spirit in the Church. Biblical Textual Criticism ascertains the true text of the writings in the study of manuscripts, versions, and citations, and seeks to present it in its pure primitive forms. Biblical Hermeneutics lays down the rules of Biblical Interpretation, and Biblical Exegesis applies these rules to the various particular passages of the Sacred Scriptures. Biblical Theology accepts all these rules and applications. It is not its office to go into the detailed examination of the verse and the section, but it must accept the results of a thorough exegesis and criticism in order to advance thereon and thereby to its own proper work of higher exegesis; namely, rising from the comparison of verse with verse, and paragraph with paragraph, where simple exegesis is employed, to the still more difficult and instructive comparison of writing with writing, author with author, period with period, until by generalization and synthesis the theology of the Bible is attained as an organic whole.

Biblical Theology is thus the culmination of Exegetical Theology, and must be in an important relation to all other branches of theology. For Historical Theology it presents the great principles of the various periods of history, the fundamental and controlling tendencies, which, springing from human nature and operating in all the religions of the world, find their proper expression and satisfaction in the normal development of Divine Revelation, but which, breaking loose from these salutary bonds,

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become perverted and distorted into abnormal forms, producing false and heretical principles and radical errors. And so in the biblical unity of these tendencies Biblical Theology presents the ideal unity for the Church and the Christian in all times of the world's history. For Dogmatic Theology, Biblical Theology affords the holy material to be used in Biblical Apologetics, Dogmatics, and Ethics, the fundamental and controlling material out of which that systematic structure must be built which will express the intellectual and moral needs of the particular age, fortify the Church for offence and defence in the struggles with the anti-Christian world, and give unity to its life, its efforts, and its dogmas in all ages. For Practical Theology it presents the various types of religious experience and of doctrinal and ethical ideas, which must be skilfully applied to the corresponding differences of type which exist in all times, in all churches, in all lands, and, indeed, in all religions and races of mankind. Biblical Theology is, indeed, the Irenic force which will do much to harmonize the antagonistic forces and various departments of theology, and bring about that toleration within the Church which is the greatest requisite of our times.

VI. Method of Biblical Theology

The method employed by Biblical Theology is a blending of the genetic and the inductive methods. The method of Biblical Theology arises out of the nature of the discipline and its place in Theological Encyclopædia. As it must show the theology of the Bible in its historic formation, ascertain its genesis, the laws of its development from germinal principles, the order of its progress in every individual writer, and from writer to writer and age to age in the successive periods and in the whole Bible, it must employ the genetic method. It is this genesis which is becoming more and more important in our discipline, and is indeed the chief point of discussion in our day. Can all be explained by a natural genesis, or must an extraordinary divine influence be called in? The various rationalistic efforts to explain the genesis of the biblical types of doctrine in their variety and their combination in a unity in the

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Scriptures are extremely unsatisfactory and unscientific. With all the resemblances to other religions, the Biblical Religion is so different that its differences must be explained, and these can only be explained by the claims of the sacred writers themselves, that God Himself in various forms of Theophany and Christophany revealed Himself to initiate and to guide the religion of the Bible in its various movements and stages. Mosaism centres about the great Theophany of Horeb, as Christianity centres about the resurrection of Jesus Christ. It is the problem of Biblical Theology, as it has traced the Theology of the Jewish Christian type to the Theophany of Pentecost, and of the Pauline type to the Christophany on the way to Damascus, so to trace the Johannine type and the various Old Testament types to corresponding supernatural initiation. The Johannine type may be traced to the Christophanies of Patmos. The Old Testament is full of Theophanies which originate particular Covenants and initiate all the great movements in the history of Israel.[1]

As it has to exhibit the unity in the variety of the various conceptions and statements of the writings and authors of every different type, style, and character, and by comparison generalize to its results, Biblical Theology must employ the inductive method and the synthetical process. This inductive method is the true method of Exegetical Theology. The details of exegesis have been greatly enriched by this method during the present century, especially by the labours of German divines, and in most recent times by numerous labourers in Great Britain and America. But the majority of the labourers in Biblical Theology have devoted their strength to the working out of the historical principle of our discipline. Within the various types and special doctrines a large amount of higher exegesis has been accomplished in recent years. The highest exegesis in the comparison of types and their arrangement in an organic system, with a unity and determining principle out of which all originate and to which they return their fruitage, remains comparatively undeveloped. Indeed the study of the

[1] See pp. 542 *seq.*

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particular types, especially in the Old Testament, must be conducted still further and to more substantial results ere the highest exegesis can fulfil its task.

The genetic and the inductive methods must combine in order to the best results. They must coöperate in the treatment of every writing, of every author, of every period, and of the whole. They must blend in harmony throughout. On their proper combination the excellence of a system of Biblical Theology depends. An undue emphasis of either will make the system defective and inharmonious.

VII. The System of Biblical Theology

This is determined partly by the material itself, but chiefly by the methods of dealing with it. We must make the divisions so simple that they may be adapted to the most elementary conceptions, and yet comprehensive enough to embrace the most fully developed conceptions; and also so as to be capable of a simple and natural subdivision in the advancing periods. In order to this we must find the dominant principle of the entire revelation and make our historical and our inductive divisions in accordance with it. The divine revelation itself might seem to be this determining factor, so that we should divide historically by the historical development of that revelation, and synthetically by its most characteristic features. But this divine revelation was made to intelligent man and involved thereby an active appropriation of it on his part, both as to its form and substance, so that from this point of view we might divide historically in accordance with the great epochs of the appropriation of divine revelation, and synthetically by the characteristic features of that appropriation. From either of these points of view, however, there might be — there naturally would be, an undue emphasis of the one over against the other at the expense of a complete and harmonious representation. We need some principle that will enable us to combine the subject and the object — God and man — in the unity of its conception. Such a principle is happily afforded us in the revelation itself, so distinctly brought out that it has

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been historically recognized in the names given to the two great sections of the Scriptures, the Old and the New Testaments or Covenants. The Covenant is the fundamental principle of the divine revelation, to which the divine revelation commits its treasures and from which man continually draws upon them. The Covenant has a great variety of forms in the Sacred Scriptures; but the most essential and comprehensive form is that assumed in the Mosaic Covenant at Sinai, which becomes the Old Covenant, preëminently, and over against that is placed the New Covenant of the Messiah Jesus Christ; so that the great historical division becomes the Theology of the Old Covenant and the Theology of the New Covenant.

The Covenant must also determine the synthetic divisions. The Covenant is a union and communion effected between God and man. It involves a personal relationship which it originates and maintains by certain events and institutions. This is religion. The Covenant and its relations, man apprehends as an intelligent being by meditation, reflection, and reasoning. All this he comprehends in doctrines, which he apprehends and believes and maintains as his faith. These doctrines will embrace the three general topics of God, of Man, and of Redemption. The Covenant still further has to do with man as a moral being, imposing moral obligations upon him with reference to God and man and the creatures of God. All these are comprehended under the general term "Ethics." These distinctions apply equally well to all the periods of divine revelation; they are simple, they are comprehensive, they are all-pervading. Indeed they interpenetrate one another, so that many prefer to combine the three under the one term "Theology," and then treat of God and man and the union of God and man in redemption, in each division by itself with reference to religious, ethical, and doctrinal questions; but it is easier and more thorough-going to keep them apart, even at the expense of looking at the same thing at times successively from three different points of view.

From these more general divisions we may advance to such subdivisions as may be justified in the successive periods of

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Biblical Theology, both on the historic and synthetic sides, and, indeed, without anticipation.

The relation between the historical and the synthetic divisions may be variously viewed. Thus Ewald, Dillmann, and Schultz make the historical divisions so entirely subordinate as to treat each topic of theology by itself in its history.

This method has great advantages in the class-room. It is difficult to keep the attention of students to the development of the whole field of Biblical Theology. The lines are too extended. It is easier to show the development by taking a large number of topics, one after another, and tracing each one in its order in its historical development.[1] The historical divisions may be made so prominent that the synthetic will be subordinated to them. This leads towards making Biblical Theology a history of the development of theology in the Bible.

The ideal method for a written Biblical Theology is not to sacrifice the interest of the whole for any or all particular sections. They should be adjusted to one another in their historical development in the particular period. The periods should be so large and distinct as to leave no reason to doubt their propriety.

It will be necessary to determine in each period: (1) the development of each particular doctrine by itself, as it starts from the general principle, and then (2) to sum up the general results before passing over into another period.

It will also be found that theology does not unfold in one single line, but in several, from several different points of view, and in accordance with several different types. It will therefore be necessary, on the one side, ever to keep these types distinct, and yet to show their unity as one organism. Thus in the Hexateuch the great types of the Ephraimitic, Judaic,

[1] There are undoubtedly grave perils connected with this method. I think these are greatly exaggerated by Wrede (*Aufgabe und Methode der sogenannten Neutestamentlichen Theologie*, 1897, *s.* 17 *seq.*), but I nevertheless think that he has rendered a real service by pointing them out. On the other hand he seems to be blind to the even greater perils which beset the exaggerated use of the historic method.

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Deuteronomic, and priestly narrators will be distinctly traced until they combine in the one organism of our Hexateuch, presenting the fundamental Law of Israel. In the historical books the same four types of historians will be distinguished and compared for a higher unity. The four great types — the psalmists, wise men, the prophets, and the scribes — will be discriminated, the variations within the types carefully studied and compared, and then the types themselves brought into harmony; and at last the whole Old Testament will be presented as an organic whole. The New Testament will then be considered in the forerunners of Christ; then the four types in which the evangelists present the Theology of Jesus, each by itself, in comparison with the others, and as a whole. The Apostolic Theology will be traced from its origin at Pentecost in its subsequent division into the great types, the conservative Jewish Christian of Saint James and the advanced Jewish Christian of Saint Peter; the Gentile Christian of Saint Paul and the Hellenistic of the Epistle to the Hebrews; and, finally, the Johannine of the Gospel, Epistles, and Apocalypse of John; and the whole will be considered in the unity of the New Testament.[1] As the last thing the whole Bible will be considered, showing not only the unity of the Theology of Christ and His apostles, but also the unity of the Theology of Moses and David and all the prophets with the Theology of Jesus and His apostles, as each distinct theology takes its place in the advancing system of divine revelation, all conspiring to the completion of a perfect, harmonious, symmetrical organism, the infallible expression of God's will, character, and being to His favoured children. At the same time the religion of each period and of the whole Bible will be set in the midst of the other religions of the world, so that it will appear as the divine grace ever working in humanity, and its sacred records as the true lamp of the world, holding forth the light of life to all the nations of the world.

[1] I have carefully considered the arguments of the Ritschlians; but they have not convinced me that Saint Paul is so dominant of the New Testament as they suppose, or that they are correct in their interpretation of Saint Paul, or that there is so great an antithesis as they find between Saint Paul and the Twelve.

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CHAPTER XXIV

THE CREDIBILITY OF HOLY SCRIPTURE

ALL of our studies of the Bible, thus far, have led us to the threshold of the inquiry how far Holy Scripture is credible and of divine authority. The deeper study of Holy Scripture in our day has made this a question of far greater seriousness than it has been in any previous generation of Jews or Christians. The prevalent dogmatic theories of the inspiration and infallibility of the Bible have been undermined in the entire range of Biblical Study, and it is a question in many minds whether they can ever be so reconstructed as to give satisfaction to Christian scholars. It is evident that such a reconstruction is most necessary; but men are reluctant to undertake it, for it has cost severe struggles in the past and it is altogether probable that still severer contests are in store for the men of this generation who have the insight, ability, and courage to do so great a work.

The history of the Christian Church shows that it is the intrinsic excellence of the Holy Scriptures which has given them the control of so large a portion of our race. With few exceptions, the Christian religion was not extended by force of arms or by the arts of statesmanship, but by the holy lives and faithful teaching of self-sacrificing men and women who had firm faith in the truthfulness of their Holy Scriptures, and who were able to convince men in all parts of the world that they are faithful guides to God and salvation. A valid argument for the truthfulness of the Holy Scriptures might be made from their efficacy in the religious training of so large a portion of mankind, and from the consecrated lives and the supreme devotion to their religion of the heroes of the faith in all ages.

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But such an argument would only authenticate the substance of Holy Scripture; it would not verify the dogmas about the Bible that are under fire, no more would it disprove them. But it ought to give encouragement to simple-minded Christians who are incapable of taking part in theological controversy.

I. The Bible and Other Sacred Books

All the great historical religions of the world have sacred books which are regarded by their adherents as the inspired word of God. Preëminent among these sacred books are the Holy Scriptures of the Christian Church; for these are now the religious guides of Europe and America, Australia and the islands of the Pacific, and they are ever increasing their adherents in Asia and Africa.

If the Holy Scriptures are classed with these other sacred books provisionally, it is in order that we may define the features that are common to those books and so distinguish the features that are peculiar to each of them.

If the distinctive features of the Old and New Testaments are those of God, and the distinctive features of all the other sacred books are those of man, the comparative study will make it so evident that every one in the world will eventually see it. That Christian who fears to put his Bible to such a test lacks confidence in it. The Old Testament prophets and the New Testament apostles never hesitated to challenge all other religions to such a test. If Christians would conquer the world, here is an opportunity such as has never before been given in the history of the world. But this comparison must be scientific, entirely fair, reasonable, and honourable in order to be effective. Several faults are commonly committed by Christian apologists in such comparisons.

1. A great error is committed by some missionaries and apologists in laying stress upon the errors in science, history, philosophy, and geology, and the grotesque imagery found in the sacred books of the East. The same argument may be brought to bear on the Holy Scriptures. It has been brought by many in our time. It is said that Biblical Criticism, in

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pointing out errors in the Bible, is doing its best to destroy the Bible, because it is pursuing the same method that our missionaries are pursuing in the East in order to show that sacred books so full of errors as they are cannot be inspired. The argument is invalid on both sides. There are errors in citations, in geography, in science, and in other matters also, in the sacred books of the East; but there are also errors in the Holy Scriptures, as all scholars know. Does this destroy the Bible as a divine revelation? Some say so. Some say that "a proved error in Scripture contradicts not only our doctrine, but also the Scripture's claims, and, therefore, its inspiration in making these claims." [1] But these errors are only in the form and circumstantials, and not in the essentials. They do not impair any doctrine or principle of morals or religion. Many of the advocates of the religions of the East are now meeting Christian apologists face to face, and saying: "As there are errors in our sacred books, so there are in your Bible also." The man who makes an attack can easily find ten errors to one seen by a friendly critic. The Moslem has as good a right as the Christian to say that a sacred book which contains errors cannot be inspired. There are, doubtless, more errors in the sacred books of the East than in the Holy Scriptures. Errors abound in them, in comparison with which the errors in the Holy Scriptures are inconsiderable. Yet it is a false argument to claim that there is nothing reliable in these books on that account.

We should be entirely candid in all our relations with men of other religions; we should recognize all that is true, noble, and highest in their sacred books; we should tell the adherents of these religions to strive to reach the highest ideals of their own religions, and then they will approach nearest to Christianity; then they will be the best subjects for the grace of God.

2. Another fault often committed against the sacred books of the East is in undue emphasis on their imperfect morality. It is astonishing how many Christian writers have been depreciating the sacred books of the other religions of the world. They seem altogether unconscious of the fact that the same

[1] See Briggs, *Whither*, pp. 68 *seq.*, where this statement of A. A. Hodge and B. B. Warfield is disproved. See also pp. 615 *seq.*

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method may be pursued with the Holy Scriptures. There are many who have pointed to the mistakes of Moses, and to the gross immoralities and barbarities of the book of Judges. How can a divine religion countenance such barbarities as these? These arguments may be used against the Bible with terrific force. We commonly say that these things represent a lower stage of divine revelation, coming to men as they could bear it, educating them, little by little, to prepare them for the higher religion of Jesus Christ. The lower stage cannot be expected to compare with the higher stages. But we must treat the other religions of the world in the way in which we are obliged to treat the Old Testament. We must recognize that they belong to earlier stages of human development, that they have sprung up, not in Christian countries, but far away from the light of Christianity. It was the teaching of the earlier Church and of many of the Christian Fathers, that Greek religion and philosophy were used by the Divine Spirit in preparation for Christianity, to a less degree, but no less certainly, than the Jewish religion itself; and that Plato and Socrates were preparing the way by which Christianity might achieve great victories over the ancient world.[1] If we recognize this as true with reference to the religion and philosophy of Greece, why not recognize it as true of the great religions and sacred books of the East also? May it not be that God has been preparing them by the light of the Logos, who is shining in all the world, so far as they can understand it, for the time when Christianity shall be preached to them?

3. Another fault has been committed in the study of the sacred books of the East. Christian men who are compelled to recognize that there are some good things in them which cannot be explained away, try to explain them as derived from divine revelation by some indirect subterranean passage from the Jewish religion, or maintain that Christianity, in some secret and undiscovered paths, has been brought to bear upon them. It has been shown clearly that the Jewish religion derived more from other ancient religions than it gave them. The Jewish religion derived much from the Babylonians and

[1] See p. 537.

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Persians, and gave very little. The Christian religion has been influenced much more by Buddhism than Buddhism has been influenced by Christianity.

Some have been alarmed because so many of the ethical sayings of our Lord have been found in the sayings of Jewish rabbins before the time of our Lord. Granted that Holy Scripture has derived much from other religions, that only brings out one of its characteristics of excellence. It gives the religion of Humanity; it appropriates everything good in man or religion found anywhere in the world; it takes up into itself everything that is good; it goes on absorbing the best features of other religions, as all the rivers are absorbed by the ocean. The national and provincial religions and mere sectarianism have shut themselves up from everything that is derived from others. But the religion of Humanity, the universal religion, appropriates everything that is good and noble from all.

These faults of advocates and polemic divines have greatly injured the cause of Christianity in its relation to other religions, and have greatly retarded the influence of the Bible upon men of other faiths. But a large number of scholars have been studying the science of religion with industry and abundant fruit; they have not hesitated to discern the true excellences of other religious books, and to point out the defects of Holy Scripture, as a result of the comparative study of the sacred books of the world.

"But what shall we say, then, of the pagan religions which teach exactly the same doctrine? Shall we say they borrowed it from Christianity? That would be doing violence to history. Shall we say that, though they use the same words, they did not mean the same thing? That would be doing violence to our sense of truth. Why not accept the facts such as they are? At first, I quite admit, some of the facts which I have quoted in my lectures are startling and disturbing. But, like most facts which startle us from a distance, they lose their terror when we look them in the face, nay, they often prove a very Godsend to those who are honestly grappling with the difficulties of which religion is full. Anyhow, they are facts that must be met, that cannot be ignored. And why should they be ignored? To those who see

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no difficulties in their own religion, the study of other religions will create no new difficulties. It will only help them to appreciate more fully what they already possess. For with all that I have said in order to show that other religions also contain all that is necessary for salvation, it would be simply dishonest on my part were I to hide my conviction that the religion taught by Christ, and free as yet from all ecclesiastical fences and intrenchments, is the best, the purest, the truest religion the world has ever seen. When I look at the world as it is, I often say that we seem to be living two thousand years before, not after, Christ."[1]

We may now say to all men: All the sacred books of the world are accessible to you. Study them, compare them, recognize all that is good and noble and true in them all, and tabulate the results, and you will be convinced that the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are true, holy, and divine. When we have gone searchingly through them all, the sacred books of other religions are as torches of varying size and brilliancy, lighting up the darkness of the night; but the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are like the sun, dawning in the earliest writings of the Old Testament, rising in prophetic word and priestly thora, in lyric psalm, and in sentence of wisdom until the zenith is reached in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world. Take them, therefore, as the guide of your religion, your salvation, and your life.

II. Science and the Bible

The Holy Scriptures of the Christians are now the centre of a world-wide contest. We are living in a scientific age which demands that every traditional statement shall be tested by patient, thorough, and exact criticism. Science explores the earth in its heights and depths, its lengths and breadths, in search of all the laws which govern it and the realities of which it is composed. Science explores the heavens in quest of all the mysteries of the universe of God. Science searches the body and the soul of man in order to determine his exact nature and character. Science investigates all the monuments of history, whether they are of stone or of metal, whether they

[1] Max Müller, *Physical Religion*, 1891, pp. 363–364.

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are the product of man's handiwork, or the construction of his voice or pen. That man must be lacking in intelligence or in observation who imagines that the sacred books of the Christian religion or the institutions of the Church can escape the criticism of this age. It will not do to oppose science with religion, or criticism with faith. Criticism makes it evident that a faith which shrinks from criticism is a faith so weak and uncertain that it excites suspicion as to its life and reality. Science goes on in its exact and thorough work, confident that every form of religion which resists it will erelong crumble into dust.

Searchers after truth have found in all ages that they have been resisted by the same kind of Pharisees as those who resisted the teaching of Jesus and of Saint Paul. These are always found guarding ancient traditions in venerable tombs, while the neglected truth of God is springing up in beautiful flowers and plants of grace all around them.[1]

All departments of human investigation sooner or later come in contact with the Christian Scriptures. All find something that either accords with or conflicts with their investigations. If the statements of Holy Scripture are altogether true, infallible, and inerrant, they ought to exert a controlling influence on all these studies. If there is irreconcilable difference between the Bible and the results of these studies, the student is compelled to choose between them. All the world knows the history of the conflict between scientific men and defenders of the thesis that the Bible is infallible in all its statements about matters of science. So long as this thesis was enforced by ecclesiastical authority against scientific men, science was throttled; scientific men took their lives in their hands in every investigation. The first stage of the conflict resulted in the delivery of science from the thraldom of the ecclesiastics. The next stage of the conflict was the advance of science in spite of all the opposition of the dogmaticians, until the situation emerged in which science pursued its own independent way without giving any heed to the statements of the theologians. No real student is checked for a moment

[1] See pp. 8 *seq.*

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by any apparent conflict between the results of his science and a statement of the Old Testament. He has learned that the Bible was not given to teach science but religion, and that the statements of the Bible which come in conflict with science are, from the point of view of their authors, as a part of the human setting of the truth of God, and are not to be regarded as part of the true, infallible, divine instruction committed to them by the Spirit of God. This is the real situation at the present time, however uncomfortable it may be for those who still think it necessary to defend the inerrancy of the Bible in every particular statement. The question thus forces itself upon us, Can we maintain the truthfulness of the Holy Scriptures in the face of all these modern sciences?

We are obliged to admit that there are scientific errors in the Bible, errors of astronomy, of geology, of zoölogy, of botany, and of anthropology. In all these respects there is no evidence that the author of these sacred writings had any other knowledge than that possessed by their cotemporaries. They were not in fact taught by the Holy Spirit any higher knowledge of these subjects than others of their age. Their statements are just such as indicate a correct observation of the phenomena as they would appear to an accurate observer at the time when they wrote. It is evident in a cursory examination that they had not that insight, that foresight, and that grasp of conception and power of expression in these matters which they exhibit when they wrote concerning matters of religion. If, as all must concede, it was not the intent of God to give to the ancient world the scientific knowledge of our nineteenth century, why should any one suppose that the Divine Spirit influenced them in relation to any such matters of science? Why should they be kept from misconception, from misstatement, and from error? The divine purpose was to use them as religious teachers. So long as they made no mistakes in religious instruction, they were trustworthy and reliable, even if they erred in some of those matters in which they come in contact with modern science. The fact that the errors are few show us, not that they were restrained from error by an irresistible impulse of the Divine Spirit, but rather that they were

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in that exalted spiritual frame of mind which made them so anxious to be truthful that they abstained from those extravagant speculations and crude conceptions which mark the writers of ancient times who were less spiritually minded.

III. The Canon and Inerrancy

It is maintained by some modern theologians, of the Princeton School of Theology, that the doctrine of the inerrancy of the original autographs of Holy Scripture is an essential doctrine of the Christian religion. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America condemned me for heresy because I declined to say that the original autographs were inerrant. The statement upon which I was tried and condemned was:

"It has been taught in recent years, and is still taught by some theologians, that one proved error destroys the authority of Scripture. I shall venture to affirm that, so far as I can see, there are errors in the Scriptures that no one has been able to explain away; and the theory that they were not in the original text is sheer assumption, upon which no mind can rest with certainty. If such errors destroy the authority of the Bible, it is already destroyed for historians. Men cannot shut their eyes to truth and fact. But on what authority do these theologians drive men from the Bible by this theory of inerrancy? The Bible itself nowhere makes this claim. The creeds of the Church nowhere sanction it. It is a ghost of modern evangelicalism to frighten children. The Bible has maintained its authority with the best scholars of our time, who with open minds have been willing to recognize any error that might be pointed out by Historical Criticism; for these errors are all in the circumstantials and not in the essentials; they are in the human setting, not in the precious jewel itself; they are found in that section of the Bible that theologians commonly account for from the providential superintendence of the mind of the author, as distinguished from divine revelation itself." [1]

The decision of the General Assembly was the following:

"We find that the doctrine of the errancy of Scripture, as it came from them to whom and through whom God originally communicated His revelation, is in conflict with the statements of the

[1] Briggs, *Authority of Holy Scripture*, p. 35.

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Holy Scripture itself, which asserts that all Scripture or every Scripture is given by the inspiration of God (2 Tim. 3^{16}), that the prophecy came not of old by the will of man, but that holy men of God spake as they were moved of the Holy Ghost (2 Peter 1^{21}); and also with the statements of the standards of the Church which assert that the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the Word of God (Larger Catechism, question 3), of infallible truth and divine authority (Confession, Chapter I., section 5)."[1]

This remarkable statement of doctrine is apparently due to the chairman of the committee of the General Assembly. Of course no scholar could vote for such a proposition; it shows such profound ignorance of Scripture and of the Westminster symbols, and it presents such an unjust caricature of my opinion. In point of fact, all the scholarly members of the Assembly protested against it to the number of sixty-three. But they were overcome by a majority who, blinded by partisanship, and in a panic about the Bible, had not taken the trouble to inform themselves as to the real issue and as to the serious consequences of their votes before they cast them.

The question in dispute was not whether there are errors in the present accessible texts of Holy Scripture, but whether or not these errors were in the original autographs. This Assembly attempted to define what were the original autographs: "Scripture as it came from them to whom and through whom God originally communicated His revelation." The Scripture in their opinion consisted of the writings as first written down by those to whom God communicated His revelation. We must go back of all the texts till we get to the original autographs of the authors before we have the inerrant Scripture. What has the criticism of the Canon to say to this astonishing dogma?

1. We have studied the history of the formation of the Canon and then the criticism of the Canon.[2] We have seen that the Canon was a gradual formation; first the Law, then the Prophets, then the Writings of the Old Testament, then the Gospels, then the Epistles of St. Paul, and finally the Catholic Epistles and Apocalypse of the New Testament. The Canoni-

[1] *The Case against Professor Briggs*, Part III. p. 309.
[2] See Chaps. V., VI.

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cal Scripture was ever historically the Scripture in the text at the time recognized by the Synagogue and the Church. No one ever thought of searching for the original autographs. And from the point of view of canonical criticism it is ever the text of Scripture in one's hands that is recognized as canonical or not. From this point of view, it is evident that what is canonical in Holy Scripture is entirely independent of any special form of the text or of the original autographs.

It is true that the Protestant Reformers and the Puritans in their symbolical books made the Greek and Hebrew texts the final appeal in matters of religion over against the Roman Catholic Church, which made the Latin Vulgate the final authority; but even the Protestants did not think of making the original autographs their authority. They knew as well as we do that they had them not and could never have them. The Protestants appealed to the Greek and Hebrew texts that they knew, and devoted themselves chiefly to translating them into modern languages to give the Word of God to the people; and they used these translations as the Word of God of infallible, divine authority. No one in the time of the Reformation was so foolhardy as to affirm that "the Canon of Scripture is not in the Latin Bible, is not in the Greek Testament of Erasmus, is not in the Hebrew Bible of Bomberg, but is solely and alone in the original autographs of the inspired authors," which have not one of them been in the possession of the Church since the second century A.D. It was a rational position for the Council of Trent to make the Latin Vulgate the authoritative Bible and to provide for a correct official text. It would be a reasonable procedure for a Protestant assembly to decide that the Massoretic Hebrew text of Ben Asher and the Greek Bible of the Vatican codex should be the final arbiter, as the most correct texts at present attainable. But it is altogether irrational to take the position that the inerrant Bible is solely and alone in the original autographs which no one has seen since the Church had a Canon, and which no one can ever see.

When one clearly recognizes the essential principles of canonical criticism, he sees clearly that that which is canonical in Holy Scripture must be in every recognized text and in

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every recognized version, and that the Canon cannot be confined to any version, or to any text, still less to the original autographs. In point of fact, so far as the evidence goes, the original autographs of Holy Scripture were never recognized as canonical. It was not until the Holy Writings had been copied and circulated that they received that general recognition which is essential to canonicity. The copies, which in many cases were many degrees distant from the autographs, were recognized as canonical; and in no case, so far as we can determine, were the autographs recognized as canonical.

It is instructive just here to note that the early Church took no pains whatever to preserve the autographs of the apostolic founders of the Church. No autograph of St. Peter or St. Paul or St. John or St. James was known to the early Church; still less an autograph of our Lord and Saviour.[1]

2. The question of the original autographs is not so simple and easy of solution as the majority of this General Assembly seem to have thought. The question emerges, Which autograph do you seek? What shall we say as regards the story of the resurrection of our Lord at the close of the Gospel of Mark? There can be no doubt that it was not in the Gospel of Mark as that Gospel "came from him to whom and through whom God originally communicated His revelation." It was appended to Mark.[2] And yet there can be no doubt that this story was attached to the Gospel of Mark at an early date, and that it has been recognized as no less truly canonical and divinely inspired than any other part of the Gospel. Is it now to be cast out of the Canon of Holy Scripture because it was not in the original autograph of Mark? And what shall we say of the two chief texts of Luke?[3] Which of these two is the original autograph? They have both been recognized by the Church for centuries as canonical, one by one section of the Church, and the other by another section. Is it first necessary for us to determine this question before we can have access to the original, inerrant, inspired autographs? Or will it be sufficient to recognize either or both texts as inspired Scripture, although they are discrepant and both of them not without errors?

[1] See p. 190. [2] See p. 314. [3] See p. 202.

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If we regard the last chapter of Romans as not in the original autograph of the Epistle to the Romans,[1] does this remove it from the Canon of inerrant, inspired Scripture? And what shall we say of the difference between the Hebrew and Greek Bibles? If we compare the Greek version with the Hebrew text of the Writings, it is evident that editors and scribes have been at work subsequent to the time when the translations were made of the texts upon which the one or the other of these original authorities rely.[2] The additions to Daniel, Esther, and Ezra in the Greek version show the work of editors and scribes upon these books. There are also serious differences in Jeremiah, the Psalter, and the book of Proverbs. Even in the Pentateuch the arrangement of the material is different. If we maintain that in all cases the Hebrew text should be followed, and the work of the scribes upon the Hebrew manu scripts which underlie the Greek text should be rejected, we are met with the use of the Greek text by the apostles in the New Testament and by the Christian Fathers in the sub-apostolic age. But what shall we say of the editors and scribes who have made the editorial changes, which may be traced in the Hebrew text itself? Can we fix a time when the Divine Spirit ceased to guide the sacred scribes who edited and reëdited, arranged and rearranged the writings of the Old Testament? Will it be necessary to eliminate all the editorial additions and glosses, readjust all the transpositions, correct all the mistakes, and restore the text to the exact original before we get at the original inerrant Scripture? When any one gives his serious attention to the practical work of criticism, as it has been described in the pages of this book, he will see in what an untenable position he involves himself by recognizing errors in all documents accessible to us, and by insisting solely and alone upon the inerrancy of the original autographs. In point of fact as regards the greater part of the writings of Holy Scripture, it may be said that the original autographs, as they "came from them to whom and through whom God originally communicated His revelation," were not the ones which were recognized by the Church as inspired and canonical; but the Jews

[1] See pp. 315 *seq.* [2] See pp. 173, 314.

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and the Christians alike recognized rather the documents as they came from the hands of later editors at many stages of removal from the original autographs.

3. It is a most remarkable fact that the original autographs of the holy men and prophets, from whom the Holy Scriptures came, were edited and changed with so much freedom by the later editors from whom our Bible ultimately came.

One would suppose that no original autograph that ever was written could be so holy, inerrant, and safe from change as the Logia of Jesus by the apostle Matthew. And yet the Logia was used, in part, in quite drastic ways by both our Matthew and Luke, and then neglected and ultimately lost. The only way in which we can recover it is by the process of criticism. The most precious words in the Old Testament are those of the Psalter. And yet nothing is more evident than the fact that many of the choicest psalms have passed through the hands of many editors in a number of minor and major psalters, before they attained their present form in our Psalter.[1]

Our Psalter, as it has been used in Jewish and Christian worship for two thousand years, is the work of editors as much as authors; and he who would seek the original autographs of the original poets has a long and difficult road to travel, and one in which no certainty can be attained. One can hardly conceive of Dr. Harsha, or even Dr. Warfield, travelling that pathway to inerrancy and certainty.

If inerrancy and certainty are only to be found in this way, they will never be found. Certainty has never been found in this way. Such autographs the Church and the Synagogue have never known. If we could find them, in all probability we would see them containing as many errors, if not more, than the present texts. This much we do know, that in all these editorial matters the scribes made errors before the fixing of the Canon, as well as subsequent thereto. Criticism can find no errorless scribe, no inerrant person. This is immaterial so long as the religious instruction, as given in these books, is trustworthy, is truthful and reliable.

[1] See pp. 312, 321.

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IV. Textual Criticism and Credibility

It is conceded by all biblical scholars at the present time that there are errors in all the texts and versions of the Bible accessible to us, but it is urged by some dogmaticians that if we had the original autographs we would find them free from error and altogether inerrant and infallible. From the point of view of biblical science this is a mere speculation. It would not be worthy of consideration were it not for the fact that it is urged as an essential dogma by a dominant party in the American Presbyterian Church.

Textual criticism shows that the best texts, versions, and citations of these Holy Scriptures that we can get have numerous and important discrepancies. The errors do not decrease in number as we work our way back in the laborious processes of criticism toward the original text. The discrepancies between the Samaritan and the Massoretic Hebrew codices, between the earliest Hebrew manuscripts and the earliest manuscripts of the Greek version, between the New Testament citations and the Syriac and Vulgate versions, are so numerous that few biblical scholars are able to take a comprehensive view of them and to make a competent judgment upon them. The most exact textual criticism leaves us with numerous errors in Holy Scripture just where we find them in the transmitted texts of other sacred books.

How far does the exact condition of the text of the Bible impair its credibility? How far does the science of textual criticism go to verify the truthfulness of Holy Scripture?

1. So far as the Old Testament is concerned, the theory of Buxtorf, Heidegger, Turretine, Voetius, Owen, and the Zurich Consensus, that the vowel points and accents were original and inspired, has been so utterly disproved that no biblical scholar of the present day would venture to defend them.[1] But can their theory of verbal inspiration stand without these supports? Looking at the doctrine of inspiration from the point of view of textual criticism, we see at once that there can be

[1] See pp. 220 *seq.*

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no inspiration of the written letters or uttered sounds of our present Hebrew text; for these are transliterations of the original Hebrew letters which have been lost,[1] and the sounds are traditional, and in many respects artificial and uncertain. While there is a general correspondence of these letters and sounds so that they give us essentially the original, they do not give us exactly the original. The inspiration must therefore lie back of the written letters and the uttered sounds, and be sought in that which is common to the old characters and the new, the utterance of the voice and the constructions of the pen; namely, in the concepts, the sense and meaning that they convey.

> "All language or writing is but the vessel, the symbol, or declaration of the rule, not the rule itself. It is a certain form or means by which the divine truth cometh unto us, as things are contained in words, and because the doctrine and matter of the text is not made unto one but by words and a language which I understand; therefore I say, the Scripture in English is the rule and ground of my faith, and whereupon I relying have not a humane, but a divine authority for my faith."[2]

Holy Scripture was not meant for the Hebrew and Greek nations alone, or for Hebrew and Greek scholars, but for all nations and the people of God. It is given to the world in a great variety of languages with a great variety of letters and sounds, so that the sacred truth approaches each one in his native tongue in an appropriate relation to his understanding, just as at Pentecost the same Divine Spirit distributed Himself in cloven tongues of fire upon a large number of different persons. Thus every faithful translation as an instrument conveys the Divine Word to those who read or hear it:

> "For it is not the shell of the words, but the kernel of the matter which commends itself to the consciences of men, and that is the same in all languages. The Scriptures in English, no less than in Hebrew or Greek, display its lustre and exert its power and discover the character of its divine original."[3]

This is shown by the process of translation itself. The

[1] See p. 170. [2] Lyford, *Plain Man's Sense Exercised*, etc., p. 49.
[3] Matthew Poole, *Blow at the Root*, London, 1679, p. 234.

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translator does not transliterate the letters and syllables, transmute sounds, give word for word, transfer foreign words and idioms; but he ascertains the sense, the idea, and then gives expression to the idea, the sense, in the most appropriate way. It is admitted that close, literal translations are bad, misleading, worse than paraphrases; Aquila has even been a warning in this regard.[1] The method of Ezra is far preferable, to give the sense to the people without the pedantry and subtilties of scholarship. As another Puritan says:

> "Now, what shall a poor unlearned Christian do, if he hath nothing to rest his poore soul on? The originals he understands not; if he did, the first copies are not to be had; he cannot tell whether the Hebrew or Greek copies be the right Hebrew or the right Greek, or that which is said to be the meaning of the Hebrew or Greek, but as men tell us, who are not prophets and may mistake. Besides, the transcribers were men and might err. These considerations let in Atheisme like a flood."[2]

It is a merciful providence that divine inspiration is not confined to particular words and phrases, and grammatical, logical, or rhetorical constructions; and that the same divine truth may be presented in a variety of synonymous words and phrases and sentences. It is the method of divine revelation to give the same laws, doctrines, narratives, expressions of emotion, and prophecies in great variety of forms. None of these are adequate to convey the divine idea, but in their combination it is presented from all those varied points of view that rich, natural languages afford, in order that the mind and heart may grasp the idea itself, appropriate and reproduce it in other forms of language, and in the motives, principles, and habits of every-day life. The external word, written or spoken, is purely instrumental, conveying divine truth to the soul of man, as the eye and the ear are instrumental senses for its appropriation by the soul. It does not work *ex opere operato* by any mechanical or magical power.

As the Lutherans tend to lay the stress upon the sacraments, in their external operation, and the Anglicans upon the external organization of the Church, so the Reformed have ever been

[1] See p. 191.

[2] Rich. Capel, *Remains*, London, 1658.

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in peril of laying the stress on the letter, the external operation of the Word of God. The Protestant principle struggles against this confounding of the means of grace with the divine grace itself, this identification of the instrument and the divine agent, in order therefore to their proper discrimination. This is the problem left unsolved by the Reformation, on which the separate churches of Protestantism have been working, and which demands a solution from the Church of the nineteenth century. Here the most radical question is that of the Divine Word and its relation to the work of the Holy Spirit. This solved, all the other questions will be solved. Herein the churches of the Reformation may be harmonized. Its solution can come only from a further working out of the critical principles of the Reformation; not by logical deduction from the creeds and scholastic dogmas alone, but by a careful induction of the facts from the Scriptures themselves. The fundamental distinction between the external and the internal word is well stated by John Wallis, one of the clerks of the Westminster Assembly:

> "The Scriptures in themselves are a Lanthorn rather than a Light; they shine, indeed, but it is *alieno lumine;* it is not their own, but a borrowed light. It is God which is the true light that shines to us in the Scriptures; and they have no other light in them, but as they represent to us somewhat of God, and as they exhibit and hold forth God to us, who is the true light that 'enlighteneth every man that comes into the world.' It is a light, then, as it represents God unto us, who is the original light. It transmits some rays; some beams of the divine nature; but they are refracted, or else we should not be able to behold them. They lose much of their original lustre by passing through this medium, and appear not so glorious to us as they are in themselves. They represent God's simplicity obliquated and refracted, by reason of many inadequate conceptions; God condescending to the weakness of our capacity to speak to us in our own dialect."[1]

The Scriptures are lamps, vessels of the most holy character, but no less vessels of the divine grace than were the apostles and prophets who spake and wrote them. As vessels they have come into material contact with the forces of this world, with human weakness, ignorance, prejudice, and folly; their forms

[1] *Sermons*, London, 1791, pp. 127–128.

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have been modified in the course of the generations, but their divine contents remain unchanged. We shall never be able to attain the sacred writings in the original letters and sounds and forms in which they gladdened the eyes of those who first saw them, and rejoiced the hearts of those who first heard them. If the external words of these originals were inspired, it does not profit us. We are cut off from them forever. Interposed between us and them is the tradition of centuries and even millenniums. Doubtless by God's "singular care and providence they have been kept pure in all ages, and are therefore authentical."[1] Doubtless throughout the whole work of the authors "the Holy Spirit was present, causing His energies to flow into the spontaneous exercises of the writers' faculties, elevating and directing where need be, and everywhere securing the errorless expression in language of the thought designed by God";[2] but we cannot in the symbolical or historical use of the term call this providential care of His Word, or superintendence over its external production, inspiration. Such providential care and superintendence is not different in kind with regard to the Word of God, the Church of God, or the forms of the sacraments. Inspiration lies back of the external letter: it is that which gives the Word its efficacy; it is the divine afflatus which enlightened and guided holy men to apprehend the truth of God in its appropriate forms, assured them of their possession of it, and called and enabled them to make it known to the Church by voice and pen. This made their persons holy, their utterances holy, their writings holy, but only as the instruments, not as the holy thing itself. The divine Logos — that is the sum and substance of the Scripture, the holy of holies, whence the Spirit of God goes forth through the holy place of the circumstantial sense of type and symbol, and literary representation, into the outer court of the words and sentences, through them to enter by the ear and eye into the hearts of men with enlightening, sanctifying, and saving power:

[1] *Westminster Confession of Faith*, I. viii.

[2] A. A. Hodge and B. B. Warfield, art. "Inspiration," *Presbyterian Review*, II. 231.

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"Inspiration is more than superintending guidance, for that expresses but an external relation between the Spirit and writer. But Inspiration is an influence within the soul, divine and supernatural, working through all the writers in one organizing method, making of the many one, by all one book, the Book of God, the Book for man, divine and human in all its parts; having the same relation to all other books that the Person of the Son of God has to all other men, and that the Church of the living God has to all other institutions."[1]

True criticism never disregards the letter, but reverently and tenderly handles every letter and syllable of the Word of God, striving to purify it from all dross, brushing away the dust of tradition and guarding it from the ignorant and profane. But it is with no superstitious dread of magical virtue or virus in it, or anxious fears lest it should dissolve in the hands, but with an assured trust that it is the tabernacle of God, through whose external courts there is an approach to the Lord Jesus Himself. "Bibliolatry clings to the letter; spirituality in the letter finds the spirit and does not disown the letter which guided to the spirit."[2]

Such criticism has accomplished great things for the New Testament text. It will do even more for the Old Testament so soon as the old superstitious reverence for Massoretic tradition has been laid aside by Christian scholars. Critical theories first come into conflict with the church doctrine of inspiration when they deny the inspiration of the truth and facts of Scripture; when they superadd another authoritative and predominant test, whether it be the reason, the conscience, or the religious feeling. But this is to go beyond the sphere of evangelical criticism and enter into the fields of rationalistic, ethical, or mystical criticism. Evangelical criticism conflicts only with false views of inspiration. It disturbs the inspiration of versions, the inspiration of the Massoretic text, the inspiration of particular letters, syllables, and external words and expressions; and truly all those who rest upon these external things ought to be disturbed and driven from the letter to the spirit, from clinging to the outer walls, to seek Him who is the sum and substance, the Master and the King of the Scriptures.

[1] H. B. Smith, *Sermon on Inspiration*, 1855, p. 27. [2] In *l.c.*, p. 36.

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V. The Higher Criticism and Credibility

This is the most delicate and difficult question of the Higher Criticism with reference to all literature, but especially with reference to Biblical Literature. That there are errors in the present text of our Bible, and inconsistencies, it is vain to deny. There are chronological, geographical, and other circumstantial inconsistencies and errors which we should not hesitate to acknowledge. Such circumstantial and incidental errors as arise from the inadvertence or lack of information of an author, are not an impeachment of his credibility. If we distinguish between revelation and inspiration, and yet insist upon inerrancy with reference to the latter as well as the former, we virtually do away with the distinction. No mere man can escape altogether human errors unless divine revelation set even the most familiar things in a new and infallible light, and also so control him that he cannot make a slip of the eye or the hand, a fault in the imagination, in conception, in reasoning, in rhetorical figure, or in grammatical expression; and indeed so raise him above his fellows that he shall see through all their errors in science and philosophy as well as theology, and anticipate the discoveries in all branches of knowledge by thousands of years. Errors of inadvertence in minor details, where the author's position and character are well known, do not destroy his credibility as a witness in any literature or any court of justice. It is not to be presumed that divine inspiration lifted the author above his age, any more than was necessary to convey the divine revelation and the divine instruction with infallible certainty to mankind. We have to take into account the extent of the author's human knowledge, his point of view and type of thought, his methods of reasoning and illustration. The question of credibility is to be distinguished from that of infallibility. The form is credible, the substance alone is infallible.

The Higher Criticism studies all the literary phenomena of Holy Scripture. It has thus far done an inestimable service in the removal of the traditional theories from the sacred books, so that they may be studied in their real structure and character.

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The Higher Criticism recognizes faults of grammar and rhetoric, and of logic in the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures. The biblical authors used the language with which they were familiar; some of them classic Hebrew, others of them dialectic and corrupted Hebrew. Some of them have a good prose style; others of them have a dull, tedious, pedantic style. Some of them are poets of the highest rank; others of them write such inferior poetry that one is surprised that they did not use prose. Some of them reason clearly, profoundly, and convincingly; others of them reason in a loose, obscure, and unconvincing manner. Some of them present the truth like intuitions of light; others labour with it, and eventually deliver it in a crude and undeveloped form. The results of these studies show that in all these respects the biblical authors were left to themselves, to their own individualities and idiosyncrasies. All these matters belong to the manner and method of their instruction. Errors in these formal things do not impair the infallibility of the substance, the religious instruction itself.

The Higher Criticism shows us the process by which the sacred books were produced; that the most of them were composed by unknown authors; that they have passed through the hands of a considerable number of unknown editors, who have brought together the older material without removing discrepancies, inconsistencies, and errors. Take the Pentateuch, the earliest canon of the Old Testament. It is composed of four great documents, whose authors are unknown to us. These documents were consolidated by an unknown editor in the times of the Restoration. Each of these documents is made up of still older documents and sources.[1] These may, within certain limits, be assigned to their times of composition, but not to their authors. In this process of editing, arranging, addition, subtraction, reconstruction, and consolidation, extending through many centuries, what evidence have we that these unknown editors were kept from error in all their work? With the precious divine instruction in their hands it seems altogether likely that they were left to their honest human judgment without any constraint or restraint of a divine influ-

[1] See p. 322.

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ence, just as later copyists and editors have been left to themselves. They were men of God, and judging from their work, they were guided by the Divine Spirit in their apprehension and expression of the divine instruction, but also judging from their work, it seems most probable that they were not guided by the Divine Spirit in their grammar, in their rhetoric, in their logical expressions, in their arrangement of their material, or in their general editorial work. In all these matters they were left to those errors, which even the most faithful and most scrupulous writers will sometimes make. Unless we take some such position we are really exposed to the peril of making the Holy Spirit the author of bad grammar, of the incorrect use of words, of inelegant expressions, and of disorderly arrangement of material; which, indeed, was charged upon the critics of the seventeenth century by their earliest opponents.[1]

From the point of view of the Higher Criticism, we are not prepared to admit errors in the Scriptures, until they shall be proven. Very many of those alleged have already received sufficient or plausible explanation; others are in dispute between truth-seeking scholars, and satisfactory explanations may hereafter be given. New difficulties are constantly arising and being overcome. The question whether there are errors is a question of fact to which all theories and doctrines must yield. It cannot be determined by *a priori* definitions and statements on either side. Indeed the original autographs have been lost for ages and can never be recovered. How can we determine whether they were absolutely errorless or not? To assume that it must be so, as a deduction from the theory of verbal inspiration, is to beg the whole question.

Richard Baxter truly says:

> "And here I must tell you a great and needful truth, which . . . Christians fearing to confess, by overdoing tempt men to Infidelity. The Scripture is like a man's body, where some parts are but for the preservation of the rest, and may be maimed without death. The sense is the soul of the Scripture, and the letters but the body or vehicle. The doctrine of the Creed, Lord's Prayer and Decalogue, Baptism and the Lord's Supper is the vital part,

[1] See p. 276.

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and Christianity itself. The Old Testament letter (written as we have it about Ezra's time) is that vehicle, which is as imperfect as the revelation of these times was. But as after Christ's incarnation and ascension the Spirit was more abundantly given, and the revelation more perfect and sealed, so the doctrine is more full, and the vehicle or body, that is, the words, are less imperfect and more sure to us; so that he that doubteth the truth of some words in the Old Testament, or of some circumstances in the New, hath no reason therefore to doubt of the Christian religion, of which these writings are but the vehicle or body, sufficient to ascertain us of the truth of the History and Doctrine."[1]

Higher Criticism comes into conflict with the authority of Scripture when it finds that its doctrinal statements are not authoritative and its revelations are not credible. If the credibility of a book is impeached, its divine authority and inspiration are also impeached. But to destroy credibility something more must be presented than errors in matters of detail that do not affect the author's scope of argument or his religious instructions. It is an unsafe position to assume that we must first prove the credibility, inerrancy, and infallibility of a book ere we accept its authority. If inquirers waited until all the supposed errors in our canonical books were satisfactorily explained, they would never accept the Bible as a divine revelation. To press the critics to this dilemma, *inerrant* or *uninspired*, might be to catch them on one of the horns if they were not critical enough to detect the fallacy and escape, but it would be more likely to catch the people, who know nothing of criticism, and so undermine and destroy their faith.

The Higher Criticism has already strengthened the credibility of Scripture. It has studied the human features of the Bible and learned the wondrous variety of form and colour assumed by the divine revelation. Many of the supposed inconsistencies have been found to be different modes of representing the same thing, complementary to one another and combining to give a fuller representation than any one mode could ever have given; as the two sides of the stereoscopic view give a representation superior to that of the ordinary photo-

[1] *The Catechizing of Families*, 1683, p. 36.

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graph. The unity of statement found in the midst of such wondrous variety of detail in form and colour is much more convincing than a unity of mere coincidence such as the older harmonists sought to obtain by stretching and straining the Scriptures on the procrustean bed of their hair-splitting scholasticism. Many of the supposed inconsistencies have been found to arise from different stages of divine revelation, in each of which God condescended to the weakness and the ignorance of men, and gave to them the knowledge that they could appropriate, and held up to them ideals that they could understand as to their essence if not in all their details. The earlier are shadows and types, crude and imperfect representations of better things to follow.[1] Many of the supposed inconsistencies result from the popular and unscientific language of the Bible, thus approaching the people of God in different ages in concrete forms and avoiding the abstract. The inconsistencies have resulted from the scholastic abstractions of those who would use the Bible as a text-book, but they do not exist in the concrete of the Bible itself. Many of the supposed inconsistencies arise from a different method of logic and rhetoric in the Oriental writers and the attempt of modern scholars to measure them by Occidental methods. Many of the inconsistencies result from the neglect to appreciate the poetic and imaginative element in the Bible and a lack of æsthetic sense on the part of its interpreters. The Higher Criticism has already removed a large number of difficulties, and will remove many more when it has become a more common study among scholars.

VI. Historical Criticism and Credibility

We have seen that there are historical mistakes in Holy Scripture, mistakes of chronology and geography, errors as to historical events and persons, discrepancies and inconsistencies in the histories which cannot be removed by any legitimate method of interpretation.[2]

The Historical Criticism of the Old Testament finds discre-

[1] Heb. 8^5, 10^1, 11^{40}; Col. 2^{17}.

[2] See pp. 512 *seq.*

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pancies between the parallel narratives of Kings and Chronicles, and between the different sources which have been compacted by later editors in the Hexateuch, and in the prophetic historians. A comparison of these with the prophetical and the poetical writings also makes it evident that there are historical errors in these books. It is extremely improbable that these are all due to copyists and scribes who worked upon the sacred writings subsequent to the formation of the Canon. It is more reasonable to suppose that, in all this historical framework of the divine revelation, the sacred writers and scribes were left to themselves to make those few mistakes, which the best men will sometimes make in their most conscientious and painstaking writing of history.

All such errors are just where you would expect to find them in accurate, truthful writers of history in ancient times. They used with fidelity the best sources of information accessible to them: ancient poems, popular traditions, legends and ballads, regal and family archives, codes of law, and ancient narratives.[1] There is no evidence that they received any of this history by revelation from God. There is no evidence that the Divine Spirit corrected their narratives either when they were lying uncomposed in their minds, or written in manuscripts. The purpose of the ancient historians was to give the history of God's redemptive workings. There is evidence that they were guided by the Divine Spirit in the conception of their plan, and in the working of it out so as to give the religious education which is embedded in these histories. This made it necessary that there should be no essential errors in the redemptive facts and agencies, but it did not make it necessary that there should be no mistakes in dates, in places, and in persons, so long as these did not change the religious lessons or the redemptive facts. None of the mistakes, discrepancies, and errors which have been discovered disturb the great religious lessons of biblical history. These lessons are the only ones whose credibility we are concerned to defend. All other things belong to the human framework of the divine story, and it is altogether probable that in this framework the

[1] See pp. 555 *seq.*

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authors were left to their own honest judgment. They do not show in their historical writing that insight, foresight, and grasp which they show when they are pointing the religious lessons of history. Where that insight, foresight, and grasp are lacking, we may know that the writers have been left to themselves, to the free exercise of their human faculties.

Thus all departments of the study of Holy Scripture lead to the result that there are numerous errors of detail in Holy Scripture, that there are no such things as inerrant documents of any kind; but that the substance of Holy Scripture, the divine teaching as to religion, faith, and morals, is errorless and infallible.

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CHAPTER XXV

THE TRUTHFULNESS OF HOLY SCRIPTURE

ALL departments of Biblical Criticism lead us to errors in the Holy Scriptures. The sciences which approach the Bible from without and the sciences which study it from within agree as to the essential facts of the case. In all matters which come within the sphere of human observation, and which constitute the framework of the divine instruction, errors may be found. Can the truthfulness of Scripture be maintained by those who recognize these errors?

It is claimed by some dogmatic theologians and their partisans, that "a proved error in Scripture contradicts not only our doctrine, but the Scripture claims and, therefore, its inspiration in making those claims."[1] This statement challenges scientific men, historians, and biblical scholars to abandon either their studies or their Bible. In reply to such a challenge scholars say to these dogmaticians: "There are errors in the Bible. Your dogma is a piece of human folly and presumption." This party defend their thesis by an *a priori* argument. They say: "God is true. He speaks a true word. His word is an inerrant word. The Bible is the word of God. Therefore the Bible is inerrant." This argument is plausible, but superficial and specious. Both its premises are untrustworthy.

I. IS THE BIBLE THE WORD OF GOD?

The minor premise of their argument, that the Bible is the word of God, needs qualification and explanation; otherwise it begs the whole question. The Bible is the word of God in the sense that its essential contents are the word of God. But it

[1] See p. 609.

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is not the word of God in the sense that its every word, sentence, and clause is the word of God. From that point of view we must rather say the Bible contains the word of God. The Bible is the word of God in the sense that it contains a divine word of religious instruction to men. But we must distinguish in the Bible between the divine word of instruction and the human vessel which contains that divine word. The errors of Holy Scripture are in the vessel, the framework, the setting; not in the contents, or the substance of the Bible. Therefore even if the major premise be true that a divine word must be inerrant, the corrected minor premise would only lead to the conclusion that the divine word of instruction in the Bible is inerrant, and it would leave room for errors in the human setting.

There is no *a priori* reason why the substantial truthfulness of the Bible should not be consistent with circumstantial errors. God Himself did not speak, according to the Hebrew Scriptures, more than a few words, in theophanies, which are recorded here and there in the Old Testament. God speaks in much the greater part of the Old Testament through the voices and pens of the human authors of the Scriptures. Did the human voice and pen in all the numerous writers and editors of Holy Scripture prior to the completion of the Canon always deliver an inerrant word?

Even if all the writers were so possessed of the Holy Spirit as to be merely passive in His hands, the question arises: Can the finite voice and the finite pen deliver and express the inerrant truth of God? If the language, and the style, and the dialect, and the rhetoric are all natural to the inspired man, is it possible for these to express the infinite truth of God? How can an imperfect word, sentence, and clause express a perfect divine truth? It is evident that the writers of the Bible were not as a rule in the ecstatic state. The Holy Spirit did not move their hands or their lips. He suggested to their minds and hearts the divine truth they were to teach. They received it by intuition in the forms of their reason. They framed it in conception, in imagination, and in fancy. They delivered it in the logical and rhetorical forms of speech. If the divine truth

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passed through the conception and imagination of the human mind, did the human mind conceive it fully without any defect, without any fault, without any shading of error? Had the human conception no limitations to its reception of the divine truth? Had the human imagination and fancy no colours to impart to the holy instruction? Did the human mind add nothing to it in reasoning or conception? Was it delivered in its entirety exactly as it was received? How can we be sure of this when we see the same doctrine in such variety of forms, all partial, all inadequate? How can we know this when we find the same ethical principle in such a variety of shading? If the human medium could hardly fail to modify the divine truth received by it in revelation, how much more must the human medium influence the divine instruction in connection with biblical history, lyric poetry, sentences of wisdom, and works of the imagination which make up the body of the Old Testament. Here the mass of the material was derived from human sources of information: the history depended upon oral and documentary evidence; the lyric poetry was the expression of human emotion; the sentence of wisdom was the condensation of human ethical experience; the works of the imagination were efforts to clothe religious lessons in artistic forms of grace and beauty. All that we can claim for the Divine Spirit in the production of these parts of the Old Testament is an inspiration which suggests the religious lessons to be imparted.

If, as some claim, in addition, there was a providential superintendence guarding the biblical writers from every kind of error, we are compelled to state that this guarding from error is the matter in contention. It cannot be assumed. It has to be proven. It is improbable, and it cannot be accepted except through the most conclusive reasons, which no one has yet been able to present.

It is plain, therefore, that the presumption is that the human spokesman of the divine word has given the divine word in as true and original a form as possible; and yet that the limitations of his mind, his language, and the circumstances of his time make it probable that he could give it only partially, and

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that he would accompany its expression with such errors as would spring from his ignorance and inadvertence in circumstantial matters.

II. Must God speak Inerrant Words to Man?

The major premise of this argument is also specious and needs rectification. We cannot assume that when God speaks to men He must always speak an inerrant word. God is true, He is the truth. There is no error or falsehood in Him. He cannot lie. He cannot mislead or deceive His creatures. There can be no doubt of this. But the question arises, When the infinite God speaks to finite man, must He speak words which are inerrant? This depends not only upon God's speaking, but upon man's hearing, and also upon the means of communication between God and man. It is necessary to show the capacity of man to receive the inerrant word and the adequacy of the means to convey the inerrant word as well as the inerrancy of God, before we can be sure that God can only communicate inerrant words to man. We may be certain of the inerrancy of the speaker of the word, but how can it be shown that the means of communication are inerrant, or that man is capable of receiving an inerrant word? It is necessary that we should consider that in all His relations to man and nature God condescends. The finite can only contain a part of the infinite. God limits Himself when He imparts anything of Himself to the creature. In the converse of heaven we may say that there may be inerrant communications. In the commands of God to seraphs and angels God may be conceived of as speaking inerrant words. But has God, in fact, spoken inerrant words to weak, ignorant, sinful men in a world so imperfect and inharmonious as ours? We may argue from analogies.

1. The book of nature discloses much of the glory and power and wisdom of the God in creation and providence. But are these disclosures inerrant? Can we formulate an exact doctrine of the attributes of God from these disclosures of nature? No one believes it. Nature is incapable of doing

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any more than of disclosing faint, partial, and fallible words of God. The material universe is incapable of doing any more than to give, in many varying colours, faint reflections of the light of the spiritual world.

It may be asked, "May not a revelation in nature, though incomplete, be inerrant as far as it goes?" To this it may be replied, yes, if it go only so far in its incompleteness as to issue forth from God Himself. But if it go so far as to enter into the realm of external nature and mingle with the physical it will go so far as to lose its inerrancy. The inerrant word of God in nature can be determined only by eliminating the essential word from all the colouring and all the formal inexactness and deflection from the normal, which its environment in nature involves.

2. The revelation of God through the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament was sometimes accompanied by theophanies. In theophanies God manifests Himself to the human senses of sight, hearing, and occasionally of touch, by assuming some form discernible by the senses. Usually God appears in some form of light or fire, sometimes as an angel or man, sometimes in a voice and sound. These forms are not the real form of God; they are forms which He condescends to assume for a purpose. They do not any of them give an inerrant representation of the invisible God. The law forbids Israel to represent God under any external form whatever.[1] Those who worship Him, worship Him in spirit and in fidelity. God does not give an inerrant representation of Himself in the forms of time and space within the material universe. And yet these manifestations are the stepping-stones of Biblical History. The theophanies of the Old Testament lead on to the Christophanies of the New Testament.[2] They are indeed the fundamental realities upon which all the divine revelation in word depend.

3. If God does not reveal Himself inerrantly in the great works of nature, or in theophanies, why should we suppose that He makes an inerrant revelation when He makes a communication through the human spirit? It is quite true that

[1] Deut. 4[15-19].

[2] See p. 542.

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we are now rising from the material into the spiritual world. Man is akin with deity by the inheritance of the reason and all the wondrous faculties associated therewith. God may, therefore, reveal Himself as Spirit to the spirit of men, far more freely, fully, and clearly than in the forms of the material universe. And yet we have to consider the immense distance between the condescending God and the most exalted human spirit. If the human spirit is capable of receiving an inerrant word, we may believe that God would communicate it. But is the human spirit capable? We know in our experience in communicating one with another how extremely difficult it is to transmit an inerrant message. The utmost pains have to be taken. We cannot trust the mind; we must make a record that cannot change. We know that it is impracticable to teach the truth inerrantly to the ignorant and the unprepared, even so far as we may have it. The instruction must be adapted by the teacher to the pupil. The same truth must be taught differently in an infant class, from the pulpit, through the daily press, in the college class-room, in a scientific treatise. A different training and different qualifications are necessary in order to do successfully any of these different things. In each one of these the truth is necessarily deprived of some portion of its completeness and truthfulness. It seems to be impossible for a teacher to convey the truth exactly as he sees it, or to avoid so stating it that errors may not spring up on every side. We know in part, we tell what we know in part. We are true so far as we can be; but we cannot be inerrant in our speech or in our writing, even with regard to that measure of truth which we really possess. If this is true in the relation of human spirit with human spirit, how much more may it be true of the Divine Spirit in its relation to the human spirit?

4. Jesus had many things to say to His disciples that they could not bear, that they could not understand.[1] The Divine Teacher could not teach them because they were incapable of receiving His teaching. If the apostles were incapable of the teaching of Jesus, who condescended to become a man, to live with them, and to speak to them in their own language, in their

[1] John 16^{12}.

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own idiom, in their own methods of instruction; if He had to employ parables, which still remain the mysteries of the Gospels, which are capable of numerous erroneous interpretations; if His own wonderful sentences of wisdom are so capable of erroneous application, how much more difficult for the Divine Spirit to communicate to men by internal suggestion divine truth in such inerrant forms that the prophets and apostles could only deliver it in speech and pen in the same inerrant forms in which they received it. You may say that the parables and sentences of Jesus are inerrant, that the fault is in the interpretation. But why were those parables and sentences not given in such words and sentences as would make their meaning clear for all time and avoid erroneous interpretation? The only answer we can give is that Jesus could not give His teaching in inerrant forms; the Holy Spirit could not communicate the inerrant word to men without, in a measure, depriving it of its inerrancy.

Thus the analogy of divine revelation in other forms, and of the communication between men and men, and especially between Jesus and His apostles, make it altogether probable that the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures does not carry with it inerrancy in every particular. It was sufficient if the divine communication was given with such clearness as to guide men aright in a religious life; it was sufficient that they knew assuredly that God could not deceive or mislead them, but would give them true, faithful, reliable guidance in holy things. The errors of Holy Scripture are not errors of falsehood, or of deceit; they are such errors of ignorance, inadvertence, of partial and inadequate knowledge, and of incapacity to express the whole truth of God as belong to man as man, and from which we have no evidence that even an inspired man was relieved. Just as the light is seen, not in its pure, unclouded rays, but in the beautiful colours of the spectrum, as its beams are broken up by the angles and discolorations which obstruct their course, so it is with the truth of God. Its revelation and communication meet with such obstacles in human nature and in this world of ours, that men are capable of receiving it only in divers portions and divers

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manners, as it comes to them through the divers temperaments and points of view and styles of the biblical writers. Few men are capable of discerning more than one portion of these colours — the most capable know in part. Not till the day which closes the dispensation dawns will any one know the whole; for not till then will men be capable of seeing the Christ as He is, and of knowing God in His glory.

The major premise of the *a priori* argument is not an intuition; it lacks sufficient evidence to sustain it. All the evidence that we can gain points the other way. The only thing that we can say is that God's word to man will be as inerrant as possible, considering the human and defective media through which it is communicated. There is an intrinsic improbability that we have a Bible inerrant any further than that religious instruction extends which is necessary for the guidance of God's people in every successive epoch in the development of divine revelation.

III. Gradual Development of the Hebrew Religion

The position we have thus far attained enables us to dispose of the greater difficulties which lie in the way of the truthfulness of Holy Scripture. These are religious, doctrinal, and ethical difficulties.

The religion of the Old Testament is a religion which, with all its excellence as compared with the other religions of the ancient world, inculcates some things which are hard to reconcile with an inerrant revelation. The sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter,[1] and the divine command to Abraham to offer up his son as a whole burnt-offering,[2] seem unsuited to a divine religion. There are many who try to explain these difficulties away by arbitrary exegesis and conjectures supplementary to the narratives, but in vain. The narrative in Judges leaves upon our minds the indelible impression that Jephthah did a praiseworthy act when he sacrificed his daughter to God; and there can be no doubt that God commanded the sacrifice of Isaac, even if He subsequently accepted a sub-

[1] Jd. 11^{29-40}. [2] Gen. 22.

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stitute in an animal victim. There is, indeed, no prohibition of the offering up of children in the earliest codes of the Hexateuch. The prohibition was first made in the Deuteronomic code and originated somewhat late in the history of Israel. The early Hebrews shared with the Canaanites and other neighbouring nations in the practice of offering up their children in the flame to God. From the point of view of sacrifice nothing could be more acceptable than the best-beloved son, except the offerer himself. The higher revelation teaches the offering of the whole body and soul to God in the spiritual sacrifice of an everlasting ministry.[1] But it required centuries of training before that divine lesson could be taught and learned. The Hebrews were taught the principle of sacrifice as they were able to learn it. God accepted the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter. He graciously accepted the ram instead of Isaac, though He stated His rightful claim upon the beloved son. He provided a sacrificial system which gradually grew in wealth of symbolism through the ages of Jewish history; and animal and grain sacrifices were made the normal form of worship.

But the prophets, with great difficulty and increasing opposition from priests and people, gradually taught them that the sacrifices must be of broken and contrite hearts, and of humble, cheerful spirits. But what pleasure can God take in the blood of animals or in smoking altars? How could the true God ever prescribe such puerilities? This is the inquiry of the higher religion of our day. We can only say that God was training Israel to understand the meaning of a higher sacrifice; even the obedience of the Christ in a holy life and a martyr death in the service of God and of humanity, and of the similar sacrifice that every child of God is called upon to make.

The offering up of children and of domestic animals and grains was all a preparatory discipline for the religion of Christ. The training was true and faithful for the time. But it was provisional and temporal, to be displaced by that which is complete and eternal. Did the sacrifice of children express the inerrant will of God for all men? Did the sacrifice of

[1] Rom. 12[1].

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animals express the inerrant word of God for all time? By no means. These were the forms in which it was necessary to clothe the divine law of sacrifice in its earlier stages of revelation. These partial forms were the object lessons by which the little children of the ancient world could be trained to understand the final law of sacrifice for men.

On the same principle we would explain the law of circumcision, the law which prohibits the eating of swine and shellfish, the laws of ceremonial uncleanness and purification, the laws of mixtures and the exclusion of eunuchs, bastards, and descendants of certain nations from the holy precincts. These religious laws doubtless were of immense benefit to Israel in his religious development. But they do not reflect truly and accurately and inerrantly the mind of God as to the way in which He would be everlastingly worshipped. He taught them to worship Him in the forms of which they were capable, in order to train them for the use of the highest forms when the proper time should arrive. The institutions of Israel were appropriate for the Old Testament dispensation, not for the Christian age. They have their propriety as elementary forms, but they err from the ideal of religion as it lies eternally in the mind and will of God. Saint Paul calls them weak and beggarly rudiments,[1] a shadow of the things to come.[2]

IV. Gradual Development in Morality

We cannot defend the morals of the Old Testament at all points. It is not in accord with the morals of our day that a man who was a slaveholder, a polygamist, and who showed such little respect for truth as Abraham, should be called the friend of God. It is not to be reconciled with modern morality that a man who committed so much injustice and crime as David should be called the man after God's own heart. It would be impossible for modern writers to make such statements; and yet we should not judge too harshly. We should consider the men in the light of their times. Nowhere in the Old Testament are polygamy and slavery condemned. The time had not come

[1] Gal. 4^{9}. [2] Col. 2^{17}.

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in the history of the world when they could be condemned. Is God responsible for the "twin relics of barbarism" because He did not condemn them, but on the contrary recognized them and restrained them in the Old Testament? These laws could hardly be inerrant. They err from the divine ideal in their morals. But the errors in moral precept were such as were necessary in order to educate Israel for a nobler time when Israel, as well as the Christian Church, would abhor slavery and polygamy as sins and crimes.

The patriarchs were not truthful: their age seems to have had little apprehension of the principles of truth;[1] and yet Abraham was faithful to God, and so faithful under temptation and trial that he became the father of the faithful, and from that point of view the friend of God. David was a sinner; but he was a penitent sinner, and showed such a devout attachment to the worship of God that his sins, though many, were all forgiven him. And his life as a whole exhibits such generosity, courage, variety of human affection and benevolence, such heroism and patience in suffering, such self-restraint and meekness in prosperity, such nobility and grandeur of character, that we must admire him and love him as one of the best of men; and we are not surprised that the heart of God went out to him also. He must be regarded as a model of excellence when compared with other monarchs of his age.

The commendation of Jael by the theophanic angel for the treacherous slaying of Sisera could not be condoned in our age, and it is not easy to understand how God could have commended it in any age. And yet it is only in accord with the spirit of revenge which breathes in the command to exterminate the Canaanites, which animates the imprecatory psalms, which is threaded into the story of Esther, and which stirred Nehemiah in his arbitrary government of Jerusalem. Jesus Christ, praying for His enemies, lifts us into a different ethical world from that familiar to us in the Old Testament. We cannot regard these things in the Old Testament as inerrant in the light of the moral character of Jesus Christ and the character of God as He reveals Him. And yet we may well understand

[1] See p. 308.

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that the Old Testament times were not ripe for the higher revelation, and that God condescended to a partial revelation of His word and will, such as would guide His people in the right direction, with as steady and rapid a pace as they were capable of making.

Jesus Christ teaches us the true principle by which we may judge the ethics of the Old Testament, when He repealed the Mosaic law of divorce, and said: "Moses for your hardness of heart suffered you to put away your wives: but from the beginning it hath not been so."[1]

In other words, the Mosaic law of divorce was not in accord with the original institution of marriage, or with the real mind and will of God. In that law God condescended for a season to the hardness of heart of His people, and exacted of them only that which they were able to perform. The law was imperfect, temporary, to be repealed forever by the Messiah. So through all the stages of divine revelation laws were given, which were but the scaffolding of the temple of holiness, which were to serve their purpose in the preparatory discipline, but were to disappear forever when they had accomplished their purpose. The codes of law of the Old Testament have all been cast down by the Christian Church as the scaffolding of the old dispensation, with the single exception of the Ten Words; and with reference to the fourth of these, the words of Jesus are our guide: "The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath."[2] For the eternal principles of morals we turn in the Old Testament rather to the psalmists, the sages, and the prophets; we think of the true citizens of Zion of the Psalter;[3] of the guest in the temple of wisdom of the book of Proverbs;[4] of the righteous sufferer of the Psalms of humiliation,[5] and of the great prophet of the exile;[6] of the saintly Job triumphantly challenging and destroying every slander of his pharisaic accusers, and vindicating his integrity in a magnificent unfolding of ethical experience,[7] which has no equal save in the Sermon on the Mount of Jesus Christ.

[1] Mt. 19[8]. See pp. 440 *seq.* [2] Mk. 2[27]. [3] Ps. 15, 24. [4] Prov. 9.
[5] Ps. 22, 69. [6] Is. 40–66. [7] Job 31. See pp. 422 *seq.*

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V. Gradualness of Biblical Doctrine

When, now, we come to the doctrinal teachings of the Old Testament we find less difficulty. Some of the doctrines of the Old Testament are inadequate and provisional. All of them are partial and incomplete.

1. The doctrine of God in the Old Testament is magnificent. The individuality of God is emphasized in the personal name Yahweh, which probably means "the One ever with His people."[1] The doctrine of the living God is so strongly asserted that it is far in advance of the faith of the Christian Church at the present day, which has been misled by scholastic dogmaticians into abstract conceptions of God. The attributes are so richly unfolded and comprehensively stated that there is little to be added to them in the New Testament. The doctrine of creation is set forth in a great variety of beautiful poetical representations, which give in the aggregate a simpler and a fuller conception of creation than the ordinary doctrine of the theologians, who build on a prosaic and forced interpretation of the first and second chapters of Genesis. The doctrine of providence is illustrated in a wonderful variety of historical incidents, lyric prayers, thanksgivings and meditations, sentences of proverbial experience, and prophetic teaching. The God of the Old Testament is commonly conceived as king and lord; He was conceived as the father of nations and kings and His love as the love of Israel and the Davidic dynasty: but the "our Father" of the common people was not known until Jesus Christ; the profound depths of the mercy of God in Jesus Christ was not yet manifest; the doctrine of the Holy Trinity was not yet ripe. There is an advance in God's revelation of Himself through the successive layers of the Old Testament writings which is like the march of an invincible king.

It is true that there are at times representations of vindictiveness in God, a jealousy of other gods, a cruel disregard of

[1] See Robinson, *Gesenius' Heb. Lex.*, new edition by Brown, Driver, and Briggs, article יהוה.

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human suffering and human life, an occasional vacillation and change of purpose, the passion of anger and arbitrary preferences, which betray the inadequacy of ancient Israel to understand their God, and the errancy of their conceptions and representations. But we all know that the true God does not accord with these representations. We may call them anthropomorphisms and anthropopathisms; but whatever we may name them they are errant representations. They do not, however, mar the grandeur of the true God as we see Him in the Old Testament. The truthfulness of the teaching of the doctrine of God is not destroyed by occasional inaccuracies of the teachers.

2. The doctrine of man in the Old Testament is a noble doctrine. The unity and brotherhood of the race in origin and in destiny is taught in the Old Testament as nowhere else. The origin and development of sin are traced with a vividness and an accuracy of delineation that find a response in the experiences of mankind. The ideal of righteousness as the original plan of God for man and the ultimate destiny for man is held up as a banner throughout the Old Testament. Surely these are true instructions; they are faithful, they are divine. There are doubtless dark strands of national prejudice, of pharisaical particularism, of faulty psychology, and of occasional exaggeration of the more external forms of ceremonial sin; but these do not mar, they rather serve to magnify the golden strands which constitute the major part of the cord that binds our race into an organism created and governed by a holy God in the interests of a perfect and glorified humanity.

3. The most characteristic doctrines of the Old Testament as well as the New Testament are the doctrines of redemption. These are so striking that they entitle us to regard Biblical History as essentially a history of redemption, and Biblical Literature as the literature of redemption.[1]

The redemption of the Bible embraces the whole man, body and soul, in this world and in the future state, the individual man and the race of man, the earth and the heavens. The biblical scheme of redemption is so vast, so comprehensive, so

[1] See pp. 547 *seq.*

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far-reaching that the Christian Church has thus far failed in apprehending it. The doctrine of redemption unfolds from simple germs into magnificent fruitage. The central nucleus of this redemption is the Messianic idea. This comprehends not only the person of the Messiah, but also a kingdom of redemption and the redemption itself. Man is to pursue the course of divine discipline until he attains the holiness of God. Israel is to be a kingdom of priests, a holy nation. All the world is to be incorporated as citizens of Zion. Zion is the light and joy of the entire earth. A Messianic king is to reign over all nations. A Messianic prophet is to be the redeemer of all. A priestly king is to rule in peace and righteousness a kingdom of priests. All evil is to be banished from nature and from man. The animal kingdom is to share in the universal peace. The vegetable world is to respond in glad song to the call of man. There are to be new heavens and a new earth as well as a new Jerusalem from which all the evil will be excluded. Such ideals of redemption are divine ideals which the human race has not yet attained. But in the course of training for these ideals, the provisional redemption enjoyed in the experience of God's people is rich and full. Study the psalms of penitence, the psalms of faith and confidence in God, the thanksgivings and the Hallels, and where else will you find religious poetry which so aptly expresses the redemptive experience of all the children of God?

It is quite true that forgiveness of sins was appropriated without any explanation of its grounds. The sacrifice of Calvary was unknown to the Old Testament as a ground of salvation. The mercy of God was the ultimate source of forgiveness. There is a lack of apprehension in the Old Testament of the righteousness of faith. It was Jesus Christ who first gave faith its unique place in the order of salvation. The doctrine of holy love, which is urged in Deuteronomy, Jeremiah, and the great prophet of the exile, is only a faint aspiration when compared with the breathings of the love of God to man, and man to God, as taught by Jesus and Saint Paul.

The doctrine of the future life in the Old Testament is often obscured by questioning and doubts. It is only in the later

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stages that there is a joyous confidence in the enjoyment of the favour of God after death, and not till Daniel do we have a faith in a resurrection of some of the dead. "Jesus Christ abolished death, and brought life and incorruption to light through the Gospel."[1]

Thus in every department of doctrine the Old Testament is seen advancing through the centuries in the several periods of Biblical Literature, in the unfolding of all the doctrines, preparing the way for the full revelation in the New Testament. The imperfections, incompleteness, inadequacy of some of the statements of the Old Testament as to religion, morals, and doctrine necessarily inhere in the gradualness of the divine revelation. That revelation which looked only at the end, at the highest ideals, at what could be accomplished in the last century of human time, would not be a revelation for all men. It would be of no use to any other century but the last. A divine word for man must be appropriate for the present as well as the future; must have something to guide men in every stage of religious advancement; must have something for every century of history,—for the barbarian as well as the Greek, the Gentile as well as the Jew, the dark-minded African as well as the open-minded European, the dull Islander as well as the subtile Asiatic, the child and the peasant as well as the man and the sage. It is just in this respect that the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are so preëminent. They have in them religious instruction for all the world. They trained Israel in every stage of his advancement, and so they will train all men in every step of their advancement.

It does not harm the advanced student to look back upon the inadequate knowledge of his youthful days. It does not harm the Christian to see the many imperfections, crudities, and errors of the more elementary instruction of the Old Testament. Nor does it destroy his faith in the truthfulness of the Divine Word in these elementary stages. He sees its appropriateness, its truthfulness, its adaptation, its propriety; and he learns that an unerring eye and inerrant mind and infallible will has all the time been at work using the imperfect media,

[1] 2 Tim. 1[10].

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and straining them to their utmost capacity to guide men, to raise them, and advance them in the true religion. The sacred books are always pointing forward and upward; they are always expanding in all directions; they are now, as they always have been, true and faithful guides to God and a holy life. They are now, as they always have been, trustworthy and reliable in their religious instruction. They are now, as they always have been, altogether truthful in their testimony to the heart and experience of mankind. And this we may say with confidence, while at the same time with the apostle we exclaim standing on the heights of the New Testament Revelation in Jesus Christ: "Now we see in a mirror darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know fully even as also I have been fully known."[1]

[1] 1 Cor. 13^{12}.

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CHAPTER XXVI

THE HOLY SCRIPTURE AS MEANS OF GRACE

THE essential principle of the Reformed system of theology is redemption by the divine grace alone. The Reformed churches have ever been distinguished for their intense interest in the covenant of grace. Sometimes the divine grace has been hardened by an undue stress upon the sovereignty of it, so that sovereignty has taken the place of the divine grace as the central principle of theology in some of the scholastic systems; and sometimes the divine grace has been softened by an undue emphasis upon the Fatherhood of God. But even in these more extreme tendencies of Calvinism the essential principle of the divine grace alone has not been abandoned, however little any of the systems have comprehended the richness and the fulness of the "grace of God that bringeth salvation."[1]

Redemption by the divine grace alone is the banner principle of the Reformed churches, designed to exclude the uncertainty and arbitrariness attached to all human instrumentalities and external agencies. As the banner principle of the Lutheran Reformation was justification by faith alone excluding any merit or agency of human works, so the Calvinistic principle excluded any inherent efficacy, in human nature or in external remedies, for overcoming the guilt of sin and working redemption. In these two principles lie the chief merits and the chief defects of the two great churches of the Reformation. Intermediate between these principles of faith alone and grace alone, lies a third principle, which is the Divine Word alone. This principle has been emphasized in the Reformation of Great Britain and especially in the Puritan churches. The Word of

[1] Titus 2^{11}.

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God has been called the formal principle of Protestantism over against faith alone, the material principle, and it has been said that the Reformed churches have laid more stress upon the formal principle, while the Lutheran churches have laid more stress upon the material principle. This does not, in our judgment, correspond with the facts of the case. Rather is it true that in the three great churches of the Reformation, the three principles, faith, grace, and the Divine Word, were emphasized; but these churches differed in the relative importance they ascribed to one of these three principles of the Reformation in its relation to the other two. The Word of God is the intermediate principle where faith and grace meet. The Word of God gives faith its appropriate object. The Word of God is the appointed instrument or means of grace.

I. The Gospel in Holy Scripture

The Word of God as a means of grace, as a principle of the Reformation, has, however, its technical meaning. It is not the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments in their entirety, but rather the Gospel contained in the Scriptures:

> "The Holy Gospel which God Himself first revealed in Paradise, afterwards proclaimed by the Holy Patriarchs and Prophets, and foreshadowed by the sacrifices and other ceremonies of the law and finally fulfilled by His well-beloved Son."[1]

The merit of the Lutheran Reformation was that it so distinctly set forth the means by which man appropriates the grace of the Gospel — by faith alone. Faith is the sole appropriating instrument, and it becomes a test of the Word of God itself; for faith having appropriated the gospel of the grace of God is enabled to determine therefrom what is the Word of God and what is not the Word of God. As Luther said:

> "All right holy books agree in this that they altogether preach and urge Christ. This also is the true touchstone to test all books, when one sees whether they so urge Christ or not, since every scripture shews Christ (Rom. 3^{21}), and Saint Paul will know nothing but Christ (1 Cor. 2^{2}); what does not teach Christ that is not

[1] *Heidelb. Cat.*, Quest. 19.

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yet apostolical, even if Saint Paul or Saint Peter taught it; on the other hand, what preaches Christ would be apostolical, even if Judas, Annas, Pilate, and Herod did it."[1]

The merit of the Calvinistic Reformation is that it so distinctly set forth the means by which God accomplishes human redemption — by the divine grace of the Gospel. The divine grace is the sole efficacious instrument of redemption, and this grace becomes itself a test of the true Word of God. The divine grace in the Scriptures gives its witness for the Scriptures, discriminating the true Canon from all other books.

"We know these books to be canonical, and the sure rule of our faith not so much by the common accord and consent of the Church, as by the testimony and inward illumination of the Holy Spirit, which enables us to distinguish them from other ecclesiastical books, upon which, however useful, we cannot found any article of faith."[2]

It was the merit of the British Reformation from the beginning that it laid such stress on the Divine Word alone, and it was especially in the British churches that this principle received its fullest statement and development. Thus it was a cardinal principle of the Church of England that:

"The Holy Scripture conteyneth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite as necessary to salvation."[3]

And the Westminster Confession states:

"The authority of the Holy Scripture, for which it ought to be believed and obeyed, dependeth not upon the testimony of any man or church, but wholly upon God (who is truth itself), the Author thereof; and therefore it is to be received, because it is the word of God."[4]

Thus the three principles of the Reformation were emphasized variously in the three great branches of the Reformation. The most serious defect was in the failure of the respective

[1] *Vorred. zu Epist. Jacobus;* Walch, XIV. p. 149.
[2] *French Confession*, Art. IV.
[3] *Thirty-Nine Articles*, Art. VI.
[4] *West. Conf.*, I. 4.

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churches properly to combine these principles, and especially in the neglect to define with sufficient care the relation of the divine grace and human faith to the Word of God. Hence the common error into which the churches of the Reformation soon fell, notwithstanding their symbols of faith, namely, the undue emphasis of the external Word of God over against the internal Word of God.[1] The solution of this problem has been prepared for (*a*) by the exaltation of the Person of Jesus Christ more and more during the last century, as the central principle of theology. He is the Word of God in the Word of God, the eternal Logos. He is the veritable grace of the Gospel in whose person grace concentrates itself for the redemption of mankind. "For God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish, but have everlasting life."[2]

(*b*) Another preparation is in the deeper understanding of the work of the Divine Spirit in the individual and in the Church. It is just in these two respects that the venerable mother of churches, the Roman Catholic communion, has its share in so great a work. For the Roman Catholic Church has ever emphasized the real presence of the Divine Spirit and of the Christ in the organism of the Church, and in all the institutions of the Church. The Protestant churches in their zeal against limiting the work of Christ and His Spirit to the operations of the Church, and in their efforts to maintain the independence of the Christ and His Spirit of any and every means of grace, have tended to depreciate the Church and its institutions, and so to lose sight of the real presence of the living, reigning Christ, and of the real presence of His Spirit in the Church and its institutions. The Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant Church have each their part to do in the reconciliation of all in a higher divine unity.

II. The Grace of God in Holy Scripture

The grace of God is the free, unmerited favour of God in redemption. That grace is bestowed upon men in Jesus Christ

[1] See pp. 621 *seq.*

[2] John 3[16].

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the Saviour. That grace is presented to us by the Holy Spirit, and applied by Him to our persons and lives. This application is made in the use of certain external media which are called the means of grace. "The Holy Ghost works faith in our hearts by the preaching of the holy Gospel, and confirms it by the use of the holy sacraments."[1] Thus the chief of these means of grace, according to the Reformed churches, is the Word of God, or the holy Gospel as contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.

1. In what sense are the Scriptures means of grace? The Scriptures are means of grace in that they contain the Gospel of Christ which is the power of God unto salvation. The Word of God is called the sword of the Spirit. For it "is living, and active, and sharper than any two-edged sword, and piercing even to the dividing of soul and spirit, of both joints and marrow, and quick to discern the thoughts and intents of the heart."[2] It is the lamp of God. "Thy word is a lamp unto my feet and a light unto my path."[3] It is the seed of regeneration. For Christians have "been begotten again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, through the Word of God, which liveth and abideth."[4] It is the power of God. "For I am not ashamed of the gospel; for it is the power of God unto salvation,"[5] says Saint Paul to the Romans; and he reminds his disciple, Timothy, that "from a babe thou hast known the sacred writings, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus."[6] These attributes of the Word of God cannot be brought under the category of inspiration. The inspiration of the Word of God is a highly important doctrine, but it must not be so greatly emphasized as to lead us to neglect other and still more important aspects of the Bible. Inspiration has to do with the truthfulness, reliability, accuracy, and authority of the Word of God; the assurance that we have that the instruction contained therein comes from God. But these attributes of the Divine Word that we have just mentioned in biblical terms are deeper and more important than inspiration. They lie at the root of

[1] *Heidelb. Cat.*, Quest. 65. [2] Heb. 4^{12}. [3] Ps. 119^{105}.
[4] 1 Pet. 1^{23}. [5] Rom. 1^{16}. [6] 2 Tim. 3^{15}.

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inspiration, as among its strongest evidences. They stand out as the most prominent features of the Gospel, independent of the doctrine of inspiration. They are features shared by the Bible with the Church and the sacraments, which are not inspired and are not infallible. They are those attributes that make the Bible what it is in the life of the people and the faith of the Church without raising the question of inspiration. They ascribe to the Word of God a divine power such as is contained in a seed of life, the movement of the light, the activity of a sword, a power that works redemption, the supreme means of grace. As Robert Boyle well says :[1]

> "Certainly then, if we consider God as the Creator of our souls, and so likeliest to know the frame and springs and nature of his own workmanship, we shall make but little difficulty to believe that in the books written for and addressed to men, he hath employed very powerful and appropriated means to work upon them. And in effect, there is a strange movingness, and, if the epithet be not too bold, a kind of heavenly magic to be found in some passages of Scripture, which is to be found nowhere else."

2. What, then, is this power of grace contained in the Scriptures? The power of grace contained in the Scriptures is the redemption made known to us, freely offered to us, and effectually applied to us in Jesus Christ the Saviour. It is the holy Gospel in the Scriptures, the Word of God written, presenting as in a mirror of wonderful combinations from so many different points of view, the glorious person, character, life, and achievements of the Word of God incarnate, the eternal Logos. Thus the Scriptures give us not merely the history of Israel, but the history of redemption from its earliest protevangelium to its fruition in Jesus Christ, the Messiah of history and prophecy. They give us not ordinary biography, but the experience of redeemed men, telling us of their faith, repentance, spiritual conflicts, and the victories of grace. They give us the grandest poetry of the world and the most sublime moral precepts;[2] but this poetry is composed of the songs of the redeemed, and these precepts are the lessons of those who are wise in the fear

[1] *Some Considerations touching the Style of the Holy Scriptures*, London, 1661, p. 241.

[2] See pp. 355 *seq.*

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of God. They give us oratory;[1] but the orations are prophetic, impassioned utterances of warning and comfort in view of the conflicts of the kingdom of grace and its ultimate triumph, and the preaching of the gospel of a risen and glorified Saviour. They give us essays and epistles;[2] but these are not to enlighten us in the arts and sciences, the speculations of philosophy, and the maxims of commerce, that we may be students in any of the departments of human learning. They set forth Jesus Christ the Saviour, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.[3] Redemption is written all over the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. The grace of God that bringeth salvation is the one all-pervading influence. This is the holy substance of the Bible to which all else is the human form in which it is enveloped. Hence the two great divisions of the Bible are called Testaments or Covenants, for they are covenants of grace, the great storehouses in which God has treasured up for all time and for all the world the riches of His grace of redemption. This grace of redemption contained in Jesus Christ and conveyed by the Scriptures is redemption from sin to holiness, from death in guilt to life in blessedness; it is a grace of regeneration and a grace of sanctification.

(*a*) It is a grace of regeneration. Christians are begotten again, not of corruptible seed but of incorruptible, by the Word of God which liveth and abideth forever.[4] Jesus represents His word as a seed of grain which He Himself plants in the human heart. It springs up in the good soil, first the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear, and grows to maturity amidst all kinds of difficulties and dangers.[5] It is a germ of life that imparts itself to man's heart and finds therein the prepared ground of its growth. The words of Jesus are spirit and life;[6] they bear in them the regenerating force of the Divine Spirit to quicken the human spirit. The Gospel is no dead letter, it is a living organism; for Christ Jesus is in it, in it all, and in every part of it, and the energy of the Divine Spirit pervades it, so that its words are endowed

[1] See pp. 338 *seq.* [2] See pp. 340 *seq.* [3] Col. 2^{3}.
[4] 1 Pet. 1^{23}. [5] Mk. 4. [6] John 6^{63}.

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with the omnipotence of divine love and the irresistibleness of divine grace. Those brief, terse, mysterious, yet simple texts, spread all over the Bible, the inexhaustible supply for preachers and teachers, those little Bibles, that contain the quintessence of the whole — like the mountain lakes, clear yet reaching to vast depths, like the blue of the sky, charming yet leading to infinite heights — they lay hold of the sinner with the irresistible conviction of his sin; they persuade the penitent of the divine forgiveness; they constrain faith by the energy of redeeming love; they assure the repenting of the adoption of the Heavenly Father. There are no other words like the words of God contained in the sacred Scriptures, in which the grace of God appropriates, moulds, and energizes the forms of human speech with creative, generative power.

(*b*) The grace of redemption contained in the Scriptures is also sanctifying grace. Our Saviour prays the Father for His disciples: "Sanctify them in the truth; thy word is truth."[1] He tells His disciples, "Already ye are clean because of the word which I have spoken unto you."[2] The word of the Gospel is thus a cleansing, sanctifying word: for it is not bare truth appealing to the intellect with logical power, it is not truth clothed with beauty and charming the æsthetic nature of man; but it is truth which is essentially ethical, having moral power, and above all energized by the religious forces, which lay hold of the religious instincts of man, and it leads him to God. This could not be accomplished by the law of commandments contained in ordinances, but only by the Gospel of the grace of God, the soul-transforming words of our holy religion. For the Gospel sets forth God, the Holy Redeemer, the Father, and the Preserver. The Gospel sets forth Jesus Christ as the crucified, risen, and glorified Saviour; presents us His blood and righteousness, throws over our nakedness the robe of His justification, and commands us and transforms us by the vision of His graces and perfections. The Word of God is a purifying and sanctifying word; because it contains the words of holy men, of a sinless and entirely sanctified Saviour, of a perfect God, the Holy One of Israel.

[1] John 17^{17}. [2] John 15^{3}.

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Human speech is a most wonderful endowment of man. It is the tower of strength in little children, who as babes and sucklings are enabled to praise their God.[1] It is the means of communication between intelligent beings. It is the means of communication between God and man. Human speech finds its noblest employment by man in prayer, praise, adoration, and preaching of the Gospel of the grace of God. Human speech finds its highest employment by God in being made the instrument of His divine power. It enwraps and conveys to sinful man the divine grace of regeneration and sanctification; it presents the Divine Trinity to man in all their redemptive offices; and it is the channel of communication, of attachment, of communion, of organic union, and everlasting blessedness.

"For the grace of God hath appeared, bringing salvation to all men, instructing us, to the intent that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly and righteously and godly in this present world; looking for the blessed hope and appearing of the glory of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ; who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a people for his own possession, zealous of good works."[2]

III. The Efficacy of Holy Scripture

The Holy Scriptures are means of grace, because they have in them the grace of God in Jesus Christ, the grace of regeneration and sanctification. In what, then, lies the *efficacy* of this grace? How are we regenerated and sanctified by the word of redemption in Christ?

"The Spirit of God maketh the reading, but especially the preaching of the Word, an effectual means of enlightening, convincing, and humbling sinners, of driving them out of themselves, and drawing them unto Christ; of conforming them to His image, and subduing them to His will; of strengthening them against temptations and corruptions; of building them up in grace, and establishing their hearts in holiness and comfort through faith unto salvation."[3]

These are faithful and noble words. They ought to become

[1] Ps. 8[2]. [2] Titus 2[11-14]. [3] *West. Larger Cat.*, Quest. 155.

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more real to the experience of the men of this generation, where the peril, on the one hand, is in laying too much stress on doctrines of faith, and, on the other, in overrating maxims of morals. Religion, the experience of the divine grace and growth therein, is the chief thing in the use of the Bible and in Christian life. The Holy Scriptures are means of grace, but means that have to be applied by a divine force to make them efficacious. There must be an immediate contact and energetic working upon the readers and hearers and students of the Word by a divine power. The Word of God does not work *ex opere operato*, that is, by its mere use. It is not the mere reading, the mere study of the Bible, that is efficacious. It is not the Bible in the house or in the hands. It is not the Bible read by the eyes and heard by the ears. It is not the Bible committed to memory and recited word for word. It is not the Bible expounded by the teacher and apprehended by the mind of the scholar. All these are but external forms of the Word which enwrap the spiritual substance, the grace of redemption. The casket contains the precious jewels. It must be opened that their lustre and beauty may charm us. The shell contains the nut. It must be cracked or we cannot eat it. The pitcher contains the water. But it must be poured out and drunk to satisfy thirst. The Word of God is effectual only when it has become dynamic, and has wrought vital and organic changes, entering into the depths of the heart, assimilating itself to the spiritual necessities of our nature, transforming life and character. This is the purpose of the grace which the Bible contains. This is the power of grace that the Bible exhibits, in holding forth to us Jesus Christ the Saviour. This can be accomplished in us only by the activity of the Holy Spirit working in and through the Scriptures in their use.

IV. The Appropriation of the Grace of Holy Scripture

How, then, are we to obtain the grace of God contained in the Scriptures and effectually applied unto us by the Holy Spirit as regenerating and sanctifying grace? The universal

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Protestant answer to this question would be, the grace of the Scriptures is received by faith. Faith is the hand of the soul which grasps and takes to itself the grace of God. But the nature of this appropriation by faith needs unfolding. The Westminster Shorter Catechism[1] gives a good answer to the question:

> "That the Word may become effectual to salvation, we must attend thereunto with diligence, preparation and prayer; receive it with faith and love, lay it up in our hearts, and practise it in our lives."

1. The first thing we have to do in our study of the Word of God is to give it our *attention*. Indeed attention is the first requisite of all study and of all work. Diligence and preparation are necessary for all undertakings. No one can fulfil his calling in life without these qualifications. But there is an attention to be given to the Word of God which is peculiar, and vastly higher than the attention given to ordinary avocations of life. It is an attention that is distinguished by prayer; for the study of the Bible is a study of redemption, a search for the power of God in Jesus Christ, a quest for the grace of salvation. Such study must be pointed with prayer, for prayer is the soul's quest after God. Prayer directs the student of the Bible to God in the Bible. It withdraws the attention from all other things that might absorb and attract it, and concentrates it on God. Prayer is the arrow-head that bears the arrow of attention to its mark — God. If the grace of God in the sacred Scriptures, the prevenient grace, — always preceding and anticipating the quest of man, ready to be found, waiting to impart itself to us, — be directed by the Holy Spirit, then the attention of the Bible student, directed by prayer, comes in immediate contact with this Spirit of grace and receives the power of salvation in personal union with Him. Hence it is that prayer is associated with the Word of God and the sacraments as a means of grace. It is not a means of grace in the same way as the Word of God, but it is a means of grace of no less importance; for if the Word of God is the

[1] Ques. 90.

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instrument, the means by which the grace of God is given to us by the Holy Spirit, prayer is the instrument or means of grace whereby we are able to receive and use the grace of God. It is of prime importance, therefore, that the student of the Bible should be bathed in prayer, and that the spirit of prayer should be the animating influence in all our investigations of the Scriptures. Prayerful attention seeks and finds God, appropriates His grace and the redemptive influence of His Word.

Robert Boyle well says:

> "And surely this consideration of the Bible's being one of the conduit pipes, through which God hath appointed to conveigh his Truth, as well as graces to his children, should methinks both largely animate us to the searching of the Scriptures, and equally refresh us in it. For as no Instrument is weak in an omnipotent hand: so ought no means to be looked upon as more promising than that which is like to be prospered by Grace, as 'tis devised by Omniscience. We may confidently expect God's blessing upon his own institutions, since we know that whatsoever we ask according to the will of God, he will give it us, and we can scarce ask anything more agreeable to the will of God, than the competent understanding of that book wherein his will is contained."[1]

In order to emphasize this all-important point and give it its proper position in biblical study, it will be necessary for us to make some discriminations.

(*a*) The first work in the scientific and systematic study of the Scriptures is called Textual Criticism, or the Lower Criticism. It is, first of all, necessary to know the text in which the Scriptures are contained. Hence the candidates for the ministry devote a large portion of their time to a study of the sacred languages, in order that they may undertake the work of Textual Criticism and study the various versions and manuscripts of the Word of God. All translations must be derived from a faithful study of the originals. It is indispensable that a living Church should have a ministry who are brought into immediate contact with the divine originals. The Bible in unknown tongues is a Paradise fenced and barred.[2] The acquisi-

[1] *Some Considerations touching the Style of the Holy Scriptures.* London, 1661, p. 50.

[2] See Chaps. III., XIX.

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tion of the original text removes the barrier; the translation into the tongue of the people opens the gates, that all who will may enter in. Hence Protestant churches have made it an article of faith that the Bible must be given to the people in their own tongue, and continually interpreted to the people by ministers, who know themselves the originals, and are able to remove misapprehensions that will always arise, to some extent, in connection with all translations and reproductions. But this first step of the mastery of the divine original text may be accomplished, and yet the grace of God that is in the Scriptures remain entirely unknown. It is as if a man should enter the king's garden and devote his entire attention to the study of the gates and walls.

(*b*) The second step in biblical study is literary criticism or Higher Criticism.[1] The sacred Scriptures are composed of a great variety of writings of different authors in different periods of history, writing in many different styles, such as poetry and prose, history and story, epistle and prophecy. Some of this literature is exceedingly choice from a purely literary point of view. An anthology of the choicest pieces of biblical literature would certainly be a very profitable study for many of God's people. Their eyes would be opened to the wondrous forms of beauty in which God has chosen to reveal His grace of redemption. But to study the Bible as sacred literature is not to study it as a means of grace. Exclusive devotion to that theme is as if we should enter the king's garden, and instead of going at once to his gracious presence, in accordance with his invitation, we should devote ourselves to the beautiful trees and flowers and ornamental shrubs and landscape.

(*c*) The third work of biblical study is biblical exegesis.[2] In this department the student in every way endeavours to get at the true meaning of the Scriptures. The particular passage and the entire writing under consideration must be studied with the most minute accuracy, and, at the same time, the most comprehensive summation of evidence. But even this may be carried on in a most thorough and successful manner in all its stages, except the last and highest,[3] without finding

[1] See Chaps. XI.–XVII. [2] See Chaps. III., XIX., pp. 474 *seq.* [3] See pp. 484 *seq.*

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God in Jesus Christ. Some of the best exegetes have not been true Christians. The peril in exegesis is, the becoming absorbed in details, and in giving ourselves to the quest after truth and scholarly accuracy. It is as if one entered the king's garden and devoted himself at once to a scientific examination and classification of its contents, the survey and mapping out of its sections.

(*d*) The fourth work of biblical study is the study of the history and theology of the Bible,[1]—its history, its religion, its doctrines, and its morals. This is the highest attainment of biblical scholarship, but it is not the study of the Bible as a means of grace. It is as if we entered the king's palace and devoted our attention to the principles and maxims of his administration, the rules of his household, while the king himself was graciously waiting to receive us into his own presence and give us the kiss of fatherly salutation.

All of these various subjects of biblical study are vastly important. The Church has not yet awakened to the vast possibilities and the wonderful fruitage to be derived from biblical study. No one could exalt these departments, each and all of them, more highly than I am disposed to do; but notwithstanding, it must be said that if all these studies were to be accomplished in a most scholarly manner, the chief thing, the one supreme thing, might still remain unaccomplished—namely, the study of the Bible as a means of grace. This is the highest achievement of biblical study. For prayer will seek first the presence and the person of God. It will not be detained by anything in the Bible. It will press on through the text, the literature, the exegesis, the history, and the theology, giving them but slight attention, a mere passing glance, firmly advancing into the presence-chamber of God. It will run in the footsteps of the Divine Spirit, until the man is ushered into the presence of the Heavenly Father, and bows in adoration and love to the dear Saviour, and has the adoption and recognition of sonship. Then first will he be assured that the Bible is indeed the Word of God, the inspired Canon, when he has found God in the Bible;[2] then first will he understand the

[1] See Chaps. XX.-XXIII. [2] See Chap. VI. pp. 166 *seq.*

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Scriptures at their centre, in their very heart, when he has recognized his Saviour in them;[1] then in the light of the Redeemer's countenance, the student may go forth to the enjoyment of all the beauties and glories and wondrous manifestations of truth and love in the Scriptures, and find them radiant with the love of Christ, and pervaded throughout with the effectual grace of God. As an ancient Puritan divine has said:

> "Thus in the Scriptures ye find life, because the Word is so effectual to doe you good, to convert your soul, to pull down Satan's throne, and to build up the soul in grace. It is a hammer to break the hard heart, a fire to purge the drossie heart, a light to shine into the darke heart, an oyle to revive the broken heart, armour of proof to stablish the weake and tempted heart. If these precious things be matters of Christian religion; then surely the written word is the foundation of it. Eternal life is in the Scriptures, because they testify of Christ, they set forth Christ who is the way, the truth and the life; in them ye find life, because in them ye find Christ. So far as by Scripture we get acquaintance with Christ; so far we are acquainted with salvation and no farther. For if you knew all Histories and all the prophecies, if ye had the whole Bible by heart, if by it you could judge of all disputes, yet until you find Christ there, you cannot find life; the Scriptures are to us salvificall because they bring us unto Christ."[2]

2. Faith in the form of prayerful attention and investigation is followed by *appropriating* faith. The attention becomes more and more absorbed in its object. Prayer having attained its quest is satisfied and grateful. The grace of God, so evidently set forth in the Scriptures in Jesus Christ the Saviour, is appropriated in this personal contact. The affections are generated, and impart to faith new vigour. The Holy Spirit grasps the hand of prayer, and pours into it the treasures of grace, and they are clasped as infinitely precious to believing and loving hearts. As a distinguished modern divine says:

> "Holy Scripture gives faith its object. It puts Christianity in its purity and attractiveness before our eyes as an object which is

[1] See p. 485.

[2] Lyford, *Plain Man's Senses exercised*, 1655, pp. 59, 60.

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itself a challenge and inducement to enter into union with it by faith." . . . "The Holy Spirit perpetually glorifies Christ as He is set forth in Scripture, makes Him emerge, so to speak, from the letter and stand out in living form before us. He thus brings us through the medium of Holy Scripture into communion with the living Christ."[1]

Thus faith and love are the two eyes of the soul that see the living Christ present in His Word. They are the spiritual appetites by which we partake of the bread of heaven and living water. Such a receiving is an ever-increasing enjoyment of the infinite riches of divine grace, the inexhaustible treasures of redemptive love. The supply of grace in the Scriptures is inexhaustible. The possibilities of the growth of the affections of faith and love are only limited by the possibilities of grace itself. This system of grace is compared by the prophet Zechariah to a vast, self-feeding lamp-stand with its seven branches and lighted lamps, supplied by the ever-living, growing, and oil-producing olive-trees that stand by its sides and overshadow it.[2] The oil of grace is ever fresh and new — the light is ever bright and brilliant. Faith's eye sees and understands it more and more.

But just here it is necessary to guard against a too common error. It is true that the grace of God pervades the Scriptures, and Christ is the master of the Scriptures, but it is not equally easy for faith to see and appreciate the grace of God in every passage. The Bible contains supplies of grace for all the world, and for all time, for the weak and baby Christians, for the strong and manly Christians, for the immature Christian centuries, and for the Church in its highest development as the Bride of the Lamb. Training in the school of grace is indispensable for the appropriation of the grace of the Scriptures. There are but few who are able to appropriate more than the grace that lies on the surface of the plainest passages of Scripture. The Church is constantly learning new lessons of grace from the Scriptures. We have a right to expect still greater light to break forth from the Scriptures when the Church has

[1] Dorner, *System of Christian Doctrine*, IV. pp. 260, 261.
[2] Zech. 4.

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been prepared to receive it. The Church did not attain its maturity at the Nicene Council. Augustine was not the highest achievement of Christian faith and experience. The Protestant Reformation did not introduce the golden age. A church that is not growing in grace is a lukewarm, if not a dead, church. A theology that is not progressive is a bedridden, if not a dead, theology. The Church needs a greater Reformation than it has ever yet enjoyed — a more extensive living in the Holy Spirit, a deeper quickening, a more intense devotion in love and service to our Saviour and the interests of His kingdom. We are convinced that the seeds of such a Reformation are embedded in the Bible, only waiting a new springtime of the world to shoot forth. The grace of God will reveal itself to another Luther and another Calvin at no very distant day, in vastly greater richness and fulness, for the sanctification of the Church and the preparation of the Bride for her Bridegroom. In the meantime it behooves us all to turn away from the abnormal, immature, and defective experiences and systems of very poor Christians, so often held up to us as models for our attainment, and to set our faces as a flint against every wresting of Scripture in the interest of any dogma, new or old, and to fix our faith and love upon the image of the grace of God in Jesus Christ, the crucified, risen, and glorified Redeemer. He is the one object that concentrates the grace of God — the fountain source of supply for all believers. Into His image as the divine likeness we are to be transformed, and we ought to think of no other.

The Scriptures are indeed means, not ends. They are to bring us to God, to assimilate us to Christ, to unite us in organic union with Him. If this has not been accomplished, there has been very great failure, however much we may have accomplished in biblical scholarship or Dogmatic Theology, in the history and polity of the Church, in devotional reading and preaching, in the application of particular passages to our souls. But those who have become personally attached to Jesus Christ have found the Master of the Scriptures. He is the key to its treasures, the clue to its labyrinths. Under His instruction and guidance believers search the Scriptures

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with ever-increasing pleasure and profit. They ever find treasures new and old. They understand the secret of grace. They know how to extract it from the varied forms in which it is enveloped. They explore the deepest mines and bring forth lustrous gems of truth. They climb the highest peaks and rapturously gaze on the vast territories of their Lord. With the Psalmist they exclaim:

O how I love thy instruction! — it is my meditation all the day.
How sweet are thy words unto my taste! — sweeter than honey to my mouth!
I love thy commandments above gold, — yea above fine gold.
The sum of thy word is truth, — and everlasting all thy righteous judgments.[1]

3. The grace of God in Holy Scripture can be fully appropriated only by *practising faith*. Our Saviour taught His disciples: "If any man willeth to do His will, he shall know of the teaching, whether it be of God, or whether I speak from myself."[2] Experiment is ever the victor of doubt. Faith is tested by practice. Abraham's faith was proved by his willingness to sacrifice his well-beloved son. Mere faith is seeming faith, a shadow, a dead vanity. A real, genuine, living faith apprehends and uses divine grace. The grace of God is effectual. It is dynamic in its application of redemption. It is no less dynamic after it has been appropriated by man. The light of the world lights up Christian lamps. The water of life becomes in the believer a fountain, from which shall flow rivers of living water.[3] The grace of God is made effectual by "laying it up in our hearts and practising it in our lives." The grace of God becomes a grace of experience. Unless the divine grace continue to flow forth from a man in his life and conduct, the source of supply is stopped. A reservoir which has no outlet will have no incoming waters. A lamp that does not burn will not be able to receive fresh supplies of oil.

From this two things follow:

(*a*) If a Christian man would use the Scriptures as a means of grace, he must continually put them in practice in his heart and life. If the Church would apprehend more and more the riches of the grace of Jesus Christ contained in the Scriptures,

[1] Ps. 119[97. 103. 127. 160]. [2] John 7[17]. [3] John 7[38].

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it must become a more practical, earnest, Christ-like Church. The source of supply from the reservoir Scripture is feeble because the outflowing of grace from Christian men and women is feeble.

(*b*) Christians become secondary sources of supply. The Word of God, the Gospel of Jesus Christ, when appropriated by the Christian, assimilated to his needs, transformed into his life, does not cease to be the Gospel of the grace of God. The external form has been changed, but the internal substance of grace is the same. The Word of God does not cease to be the Word of God when wrapped in other than Scripture language. Hence it is that the Christian becomes a living epistle of God,[1] and the Church, as a body of such epistles, a means of grace, conveying the divine grace in another form to the world. It is ever the grace of God that is the effectual divine force, and not the form in which for the time it may be enveloped. Happy the Church when its ministers have become more really such living epistles, written with the Spirit of the living God! Blessed will that time be, when the entire membership of the Church shall become such epistles, when Christ, who so loved the Church and gave Himself for it, shall have sanctified it, having cleansed it by the washing of water with the Word![2] Then will the ancient prophecy be realized.[3]

Lo, days are coming, is the utterance of Yahweh,
When I will conclude with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah, a new covenant;
Not according to the covenant that I concluded with their fathers
In the day of my strengthening their hand to bring them forth from the land of Egypt;
Which covenant with me they did break, although I was lord over them, is the utterance of Yahweh.
For this is the covenant that I will conclude with the house of Israel after those days, is the utterance of Yahweh:
I do put my instruction within them, and upon their heart will I write it;
And I will become a God for them, and they will become a people for me;
And they will not teach any more, each his friend, and each his brother, saying, "Know Yahweh";
For all of them will know me, from the least even to the greatest of them, is the utterance of Yahweh.
For I will pardon their iniquity, and their sins I will not remember any more.[4]

[1] 2 Cor. 3^{3}. [2] Eph. 5^{25-26}. [3] Heb. 8^{10-11}. [4] Jer. 31^{31-34}.

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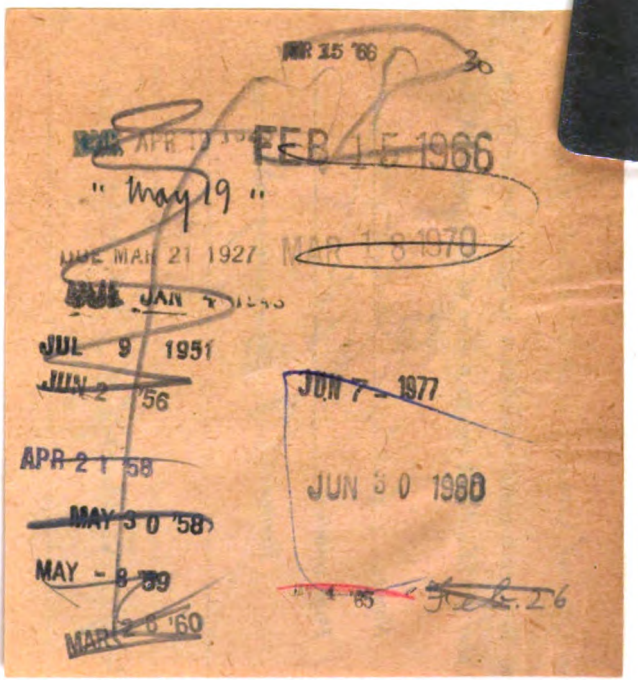
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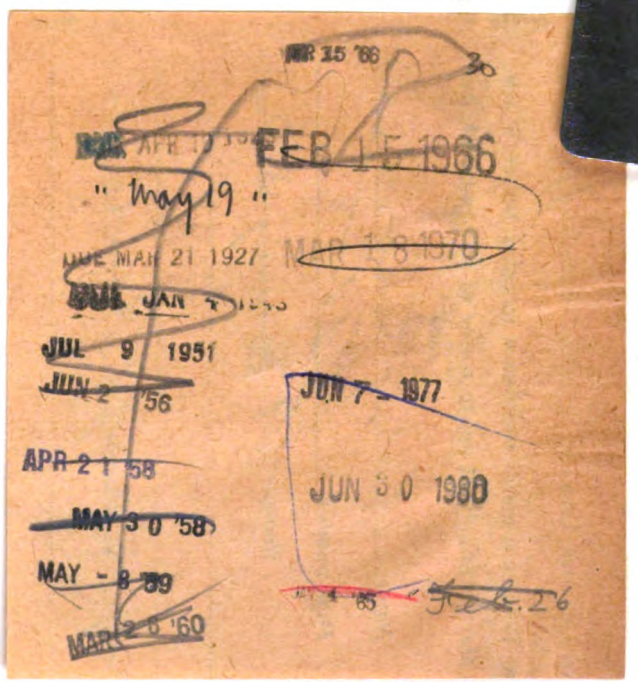
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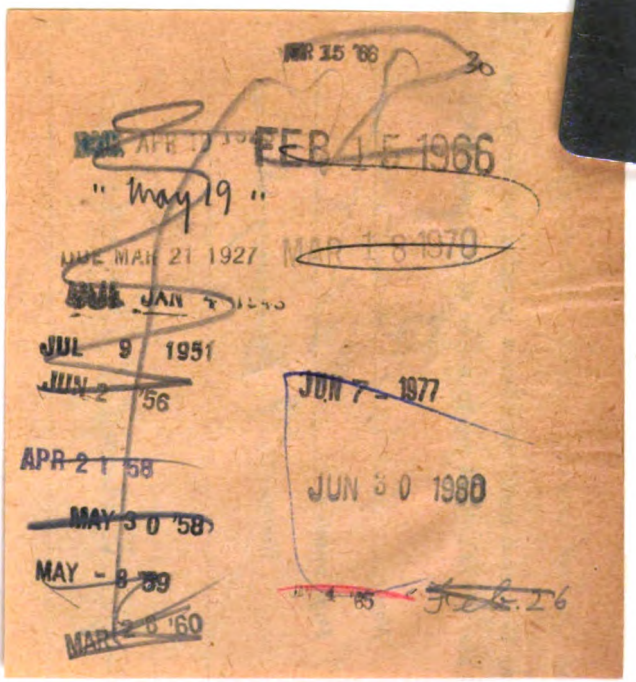
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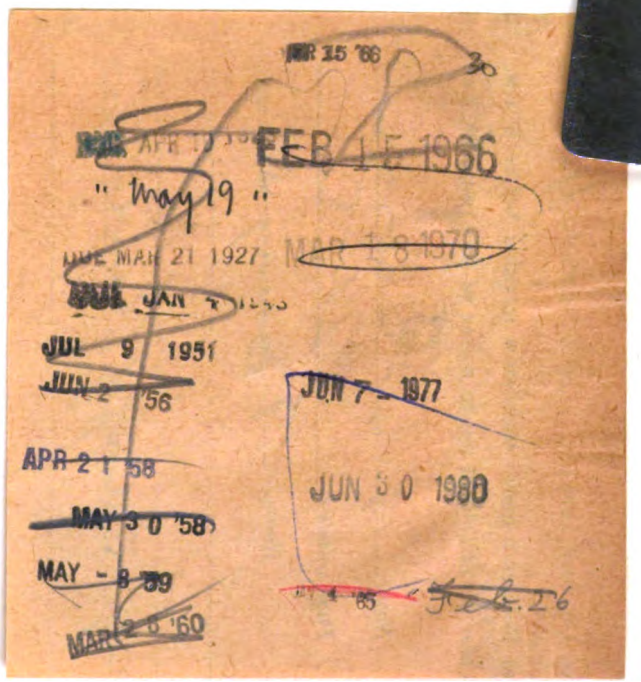
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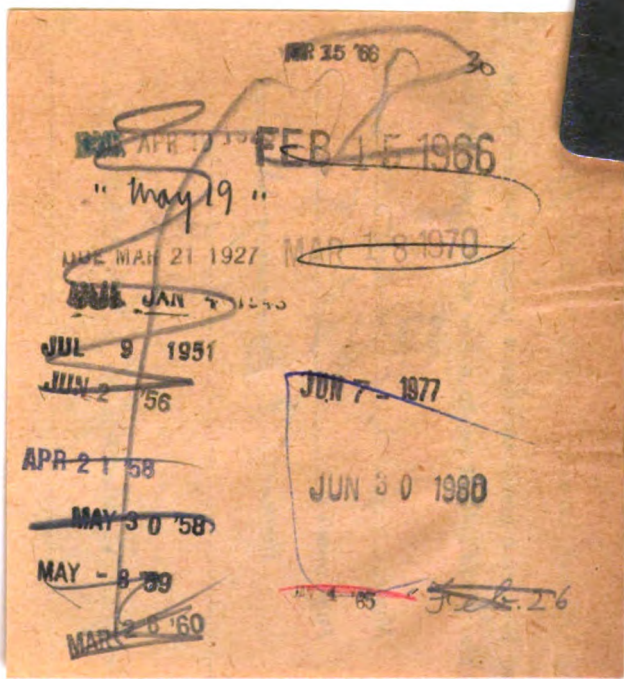
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